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STUDENT ACTIVISM AND UNIVERSITY REFORM IN

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND GERMANY, 1960's- 1970's

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STUDENT ACTIVISM AND UNIVERSITY REFORM IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND GERMANY, 1960's- 1970's

by

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DEDICATION

For my parents-

With all my love.

and

For my children-

Whom I adore.

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University reform has become one of the most important, complex issues of the past three decades. Initiated in the turbulent 1960's as a response to demands for change, the governments of England, France, and Germany sought to provide change to their centuries-old systems of higher education, largely through politically expedient measures of reform. This study seeks to answer the question: With the passage of time, how effective were the student demands for reform?

Purposes of Study:

1) To determine the origins and objectives of the student-initiated demands for reform of the higher educational systems of England, France, and Germany in the 1960's and early 1970's?

2) To determine the extent to which measure of reform have been, or are being, realized.
3) To determine the nature and extent of change on the higher education systems, and on selected aspects of society.
4) To compare and contrast the objectives and results of the student-initiated reform measures in England, France, and Germany.

Methodology:

This is a historical, comparative, analytical study which relied upon books; newspaper articles; journals; parliamentary records; interviews with professors in England, France, and Germany; and documentaries to provide data for the subsequent comparison and analysis.

Findings:

Research indicated that student activism was neither the sole, nor the prime, impetus for higher educational reform in the Sixties, but rather served a supplementary role, that of illustrating the exigency for legislative action. Students of the Sixties, however, changed the perception of the student role within the family, the university, and society; brought educational issues to the public consciousness; advanced the issue of accountability in academia; and earned students the acknowledgement of being a viable social force.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

> *From Prague to Paris, London to Tokyo, San Francisco to Peking, student revolts erupted with unforeseeable suddenness in the 1960's to challenge the existing order of society--a challenge which, in many places, took them to the brink of radically changing history itself. Never before had such widespread rebellion swept the world, threatening capitalist and socialist orders alike.* (Fraser 1988, 1)

University reform has become one of the most important and complex issues of the past four decades. For centuries, educational reform of universities around the world has been initiated and sustained by political upheaval, religious fervor, national policy change, and student unrest. Of the above change agents, students alone have been both participants in and recipients of change and reform. Students have agitated for change since the Middle Ages. Thus, student rebellion as a catalyst for reform has quite a long history: indeed, it is older than the universities themselves. To varying degrees, student protests against established authority have occurred in nearly every nation with a large academic community. The reasons for protest are diverse. Historically, students have functioned as barometers of deep-seated unrest and social change (DeConde 1971), have taken on the role of society's conscience (Feuer 1969), and have influenced the political and academic structures of many nations (Altbach 1989).

As mentioned above, student activism has a long history; however, it was particularly strong and influential in the 1960s. The 1960s were one of those rare

decades that happen once or twice a century. Economic prosperity, following the Korean War, caused a trebling of the gross national product in Italy, West Germany, and France, and a doubling of the GNP in Britain and the U.S. During this period, industrial wages rose one and a half to two times in the above countries, and unemployment sank to a low four percent. Technological advances shifted the labor force from blue-collar, unskilled, manual workers to skilled, white-collar, corporate workers. Furthermore, the post World War II baby boom had produced a record number of teenagers in the population. Material progress, demographic growth, and technological advances were the mainsprings of the tremendous expansion in student enrollment in higher education in the 1960s (Fraser 1988).

It was in this time of technological, political, and economic change that students, who in the recent past had been criticized for their political apathy, metamorphosed into student activists. The foci of their protests were complex, and included both concrete and abstract issues. The ills of society, generational conflict, and political issues were the abstract elements that stirred students into rebellion. However, it was concrete university issues such as the curriculum, the quality of teaching, the outmoded facilities for classes, the extremely high student-to-professor ratio, and, particularly, the lack of student participation in university decisions that often motivated student revolt.

Altbach (1979, 54) asserts that "students, especially in the 60s, have proven to be one of the most disruptive forces in higher education." Previously apolitical students became student activists, stridently demanding major educational reforms. These demands, made publicly with attendent media coverage, could not be ignored by the university administrators and Ministers of Education. With student-initiated ultimata as one prime catalyst, administrators and legislators were forced to review and reevaluate the system of higher education. As a result, university reform became, and continues to be, one of the most important, and exceedingly complex, debates in the academic community.

This study seeks to answer the question, With the perspective of time, how effective were the student demands for reform? It seeks to deepen our understanding of the effectiveness of student protests and their effect on educational reform in England, France, and (West) Germany by focusing on the origins and evolution of student protest, the similarities and differences of the student-initiated demands for reform, and the subsequently legislated educational reforms. The following section will explain the purpose in greater detail.

Intent

The intent of this study is to identify the motives behind student activism in the 1960s, to determine what demands for higher educational reform were made, and to ascertain the extent to which these demands have been realized by

legislation and implementation within the higher education systems of England, France, and Germany. The purpose of this study is fourfold:

1. to determine the origins of the student-initiated demands for higher education reform in England, France and Germany in the 1960's;
2. to identify the objectives of the student demands for university reform;
3. to determine the extent to which these student demands have been, or are being, realized;
4. to compare and contrast the objectives and results of the student-initiated, governmentally legislated measures of reform in England, France, and Germany.

As stated previously, the surge of student activism during the 1960s was a global occurrence that ultimately led to change and reform (Altbach 1989). This study examines higher education reform in three culturally distinct, geographically separate countries: England, France, and Germany. In all three countries, student protest extended beyond the campus, eventually involving perplexed and concerned citizenry and governments. However, although there were common aspects to the student protests, it cannot be assumed that all student protests at this time had identical catalysts, or that student protesters in all nations had identical demands and results. In fact, each country had, and continues to have, unique historical, political, economic, and societal facets that create the structural and ideological differences in their higher education systems. Further, the student

demands for reform reflect idiosyncrasies inherent in national origin. Educational goals, societal values, and cultural traditions, as well as economic, political, historical, and locus of control issues, likewise, differ with nationality.

By means of descriptive, historical, and comparative analyses, this study will identify the demands made by English, French, and German students and determine the extent to which these students were successful in the realization of their objectives for reform. Initially, this process of identification and examination was done on a country- by-country basis. This was followed by a comparative cross-national analysis of the similarities and differences of the identified student demands, their consequences, and the resultant legislated measures of reform.

A cross-national analysis, it must be noted, presents several points of difficulty. Understanding the various components of a higher education system and the internal and external pressures that influence its transformation is challenging; the comparison of several countries' systems is exponentially more difficult. Comparing seemingly like events and institutions in two or more countries is more complicated than is apparent at first glance. For example, the word *gymnasium* in German refers to an institution quite different from that denoted by its American counterpart. The same is true of the French word *collège* and its American cognate. Thus, accuracy of comparison is a vital concern in this multifaceted process. Philip Altbach, a noted comparativist, writes that "it is difficult enough to understand the saga of student movements in a single country. It is far more

problematic to focus on the phenomenon in a worldwide perspective" (1989, 1). Underlining this same point, Edmund King addresses the intricacies and difficulties of data collecting for a comparative analysis:

> It used to be supposed that scientific observers looking dispassionately at the data before them could objectively discern the "true facts" of a situation, and the "objects" existed quite independently of the subject looking at them through a microscope or on a laboratory bench. Of course, in some sense they do. A lion is a lion and an amoeba is an amoeba when all is said and done. Yet it is we who give the lion his name and his classification. It makes a remarkable difference whether we look at the lion as big game to be hunted, or study the "king of beasts" in his natural setting as an exercise in ecology, or ward off a predator from our herd of cattle. (1983, 14)

Altbach hones in on the area of student activism itself:

> The cross-cultural analysis of student activism is a difficult undertaking since so many variables are involved. Not only do academic systems differ, but the political atmosphere in individual countries varies and this naturally affects student activism. (1979, 55)

England, France, and Germany were chosen as the foci of analysis primarily because of the varying levels of intensity of protest. In France, for example, the protests were of high intensity and were mostly university related, while in Germany the protests were of high intensity but were largely political. In Britain, on the other hand, the protests were of low intensity but were both politically and university related. Furthermore, these three countries are parliamentary democracies, with gerontocratic societies, and prototypical higher education systems with varied degrees of centralization. The level of centralization determines the ease or difficulty of implementing change. In France in the 1960s,

for example, because of the high degree of centralization, any change had to make its way up the hierarchical maze in the Ministry of Education and back down again before anything could be implemented. This inability to make on-the-spot decisions in the educational arena without input from the governmental agency nearly led to the toppling of DeGaulle's government. In Germany, the concept of state's responsibility for education has been sustained for centuries. It is based on the premise that the state has an obligation to provide a sound education, and the citizen has to avail himself of all educational opportunities for himself and his community (Stewart 1985). Historically, however, the German notion of state has related to the regional divisions of Germany called *Länder*. Stewart (1985 91) clarifies these regions in the following manner:

> The State is the formal expression of cohesion and political identity. It also becomes concrete as the mechanism whereby we procure and ensure both physical goods such as defense, communications, health services, and also intangible goods, such as educational, cultural, or recreational provisions.

Therefore, in the case of Germany in the 1960s, state referred to the *Länder* and not the federal government, thus making any cohesive national planning and implementation difficult. Britain combined a national Ministry of Education with local agencies for grant making and oversight thus positioning itself in the middle on the continuum of centralization.

Through a comparison of these three countries, this study will illuminate the impact of student unrest on educational reform. By extension, the results might

prove useful for other countries as well. This insight is important because students, being a collective and sometimes pivotal social impetus, have the ability to influence the missions and decisions of academic institutions. At times, the demands of students have also affected national policies. Because of this, understanding student activism is important to political leaders, the academic community, and the students themselves.

In many cases, student activism has led to positive changes: as a result of student activism, for example, the long-held student-university relationship of *in loco parentis* gave way to the acceptance of the maturity of twentieth century eighteen-year-olds. With this acceptance came the demand for student participation in academic affairs. In addition, this bout of activism induced administrators and faculty alike to re-evaluate their old methods of teaching, university governance, financial expenditures and oversight, and curricular relevance.

Understanding the experience of one country is important in the understanding of a similar situation in another. Therefore, the necessity for this knowledge is as compelling today as it was thirty years ago. Burton Clark (1973) has written that "education is a process. It is not a single event, or larger phenomenon, or institution. It is a kind of continuous social behavior" (451). By understanding what has happened in the past, one might gain a clearer understanding of similar events in the future. But one cannot learn simply by

looking at the events that have taken place in one's own country. Understanding the experience in one particular country can be important to aiding in the understanding of a similar situation in another. By studying events, actions, and results taken by the governments, academic institutions, students, and society at large in other countries, it is possible to acquire new and more effective solutions for the future. Therefore, by offering insights into the effectiveness of student protest and the issues university administrators had to face as a result, this study will offer important lessons for the future: lessons that can be used in a variety of contexts.

Perspectives on Examining Change

The most salient feature of this study is change. As defined by the Oxford English dictionary, change is "the act or instance of making or becoming different; an alteration; a modification." Throughout the ages, poets, philosophers, and academics have written about the constant changing of the universe and all things in it. The process of academic change has been the topic of research for decades. Academics have continually sought to provide answers to fundamental questions such as: What is change? Who are the agents or sources of change? What events have served to heighten the atmosphere for change? These basic questions have guided the formation of models for academic change (Griffiths 1964; Hefferlin

1969; Rogers 1962; Baldridge 1971). The question, then, is not whether there *is* change, but rather, what *causes* change?

When one reviews the events of the late 1960s, it is apparent that many factors contributed to student unrest. All the relevant factors can be subsumed into two rubrics: internal and external. Internal factors are those that originate within the university community and impact it alone. Examples include academic decisions on curriculum, student participation, student- to-professor ratio, access to higher education, student housing, etc. External factors include: political climate, economic outlook, cultural traditions, general societal discontent, and global affairs. The combination of internal and external factors precipitated large-scale student unrest, which, in turn, accelerated the recognition of the compelling need for higher educational reform.

There are several notions as to what is meant by educational reform, and who and what is involved in making the changes to the educational system. The Introduction to UNESCO's *Educational Reforms: Experiences and Prospects* explains the implications of educational reform:

> … it is generally accepted that (educational) reform implies major structural changes, and that it therefore constitutes a political opinion. Reform, when considered as an integral part of the overall process of societal transformation, involves significant changes in general educational strategy, and decisions concerning it are the responsibility of the national authorities or legislative bodies. (1979, 11)

Clifton Conrad, author of *A Grounded Theory of Academic Change* (1995), notes that "colleges and universities are frequently discussed in terms of their susceptibility to external and internal pressures. Although much has been written about the ostensible sources of change, little is known about the conditions under which, or the degree to which, sources of change are influential upon those who make decisions about whether or not change will occur" (377). To date, attempts to isolate the factors that contribute most to the mechanism of change have been few. Nor has there been much research focused on determining the dynamics and processes of academic change (*ibid*, 378). In the Preface to their *Handbook of Educational Reform*, editors Peter Cookson, Alan Sadovnik, and Susan Semel write:

> Those of us who take an interest in educational reform from a historical point of view know there is no finality and that all reform movements are historically contextualized and grow out of major sociological, political, intellectual, and economic currents. In a world that is increasingly independent these currents have a way of sweeping over boundaries. It is not by chance that educational reform has been at the forefront of national agendas (1992, 2)

They then add that

> Explaining educational reform is complex because schools are embedded in society and are themselves complex forms of social interaction. It is evident that when one talks about educational reform, the cultural, religious, historical, political, and economic context of each country must be taken into consideration. Moreover, these same factors can be operating simultaneously and divergently within each region of each country, as well as within each town and city (*ibid*, 3).

Educational reform is achieved in multiple ways. As the internal and external factors coalesce into catalysts, change is achieved through the agency of different actors operating within different time frames, and, as mentioned above, within country-specific religious, cultural, economic, and political circumstances. Student protest has been used as a driving force for reform for centuries. However, as a change agent, student protest has seldom been used as powerfully or as universally as in the 1960s.

Philip Altbach (1991) aptly wrote that the ‘60s were a time when student activism burgeoned into a worldwide phenomenon and that change and reform were its legacy. Altbach (1989) further states that while the most climactic results of student unrest concern the toppling of governments, there are many other less sensational but nonetheless consequential effects. And, although the impetus, as well as the results, of student protest varied from nation to nation, there is import in the global nature and chronology of the unrest, as well as the underlying motives for reform. From the mid-1960s, governments of nations as geographically and ideologically different as Argentina, China, Yugoslavia, the US, India, Japan, Germany, France, Sweden, Italy, and the UK, among others, began to experience the outgrowth of these student movements (Deveze 1976). Fraser (1988, 1) notes that “never before had such widespread rebellion by the young swept the world, threatening capitalist and socialist established orders alike.” (See Table 1 for a detailing of the student protests by year and country). By

the early 1970s, committees to study reform, as well as parliamentary legislation for reform, had been implemented by the governments of England, France, and Germany. Throughout the next three decades, new legislation and amendments were executed, as governments and societies changed. In this millennium, the concept of academic reform arguably will continue to be one of the most debated and complex sociopolitical issues, as it was in the late twentieth century. This importance and complexity is predicated upon the fact that reform is multifaceted.

Historical Perspectives on Student Activism

Student unrest has been ever present in the long history of higher education. From the founding of Plato's Academy in 357 B.C., students have expressed their displeasure by protest. W.H. Cowley, the late David Jacks Professor of Higher Education at Stanford, states that events as early as the fourth century A.D. can be used to illustrate this point. He writes that "students who disapproved of their professors' politics invaded their lecture rooms and started fights, threw mud in their faces on the streets, and dragged them out of bed to dunk them in any available body of water." (Cowley 1966, 105).

By the Middle Ages, student power increased as did their protest by riot and rebellion. In 1217, the two student organizations of the University of Bologna, the *citramontani* and the *ultramontani*, organized their first protest boycott by leaving Bologna for three years. In 1270, Parisian students vigorously protested

the rise in the price of a bottle of wine, which led to the death of several faculty members, and subsequently led to the mass exodus of students and faculty from the University of Paris also for three years. Nearly a century later, in 1355, similar town-gown battles (the St. Scholastica's Day Riot), occurred in Oxford.

In colonial America, protests by disgruntled students erupted at Yale, the University of Virginia, and Princeton. By 1848, revolutionary movements in Germany and Austria nearly led to the dethroning of several monarchs. While the protests in Germany and Austria were not primarily student-led movements, the academic community played a large role: students and professors demonstrated for democratic rights and against absolute monarchy. Out of these struggles grew the nationalist ideology that ultimately was a key force in the unification of Germany in the late nineteenth century. In czarist Russia, students turned the campuses into hotbeds of revolutionary activity as they spearheaded various protests. And, by 1911, students in China coordinated a nationalist revolutionary movement with the mission of modernizing China.

One of the most powerful and influential student movements of the twentieth century began in 1918 in Argentina. As a result of the student protests, the universities were shut down for over three months. To aid in the return to normalcy, the President of Argentina, Irigoyen, issued a decree that granted virtually all of the student's demands: representation on the university councils for university governance, periodic council elections, optional class attendance,

flexible examination processes, and greater pedagogical freedom for faculty. This reform movement, generated because of the emergence of a middle class in Latin America, spread throughout the South American continent and gained widespread student involvement in university governance and society. (Altbach 1989, 1991; DeConde 1971; Trethewey 1976).

By the 1920s and 1930s, students again coordinated their power to achieve an influential position within society. German student organizations were among the first to support Hitler and the Nazi Party and were subsequently used to marshal support of the general populace. Until the 1960s, "few notable incidences of student activism occurred, which made the events of the 1960s all the more surprising." (Altbach 1989, 2-3). The formerly apathetic students of the 1950s transformed into globally conscious, disillusioned, would-be reformers of the greater society. As they began to look at their world through a different lens, and as they increasingly found the actions of their parents, community, and/ or nation inadequate, these sixties students desperately wanted to make an impact on their own societies.

Ronald Fraser, author of *1968: A Student Generation In Revolt*, characterizes the widespread consternation felt among citizens, academics, and governments all over the world at the barrage of student-led movements during this era in the following words:

> From Prague to Paris, London to Tokyo, San Francisco to Peking, student revolts erupted with unforeseeable suddenness in the 1960's to challenge

> the existing order of society — a challenge which in many places took them to the brink of radically changing history itself. Never before had such widespread rebellion swept the world, threatening capitalist and socialist established orders alike. In itself, there was nothing historically new about student rebellion: the last century, for example, saw students fighting alongside workers on the barricades of the 1848 revolutions. In this century, the Argentinian university revolt of 1918 won many of the campus rights which student in the industrialized West struggled for in 1968, while before and after World War II the role of students in the development of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions was particularly notable. What was surprising about the 1960's was the ubiquity of the student revolt which broke out not only in the Third, but also in the Second and First Worlds also. (1988, 1)

Table 1 illustrates the enormity of the global unrest in the 1960s when compared to the major student movements since the emergence of the university.

Table 1. Student Protests 12th Century A.D. to 1970 A.D.

12th Century to 17th Century

1125	China	Imperial College Protests
1200	France	University of Paris Riots
1212	France	The Children's Crusade
1270	England	Cambridge Riots
1355	England	St. Scholastica's Day Riots
1517	England	Evil May Day Riots
1605	England	Shrove Tuesday Riots (continued intermittently until 1641)
1668	England	Bawdy House Riots

Table 1: (cont.)

18th to 19th Century

1832	Germany	Hambach Festival
1833	Germany	Wachensturm
1848	Germany	Berlin Uprising
	France	College de France Uprisings
	Austria	Vienna Uprising
	Germany	Eisenach Festival
1865	Spain	St. Daniel's Night
1867	England	Guy Fawkes Night Riots
1898	France	Dreyfus Affair
1899	Russia	All-Russia Student Strike
	Russia	St. Petersburg Student Strike

1900 to 1920

1900	China	Boxer Uprising
	Russia	Kiev University Uprising
1901	Russia	Kazan Square Demonstration
	Russia	Temporary Rules Strike
1905	Russia	Revolution of 1905
1907	Ecuador	Quito Protest
	Russia	Bloody Sunday
1910	Russia	Tolstoi Demonstrations
1915	China	21 Demands Protest
1918	Argentina	University Reform Program and Movement
1919	China	May 4th Movement
	Germany	Hochschulring Deutcher Art
	Korea	March 1st Movement

Table 1: (cont.)

<u>1920 to 1930</u>

1920	India	Non-Cooperation Movement
	Burma	University Act Protest
1924	Germany	Artamanen
1924	China	Anti-Christian Movement
1925	China	May 30th Movement
1926	China	March 18th Tragedy
	Korea	June 10th Incident
1928	Venezuela	Boys of 1928
	China	Tsinan Incident
	India	Sinion Commission Protests
1929	Korea	Kangju Incident
	Germany	Versailles Treaty Protest

<u>1930 to 1940</u>

1930	Argentina	Revolution of 1930
1931	China	Mukden Incident
	China	Manchurian Invasion Protests
1932	USA	Columbia Strike
	USA	Johnson Affair
1934	China	New Life Movement
	USA	Student Strike Against War
1935	USA	December 9th Movement
1936	China	Tsinghua University Protest
		Sian Incident
1939	Burma	Mandalay Student Protest

Table 1: (cont.)

1940 to 1950

1940	France	Arc de Triomphe Anti-Occupation Demonstration
1942	India	Quit India Protest
1943	Germany	White Rose Protest
1945	Argentina	Buenos Aires University Occupation
1946	China	Anti-Soviet Demonstration
1947	China	May 20th Tragedy
	China	Anti-Hunger Anti-Civil War Riot

1950 to 1960

1951	Argentina	Bravo Release Strike
1952	Pakistan	Bengal Language Demonstration
1953	Cuba	June 26th Movement
1956	Argentina	Dell Oro Maini Protests
	Hungary	Hungarian Revolution
	Cuba	Rico Assination
1958	Argentina	Argentina Article 28 Protests
	England	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
1959	Paraguay	Asuncion Protests
	India	Mansarover Incident
	Japan	Anti-Ampo Protests

Table 1: (cont.)

<u>1960 to 1970</u>

1960	Korea	April Revolution
	USA	Atlanta Sit-In
	USA	San Francisco City Hall Demonstration
1963	France	Sorbonne Explosion
1964	USA	Berkeley Student Revolt
	France	Segni Affair
	India	Orissa Demonstration
1965	Netherlands	Provos
	Germany	Kuby Affair
	Germany	Free University of Berlin Revolt
	Japan	Sasebo Naval Base Protests
	Japan	Waseda All-Campus Joint Struggle
	Italy	Trent Movement
1966	India	Osmania University Strike
	Rhodesia	Presentation Day Protests
	Venezuela	Universidad Central de Venezuela Protests
1967	Germany	Berlin Anti-Shah Protest
	Japan	Haneda Incident
	Italy	Turin Student Occupation
	USA	March on the Pentagon
	Palestine	Palestine Resistance Movement

Table 1: (cont.)

1968	USA	Columbia University Student Revolt
	Denmark	Copenhagen University Protest
	Senegal	Dakar Student Protests
	USA	Howard University Sit-In
	Japan	Oji Camp Hospital Struggle
	Germany	Zurich Police Riot
	Italy	Valle Giulia Protest
	USA	Princeton IDA Protest
	USA	Battle of Chicago
	USA	Berkeley People's Park Riots
	USA	Bowie State College Protest
	France	March 22nd Movement
	France	May Revolt
	Japan	Narita Airport Struggle
	Japan	Nihon University Struggle
	England	Hornsey Affair
	Yugoslavia	Hot Week

Table 1: (cont.)

1968	Japan	International Anti-War Day of 1968
	China	June 3rd Movement
	Sudan	Khartoum Student Strike
	Pakistan	Anti-Ayub Khan Protests
	Mexico	Noches Tristes
	Poland	Dziady Demonstrations
	Germany	Easter Riots
	Ethiopia	Haile Selassie I University Riots
	England	Essex germ Warfare Protest
	England	London School of Economics Student Revolt
	Japan	Tokyo University Riots
	Japan	Waseda All-Campus Protest
	England	Warwick Student Protest
1969	USA	Burlington Riot
	USA	Cornell Afro-American Student Revolt
	Japan	Okinawa Day Demonstrations
	USA	Days of Rage
	Congo	Lovanium University Student Protest
	Venezuela	Venezuelan University Reform Protests
1970	USA	Kent State Massacre
	USA	Cambodia Bombing Protests
	USA	Wall Street Demonstration
	USA	Santa Barbara Riots
	USA	Jackson State College Riots
	USA	Ohio State University Riot
	Japan	Samurai Skyjack

Table 1: (cont.)

1972	Mexico	Durango Water Rights Sit-In
1974	Indonesia	Jakarta Riots

The table above shows that the unrest during the 1960s nearly equaled that of the preceding eight centuries and five decades. From 1125 until 1960, there were seventy-two significant instances of student protest; in the ten years between 1960 and 1970, there were fifty-eight instances of student unrest--a difference of fourteen events. In short, the 60s were unparalleled in terms of the scope, frequency, intensity, and continuity of student unrest.

Characteristics of Students and Student Groups

The concepts of "student" and "university study" have existed in the modern sense since the Middle Ages and survive in some form in every advanced industrialized country. Formerly, university study was recognized as an interval during which a youth takes leave from normal familial and social responsibilities to pursue intellectual development, personal transformation, or certification of acquired knowledge at an institution of higher learning. By the 1960s, this concept was changing ideologically and structurally. Since the student population explosion following WWII and the enactment of the GI Bill, the transformation of education has been profound. The transformation of academia began with changing beliefs and assumptions about who should gain access to study, what academic study should be, how it should be organized and structured, what

curricula should be taught, and what academic study at an institution of higher education should represent to both the individual and to the greater society (Clark 1983).

And, the academic assumptions shifted as older students, having returned from the war with maturity and independence, wanted a say-so in a variety of academic issues. In reality, students have had a long history of being involved with the affairs of the university, community, and country. The sobriquet "town and gown animosity," the acrimony between the townspeople and the academics, has been in existence since the beginning of universities themselves. During the Middle Ages, as students began gathering together in order to study under a well-known scholar, they formed a cohesive group that was the precursor of today's student groups. Though there are a multitude of generalizations on the whys and wherefores of student rebellion, there is consensus that student conflict stems from the desire to make an impact upon society (Feuer 1969; Altbach 1991, Lipset 1977).

There are some generalizations that can be made about student activists and their groups (Altbach 1989):

- In most cases, student activism involves only a small percentage of the student population; however, the activists can gain widespread student and community support.

- Activists come predominately from the social sciences and from the most elite and centrally located universities. Often they come from the upper socio-economic strata.
- Campus events generate support for the activist movement rather than serve as a catalyst for the protest itself. The incendiary for activism usually emanates from a broad societal or political event.
- Student movements rarely produce widespread, government-toppling upheavals in industrialized nations, as they sometimes do in Latin American countries where students wield more power (primarily due to the fact that Latin American universities are patterned after the University of Bologna model, a student-governed institution).
- Student movements are transitory in nature. It is difficult to sustain organizational or political momentum with the rapid cyclical nature of the student career.
- Conflict usually centers on political and societal issues rather than generational ones.
- Post World War II student activists were usually politically leftist.
- There is little evidence of international consciousness. The student protests are usually national in nature and orientation.
- The leadership core is typically politically aware and ideologically oriented.

- Leaders generally come from educated, cosmopolitan, affluent families.

In the categorization 'student' lies the inherent association with the larger institutional body of the university; correspondingly, the amalgamation of universities in any given nation unites into a system of higher education. The higher educational system of a country reflects societal goals, traditions, historical events, economic resources, and political influence. To better understand the genesis of student protest in England, France, and Germany, it is necessary to grasp the meta-construction, structural and ideological, of these university systems.

The Educational Systems of England, France, and Germany

This section has two purposes. First, it briefly describes the broad historical foundation of higher educational systems in general. Second, it explains the key elements that influence the higher education systems in a nation-specific context.

The development of institutions of higher education has been a long and complex process. All universities stem from two basic paradigms: the University of Paris and the University of Bologna. Of the two, the University of Paris has been overwhelmingly the dominant model and can be credited with shaping most of the world's higher education systems. The University of Paris emerged in the Middle Ages as an institution whose power rested in the hands of its faculty. In contrast, the University of Bologna was founded as a student-oriented academic

model, and has primarily influenced universities in Latin America. As higher education expanded in Northern Europe, it was the faculty-run Paris model that was adopted. Today, the modern university retains many of the curricular, structural, and philosophical components present at the nascence of the early academic institutions.

As the language of instruction switched from Latin to the national language of the region, the universities increasingly assumed more national, rather than international, characteristics. Cross-cultural academic borrowing initiated the emergence of the modern university. In this context, "Germany was the first European nation to substantially alter its higher education system, and it provided a model for Eastern Europe, the United States, Japan and to a lesser extent the United Kingdom and France." (Altbach 1979, 24) "The German academic model emphasized the importance of research, provided state funding, accepted state influence in academic matters, reorganized the university structure with a full professor as chair (with unprecedented power and prestige), and emphasized the importance in aiding in the development of one's own country through research." (*ibid*, 25) Britain also provided a university model for export. The model for the University of London, rather than that of Britain's more renowned institutions, Oxford and Cambridge, has shaped "the structure, mission and ethos of higher education to the present time." (*ibid*, 27) Thus, the modern university, regardless

of its geographical location, has been developed through institutional and academic transfer.

Before describing the higher education systems in England, France, and Germany, it is important to outline the perspectives through which these systems are viewed. Developments in higher education can be outlined through a myriad of standpoints. The pressure for reform and innovation comes from institutions, groups and individuals inside as well as outside the educational systems and from generalized political, societal, and economic unrest. (Goedegebuure et al. 1993, 4) This interplay between various forces is further explained in the following manner:

> Alterations in the internal structure and size of academic institutions coincided with equally profound external changes in the balance of power among various interest groups and the changing labor market. The interplay between different forces that operate within a particular higher education system is one of the key notions for description and analysis The exact number of forces might well be a matter of country-specific factors; what is important, however, is the concept of several forces pushing and pulling the system through mutual interaction, in a particular direction. (*ibid*, 4)

The most facile model of these forces is Clark's Triangle of Coordination (1983), represented in Figure 1, and it was used as a point of departure. Each corner of the triangle represents one of the three prime elements that serve as the interactive forces at play within the higher education systems of all countries: state authority, academic oligarchy, and labor market. The country's position within the triangle will reflect the degree to which it leans toward any of the three forces.

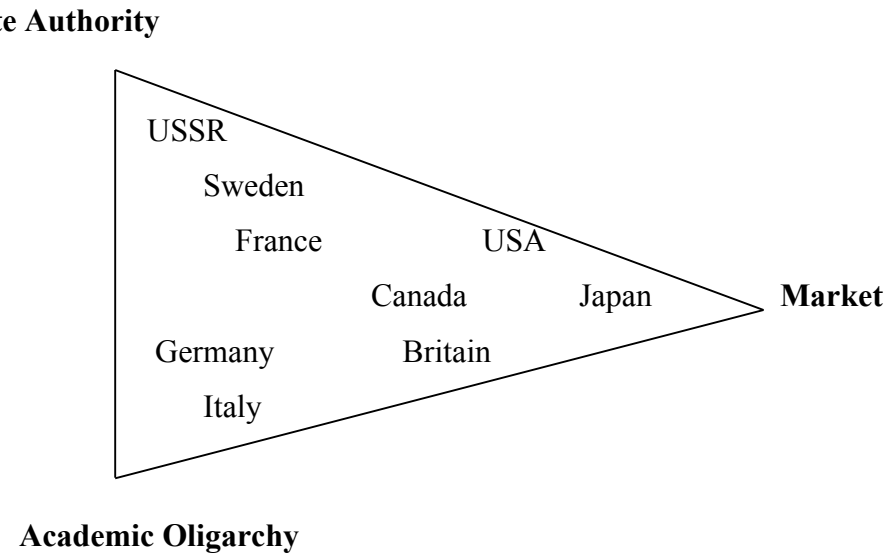

Fig. 1. Clark's Triangle of Coordination
[This figure represents countries' positions in the 1960s]
B.R. Clark, *The Higher Education System*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 1983, p.143

Clark (1983, 138) explains that "higher education systems vary widely between dependence on authority and dependence on exchange: the more loosely joined the system, the greater the dependence on exchange."

State Authority

Neave and Van Vught (1991) elaborate on the truism that in every country's higher education system, the government plays a certain role. They develop the distinction between the extremes of governmental roles as end points on a continuum. At one end, one finds a faciliatory state with limited governmental interference, and authority and power in the hands of qualified academicians. At

the other end of the continuum is the interventionary state having active government involvement in the internal affairs of the institution as well as the external relationship between the higher education institution and its community. The extent to which a government is active in the affairs of the higher education system directly impacts upon the facility and speed of enacting reforms, the type of reform, and the budget allotted for reform.

Labor Market

The market can include the competition of students for a place in the university, the extent to which higher education systems compete for students, and the competition of students for jobs upon graduation. Increasingly, markets are influenced by state-endorsed sanctions and state-influenced policy (Clark 1983).

Academic Oligarchy

Academia is also a powerful force. Burton Clark (1983) explains that

Academics have [also] transmuted local authority into national power in many systems, with national academics thereby becoming worthy opponents of bureaucrats and politicians in putting hands on levers of decisions. (158)

The combination of the push and pull of these three factors substantially affect how England, France and Germany are placed within the triangle, and how they function within the parameters of educational reform. Academic oligarchy, Burton writes, is present to some extent in all national systems of higher education. Chair-

based organizations, in particular, are the most prominent examples of a system of academic oligarchy "since so much concentration of power, locally in individuals amounting to small monopolies in thousands of parts, establishes conditions that propel some of these persons to power by means that vary from sheer inflation of status to steady participation in the central councils" (1983, 140).

Catalysts for Student Unrest

Change is never easy: change within centuries-old universities occurs frustratingly slowly, if at all. Finding it hard to transform their society peacefully, and discouraged by an academic system that was out-dated, inefficient, impersonal, and non-participatory, students created unrest in order to precipitate a crisis, and instigate reform. While the causes for student activism varied somewhat among England, France, and Germany, many of the demands were similar, if not identical.

Universities in England, France, and Germany in the '60's were nearly identical to the universities of centuries before in these countries. The curricula, the lecture system, the auditorium-style venue, the examination system, the decaying buildings themselves, all were virtually unchanged from medieval times. For decades, students complained about the antiquated buildings, the lack of supplies, the out-of-date textbooks and the daunting professorial aloofness that hindered any free exchange of ideas, or formulation of clarifying questions.

Students were crowded into lecture halls, once designed to accommodate less than half their number. Often the only space to be found was on the floor, in the aisles, or standing.

The two issues that have perennially been the cause for student complaint are food and lodgings, and it was the same in these countries. In this nascent era of personal and sexual freedom, strict separation of the sexes in dormitory accommodation was the norm: visiting opposite sex dormitory rooms was prohibited at all times. Although this emerged as a minor issue when held up against other student grievances in France and Germany, dormitory exclusion was one more reminder of repression from the university administration.

The chair system of these countries ensured that the senior professors held their posts until their retirement, usually at their death. Thus, lecture content and lecture delivery often were unchanged for many decades, if at all. Senior professors were academic mandarins with absolute freedom and power to teach as they chose, for as many years as they chose, and occasionally, *if* they chose. The appearance of the professor at any given class was not mandatory, and often depended on daily schedule, or whim. Junior professors, with newer teaching methods, more current material, and often more enthusiasm, were held hostage to the chair system, frequently waiting decades to progress to a rank of privilege and authority. This system frustrated students who wanted more interaction with the professor, smaller classes, and a discussion method of instruction. Lack of

participation in their own academic lives ranked high among the major complaints from students in all three countries.

In addition to the discontent with the method of teaching, students were dissatisfied with the applicability of the curricula to the labor market. They felt that fewer and fewer courses prepared them adequately to enter the job market and secure a well-paying job. As the curricula had not been changed in decades in any of the three countries, the universities of the 1960s had made no progress in linking coursework with the demands of the job market, and graduates were finding it difficult to gain employment.

Over and above the demands initiated because of the academic environment, there were political catalysts that figured prominently in the precipitation of student activism. The Vietnam War, the antithetical feeling on the part of students to certain political figures to whom tribute was paid by either the government or the university, the attempt to deny free speech, and the interference of civic authority in traditionally academic realms all were matters that increased student resentment and activism.

Thus, the grounds for student frustration were many. The most significant roots of student protest were lack of student participation in any aspect of academic life; extreme overcrowding of classrooms; exceedingly few discussion-format classes; a preponderance of large lecture-style classes; professorial absenteeism, aloofness, archaic material, tedious instruction methods, and chair

system; antiquated and decaying buildings; and finally, inadequate lodging and food sources.

There were, additionally, some demands stipulated in the heat of the moment that were frivolous, barely noticed, and certainly not addressed by administrators. This study will concentrate only on the major demands of these three countries.

Chapter Contents

This study is divided into seven chapters. The first provided a brief introduction to the concept of academic change, student activism, and characteristics of students and student groups. Additionally, Chapter 1 examined the historical background of student activism and higher educational systems in general and provided a general statement of intent for this study, limitations and significance of the study, and a definition of terms. Chapter 2 discussed the method and conceptual framework of comparative analysis. It also included an explanation of the nature, development, and purpose of cross-national comparative research, the steps and procedures followed in selecting cases for study, and the internal and external factors bearing upon reform. Further elaboration of the components of student activism and reform, and the means for collection of related data are included in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presented basic perspectives concerning the higher educational systems of England, France, and Germany, including: the

historical background, the state-university relationship, the goals and ideals of the higher educational system, and the organization and administration of education in England, France, and Germany.

Chapter 4 retraced the causes of student protest, examined the most significant protests, and reviewed the student demands in each country. Chapter 5 assessed the academic reforms enacted following the student protests of 1968-1972. Chapter 6 offered an analysis of student protest and academic reform in England, France, and Germany between 1968 and 1972. Finally, Chapter 7 presented conclusions and commentary on the results of the study, its limitations, and suggestions for further research in this area.

Definitions of Terms, Abbreviations, and Principal Events

Area studies: A study of one nation with no cross country comparison. A simple, and usually, superficial stage in the comparative paradigm.

Comité d´Action Lycéens (CAL): An organization of French lyceé students, formed in 1967, who were major participants in the May Revolt of 1968.

Comité de liason des Étudiants Révolutionnaires (CLER): Affiliated with the Trotskyist Party, and formed in 1961, this student group ultimately had only peripheral influence in the student movement. In 1968, its name was changed to FER (Féderation des Étudiantes Révolutionnaires).

Cross national comparison: Comparison and analysis of the various elements in the national systems of two or more nations.

Comparative analysis: The core method of comparative social science concerned with cross-societal differences and similarities.

Easter Riots: A series of student protests that took place simultaneously in several cities in Germany on April 8-14, 1968. The *Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS)* leader Rudi Dutschke was shot during this time. This caused student members to lash out at the government and general public, alienating them, and even more importantly, alienating the labor unions and major political parties. This represented a watershed for the movement for the German student movement of the 1960's.

Essex Germ Warfare Protest: Student demonstrations in 1968 at the University of Essex protesting a speech by a scientist from the government's biological warfare center. The protest resulted in the suspension of students, a subsequent sit-in, and the forced closing of the university for a short time. This marked the first incidence of British student power, and underlined the notion that free speech does not extend to morally reprehensible acts.

Féderation National des Étudiants de France (FNEF): A French student organization, formed in 1961, as a conservative faction of the *Union National d'Etudiants Francais (UNEF)* . Students in FNEF represented various academic

disciplines (primarily law, medicine, and business, and opposed most UNEF proposals.

Freie Universitäat: The Free University of Berlin founded following the Second World War by students and the government of West Berlin in 1948. Founded on principles of freedom and democracy and located within Communist East Germany, this university was intended as a reform institution, increasing student participation, and limiting professorial power. Political involvement through student demonstrations began in 1964 at this university, and continued throughout the 1960's. This was the site of the impactful Free University of Berlin Revolt.

Free University of Berlin Revolt: A series of student demonstrations beginning in 1965 over the refusal of the university president to allow Erich Kuby to address the students on the anniversary of the defeat of the Nazis. From May until July, students protested in the streets of Berlin and eventually effected the resignation of the university rector.

Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR): A Sorbonne-centered student organization formed in 1967 by students having an atypical Trotskyist orientation.

Kritische Universitäat: Established by West Berlin students in 1967, this "critical university" was not a physical site, but an alternative university where

students could promote critical theoretical reflection. This concept spread to other cities (Munich, Tüblingen, and Münster) but was less successful.

Kuby Affair: The incident which took place at the Freie Universität in 1967 over the refusal of the university president to allow Erich Kuby to speak at a ceremony celebrating the anniversary of the Nazi defeat. This act provided the SDS with a cause to unify and radicalize university students, which resulted in the 1967-68 protests in Germany.

Les Enragés: A small group of French students, who in January 1968 at the University of Paris Sorbonne campus, and under the leadership of Daniel Cohn-Bendit, began the demonstrations that ultimately led to the Movement of 22 March and the May Revolt. The group originally comprised of only six leaders and 24 followers gained support from university professors, secondary school students, French workers, and the general populace to precipitate a crisis in the government that nearly led to the dismantling of the DeGaulle government. The meaning of "enragé" is zealot.

London School of Economics Student Revolts (LSE): The first outbreak of major protests in Britain in modern times, it was begun to protest the issues concerning Rhodesian independence, and the hiring of a former Principal of the University College in Rhodesia to the post of LSE Director. After a series of student suspensions, and sit-ins, the university closed for three weeks. The crux of the protest was lack of student involvement in the governance of LSE. It was this

issue, student participation in the affairs of their own university, that provoked most of the protests in other British universities.

March 22 Movement: A group of 142 students, called *Les Énragés,* who, under the leadership of Daniel Cohn-Bandit (Danny the Red occupied the faculty room in the administration building at Nanterre. Self-named *les fidelistes d'Europe* after Fidel Castro, these students planned the date of the occupation for March 22, 1968, and named it the March 22 Movement (*le Mouvement de 22 Mars)* after Castro's July 26 Movement. The goals of this group ranged from university centered demands (such as dormitory privileges, abolition of exams, class sizes, outdated facilities, student representation), demands for collectivization of property, elimination of the military, and abolition of marriage. This protest brought about the suspension of classes, and the impetus for the May Revolt of which Daniel Cohn-Bandit became the primary leader.

May Revolt: A major uprising in May 1968, organized by Daniel Cohn-Bendit. Begun on May 3, as a free-speech rally, with the intervention of the French police, the protest rapidly escalated into a revolt that resulted in the weakening of DeGaulle's Fifth Republic. On May 6, as scores of university students, secondary students, and university professors marched to the Sorbonne, they were attacked by the French police. The aggression by the police against not only the academics, but against elderly bystanders, as well, launched a 12 hour battle, resulting in 400 arrests. This resulted in a gathering of 50,000 students in Paris, and a domino

effect of further protests in Marseilles, Nantes, Lyons, and Bordeaux. From May 7-May 11, protests continued, and for the first time since the Paris Commune of 1871, barricades against the police were erected. The police resorted to tear gas and beatings which left hundreds injured. Pompidou and DeGaulle offered concessions to the students following the May 11 "Night of the Barricades". By then, it was too late, for trade unions and teacher unions had joined in the strike. Six million workers staged a general strike, and doctors, lawyers, and businessmen demanded reforms of the medical, media, and legal systems. The nation of France was paralyzed, and close to collapse with the possibility of a fascist or communist takeover. Although, DeGaulle government ultimately regained control, the May Revolt constituted a social and political watershed.

National Union of Students (NUS): Formed in 1922 as an organization to unite all student unions in Britain, it evolved to a student activist organization campaigning for student representation in the governance of university affairs, and improved health services and student living quarters.

National Union of School Students (NUSS): Founded following the May Revolt in France, the British student organization was comprised of secondary students who supported educational reform.

Partie Communiste Francaise (PCF): The main body of the French Communist party.

Reform: The deliberate attempt to improve a situation in relation to certain desired objectives.

Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS): An organization of German university students organized by the Social Democratic Party in 1946. By the 1960's the SDS members had moved left politically, engaging in protests over the Vietnam War, Third World issues and other political causes. Led in the late 60's by Rudi Dutschke, SDS members actively demonstrated against the visits of Hubert Humphrey and the Shah of Iran, and the VietNam War.

Student Activism: The efforts on the part of students to bring about change within society, government, or academic institutions by engaging in protest.

Student Power: The ability by students to make and influence decisions by the University, and in addition, effect societal, economic, and political reforms.

Union des Étudiantes Communistes (UEC): The student arm of the French Communist Party which captured leadership posts in the UNEF in the early 60's.

Union National des Étudiantes de France (UNEF): A national federation of French student associations which, in the 1960's and 1970's, adopted an ideology of participatory democracy in the University environment, as well as in society at large.

Warwick Student Protest: A student demonstration during 1969-1970 at the University of Warwick following the discovery of administration files reporting on the political activities of students, and the Rhodesian controversy. Students, who

had taken over the administration building, discovered the files and made them public, leading to other protests at other British Universities. This incident led to the demand for open disclosure of academic files.

CHAPTER II

The Nature, Development, and Purpose of Comparative Education Research

Heightened awareness of the global nature of a wide variety of educational issues and concerns has prompted worldwide interest in the study and comparison of international higher education systems (Trethewey 1976). Over the past two decades, an increase in the popularity of cross-national research has resulted in a growing number of research projects going beyond case-level studies and involving two or more countries. This growing interest in comparative research follows two decades during which social science research was dominated by statistical and multivariate analyses (King 1973). The resurgence of interest in comparative research over the past three decades has been augmented by the rapid globalization of many aspects of our world: telecommunications, economic markets, educational systems, goods production, and research and development.

The "internationalization of education," as noted Swedish educator Torsten Husén has termed it, promoted the formation of international agencies such as: UNESCO, IIEP (International Institute for Educational Planning), OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), CERI (Center for Educational Research and Innovation), and the IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement). This explosion of agencies, either

newly formed or revitalized in the 1960s, and dedicated to supporting studies on the effectiveness of educational systems, is explained by Torsten Husén:

> The more we have recognized education as an instrument in human resources and as an instrument in bringing about economic growth and social change, the stronger has been the need to investigate the roots of the educational systems of which the world around us shows such a striking diversity. Trethewey (1976, 7)

During the past three decades, it has become apparent that there is a need for collaboration in education as formerly regional education problems have become global. As economic growth and social change are two potent forces that drive educational reform, educators and students, now more than in prior decades, have become "sensitive to the interconnection of people and events on a world scale, and not prepared to limit their thinking to one nation" (*ibid*, 7).

This section will introduce the concept of comparative research, and discuss its development, purpose, and place in social science research.

The Nature of Comparative Education Research

Of what practical use is cross-national comparative research? The simple answer is that comparative educational research can broaden the knowledge and deepen the insight into our own educational system and our own society. Noted educational comparativist, Harold Noah (1983, 154) notes that "comparative education can better help us understand our past, locate ourselves more exactly in the present, and discern a little more clearly what our educational future may be."

David Phillips (1995), a well-known international comparativist at Oxford, stresses that we compare all the time: to make choices, to substantiate our point of view, to sharpen our viewpoint, to verify our hypotheses, to deepen our awareness and to improve our lives and communities. And as individuals and nations, we seek a comprehension of, and a solution to, the particular challenges and problems that arise. Phillips explains:

> Comparing is a fundamental part of the thought processes which enable us to make sense of the world and our experience in it. Indeed, it can be argued that *only* by making comparisons can we properly defend our position on most questions of importance which require the making of judgments. (1995, 15)

David Phillips (2000, 16) offers a number of arguments in support of comparative educational analysis. According to him, comparative education:

- shows what is possible by examining alternatives to provisions "at home;"
- offers yardsticks by which to judge the performance of educational systems; describes what might be the consequences of certain courses of action, by looking at experience in various countries (i.e., in attempting to predict outcomes it can serve as both to support and to warn against potential policy decisions);
- provides a body of descriptive and explanatory data which allows us to see various practices and procedures in a very wide context that helps throw light upon them;

- contributes to the development of an increasingly sophisticated theoretical framework in which to describe and analyze educational phenomena;
- serves to provide objective data which can be used to put the less objective data of others (politicians and administrators principally) who use comparisons for a variety of political, and other reasons, to the test;
- has an important supportive and instructional role to play in the development of any plans for educational reform, when there must be concern to examine experience elsewhere;
- helps to foster co-operation and mutual understanding among nations by discussing cultural differences and similarities and offering explanations for them;
- is of intrinsic intellectual interest as a scholarly activity, in much of the same way as comparative religion or literature or government.

For decades there has been considerable debate about which scientific method is the most valid, the most "pure" means of finding solutions to various types of research problems. And, with the resurgence of interest in comparative research, educators have tried to reevaluate and redefine the special role the comparative method plays in social science research. Unlike other research methods, comparative research is neither clearly defined nor completely understood by many researchers. Indeed, unlike quantitative and qualitative

research methods that are standard courses for graduate students, the comparative research method is seldom taught and infrequently required.

Indeed, comparative research methods are quite varied and are chosen according to the suitability for each project. Patricia Broadfoot (1999) makes the following observation concerning the applicability of comparative education analysis:

> Comparative education is something of a cornucopia when it comes to methodologies. We can choose from complex statistical analyses based on huge qualitative databases at one extreme through to intensive ethnographic studies on the other. All arguably have a place, the quality of each being determined by its fitness for the purpose in question. But, whatever the methodology employed, it must be rigorously executed and subject to the very high standards of procedure that would characterize any scholarly field. (299)

Clearly comparative education is not without pitfalls. As Erwin Epstein points out in his article, *The Problem of Comparative in Comparative Research,* "there is an egregious lack of consensus of what the term 'comparative' means" (1988, 3). Some social scientists claim that the term "comparative" is redundant since any true scientific method is in itself inherently comparative, thereby making all social science researchers comparative researchers. Accordingly, sociologist M.J. Levy maintains, that "all scientific analysis is a sub set of the general set entitled comparative analysis" (Theisen and Adams 1970, 277). Though it is true that comparison is at the heart of all kinds of research methods, the comparative method has traditionally been treated as the core method of comparative social science concerned with cross-societal differences and similarities (Ragan 1979).

The classic description of the comparative method is provided by Emile Durkheim (1982):

> We have only one way of demonstrating that one phenomenon is the cause of another. This is to compare the cases where they are both simultaneously present or absent, so as to discover whether the variations they display in these different combinations of circumstances provide evidence that one depends upon the other. When the phenomena can be artificially produced at will by the observer, the method is not of experimentation proper. When, on the other hand, the production of facts is something beyond our power to command, and we can only bring them together as they have been spontaneously produced, the method is one of indirect experimentation, or the comparative method. (147)

Edmund King adds to the understanding of the comparative method with the following explanation of the place comparative education research occupies within the social sciences:

> Notably we recognize the value of quantifiable measurements (but only where quantification really works, and can tell the whole story). We appreciate repeated experiments, careful use of controls, 'laboratory situations', instrumental measurement, and statistically reliable methods of evaluation. But, here we are talking about reliable *methods for certain purposes*, not about objective truth or about getting the whole picture of any situation….The things that matter most in life, and the social situations in which they have their real meaning, are far too complex to lend themselves to any kind of supposedly objective measurement revealed so far even within the most elaboratively contrived and compartmentalized techniques. (1973, 14)

Patricia Broadfoot (2000) argues that

> Disciplines are characterized by specialist theory and often their associated language and terminology; they are likely to develop a particular set of concepts, methodology, and subject matter. Comparative education is not, in this sense, a discipline but rather needs to be seen as the expression of a more generally conceived

> social science perspective. Its particular contribution, if we take the pervasive influence of culture as a starting point, is to document the salient cultural features in a given context, to compare cultures in order to generate insights about variables whilst recognizing the integrity of the cultural whole. (29)

Linguistically, there is additional confusion around the term "comparative": often, it is considered analogous to "international." Traditionally, in the field of political science, for example, "comparative" meant any study outside the borders of the United States. Comparative research is, actually, a great deal more complex.

This complexity is also realized as the researcher begins to match the method to the purpose of the study. There are four categories of comparative research that are classified according to thematic area. Gary Theisen and Don Adams (1990, 281) have created a table (Table 2), elucidating the criteria by research type:

Table 2. Criteria for Classification of Comparative Research

RESEARCH TYPE	TYPICAL QUESTIONS	PURPOSE OF RESEARCH
ANALYTICAL	What are the explanations for relationships between components? Why do actors or systems behave in the way they do?	Descriptions of roles. Specification of cause-and-effect relations or explanation of relations and consequences.
DESCRIPTIVE	What is the current status of the phenomena? What are the relationships between variables?	Description of phenomena or conditions. Description of relationship between variables.
EVALUATIVE	Is program A better or more cost effective than program B? Is the program or policy appropriate for a particular context?	Judgment of the merit, value, or worth of any given program or techniques. Interpretations useful for decision-making.
EXPLORATORY	What issues pertaining to roles, relationships, and processes exist which are worthy of examination by other modes of research? What models, paradigms, or methods might be useful in designing future research?	Generating new hypotheses or questions. Exploration of relationships or functions with potential for other in-depth research.

Source: Theisen, Gary and Don Adams. 1990. "Comparative Research," in *Comparative International Education.* ed. R. Murray Thomas. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

The purpose of this study, as has been outlined earlier in detail, meshes with the above questions and overarching purposes of descriptive, analytical research. Thus, it can be seen that by selecting the descriptive-analytical method,

this study does the following: describes the phenomena of student protest in the selected three nations; documents characteristics of the higher educational systems of these countries in the 1960's in terms of organizational structure, academic objectives, and didactic methods; describes the variables and the relationship between them; and finally, offers an explanation of relations and consequences. Finally, it is these very objectives that fulfill the Statement of Intent in Chapter One. To better understand the formulation of this particular methodology, an explanation of the development of comparative educational research follows.

Development of Comparative Education Research

The beginnings of comparative research can be traced back to ancient times. Although Herodotus (525-184 B.C.) has been named the first competent comparativist (Brickman 1966), the history of comparison amongst nations and their educational systems most probably started with traveler's tales. Noah and Eckstein (1969) cite these tales as being the precursors of comparative education. W.W. Brickman comments on these beginnings:

> Visitation of foreign countries, whether for the purpose of commerce, conversation, or conflict, goes back to ancient history. Travelers in all historic periods must have brought back facts and impressions concerning the cultures of the countries they had visited. Included in there reports must have been comments relating to the young and their upbringing. They may also have made some remarks regarding the similarities and differences in educating their children. Some, indeed, may have arrived at conclusions involving the expressions of value judgments. (Trethewey 1976, 13)

Early comparativists under this paradigm include: Herodotus, Zenophon, Cicero, Julius Caesar, Tacitus, and Marco Polo.

By the sixteenth century, a German scholar, Jacob Middledorp, received instructions to gather information on the universities of France, Italy, Denmark, Poland, and Bohemia. The purpose was to better evaluate institutions of higher learning in Germany. In the seventeenth century, traveling abroad became the thing to do, and guidebooks began to be published. Some guidebooks encouraged travelers to observe schools in other countries. Sir William Petty, Le Chatolais, Diderot, and Condorcet made recommendations for the development of their respective educational systems based on observations of other countries' systems. All of the above gentlemen can be said to have advanced theories that fit into stage one of comparative education.

Comparative research can be divided into four broad stages or areas, which are ranked in escalating order of complexity. Whereas key comparativists have assigned different labels to different stages, the following provide a general framework. Stage One includes those types of reports, traveler's tales, and more scholarly approaches based on observation and study of foreign education. Edmund King referred to this stage as the get-acquainted stage. This stage, regarded as superficial and haphazard, involves no cross-country comparison.

The second stage, which includes *Julien's Plan* for comparative education, represents a pivotal change in collecting data. *Julien's Plan*, which originated 150

years earlier in a booklet, *Esquisse et Vues Préliminaires d'un Ouvrage sur l'Education Comparée,* is noted as the first comprehensive stratagem for cross-national educational research. This work, published in 1817, was written by Marc-Antoine Julien de Paris, and known thereafter as *Julien's Plan* (Trethewey 1976). This plan outlined an exhaustive proposal for organizing and collecting data as well as a scheme for educational borrowing. A clear improvement over the first stage, Trethewey (1976, 17) characterizes stage two writings as "either descriptive, eulogistic, utilitarian, or melioristic."

Stage three, a period of cultural context, reflects a shift toward recognizing the importance and correlation between education and society as well as the historical, economic, and cultural facets that link them. This period highlights what have become major concerns for comparativists: how to make an accurate cross-national comparison including the recognition of educational systems as "organic and dynamic components of society which must be analyzed critically and comprehensively in order to more effectively evaluate the home systems of higher education" (*ibid*., 18-19). Concerns include piecemeal data gathering, nationally biased analysis, and haphazard educational borrowing.

Stage four can be seen as an extension of stage three. It is in this stage of development that comparative education can be considered a social science. This stage extends from the 1950s to the present. It is during this stage that there has been a significant increase in the number of research projects in the social sciences

that involve comparison of two or more countries. G.Z.F. Bereday (1964, 28) comments that comparative education research "seeks to make sense out of the commonalities and differences in educational systems, to better understand and improve one's own system and to appraise educational issues and reform measures from a global perspective." He further agrees, stating that the field of comparative education can be broken down into two major parts—that of area studies and that of comparative studies. He explains the difference between the two by stating that, simply put, area studies are concerned with one country at a time; they rely on description and the collection of pedagogical data, interpreted one country at a time. Comparative studies, he explains, begin with juxtaposition and continue with simultaneous comparison of all countries (*ibid*.).

Before the 1960s, scholars identified the purpose of comparative education as comparison of other nations' educational systems in order to improve the educational system of one's own country or another country; to promote international understanding; and to explain national variance (Altbach 1979). During the mid-1950s, the debate centered on discovering the proper method of comparison and determining which factors ought to be compared. Several macro factors greatly impacted the development of the field of comparative education. With the launching of the USSR sputnik in 1957 and the immersion of the U.S. in the Cold War, the U.S. government began to rethink economic and foreign policy needs. Government funds became available for foreign language and science

study. At that time, the U.S. was securing its position as a world power, and knowledge of other countries and their languages gained importance in governmental and academic circles. During the 1960s, American and British comparativists began moving away from the "borrowed methodologies" of the social sciences, and initiated a demand for a "science of comparative education." Scholars such as Brian Holmes, Harold Noah, and Max Eckstein argued for "the establishment of an articulated set of scientific canons as the basis for research " (*ibid*, 510). By the 1970s, however, the debate on comparative methodology lessened, which subsequently led to the dissolution of the pursuit of one correct method for defining comparative educational research (*ibid*, 525). In short, some of the reasons for the developments in this field are: the interests of individual scholars, the needs of domestic educational policy, the concerns of foreign policy, and the growth of specialized graduate education in the United States.

Steps and Procedures in the Comparative Method

As is true of all research methods, the comparative method follows specific steps for its implementation. The primary task of a researcher is to select a topic or issue. In this case, the broad issue is change in higher educational systems following the student protests of the 1960´s. The second step is to establish a framework for analysis, and to determine the number of cases for investigation. The number of cases is selected on the basis of the best fit for the project at hand.

As stated earlier, the framework of analysis for this study is a case-study analysis based on the descriptive / historical method. Experience, time, money and purpose are several criteria that this researcher considered while making these decisions. Additionally, familiarity with the culture and language provides two variables that also must be figured into the decision. It is not a necessity that the researcher be knowledgeable about each country's traditions, culture, and language in order to begin the study. However, simply due to the increase in potential research sources in another language, this cognizance is a definite asset. Using the descriptive method entails compiling historical data from a variety of sources (newspapers, books, journal articles, legal documents, parliamentary records, and interviews with people living during that era ,who have experienced the event firsthand).These data are eventually used to advance a rationale for certain phenomena.

After the selection of the number of cases, the determination of the specific cases must take place. The purpose of the study provides the main criteria for the selection of cases to be analyzed. As this will be explained in detail later on, its mention here is simply to record its order in the procedures of comparative research. When the specific cases have been chosen, contextual boundaries must be clearly delineated. What aspects of each country are under scrutiny? What regions (institutions, or population) within the country are targeted? What

resources are to be searched and what methods of retrieval are to be used? The last step is to select the specific cases.

The fourth step concerns the collection and collation of data relevant to the topic being researched. As noted previously, there are difficult conceptual and measurement problems inherent in this type of research. Finding an acceptable level of conceptual equivalence across cases, issues, events or institutions is imperative. In this method, questions rather than hypotheses are generated to provide the focus for research. Some of the questions that guided this research are as follows:

- What were the defining characteristics of student protest in each country?
- What were the differences in the grounds for and nature of protest?
- How did the leaders of the student movement in each country impact participation in, and the evolution and effectiveness of the protests?
- How much time passed between protests about specific policies and practices, and governmental or administrative action modifying those policies or practices?
- What were the reactions of the governments and the university administrations to the protests?

- What educational issues were debated in the houses of parliament prior to the students protests? How did they change in the years between 1968 and 1972?
- What educational policies and practices were under attack in each country?
- Taking into account governmental policies and proposed educational plans prior to the student revolts, how likely is it that the subsequent reforms would have happened within the same timeframe without the protests?
- To what degree and in what ways did national social values impact the protest and the reform? Economy? Government policy? Traditions? Culture?
- How did the student protests contribute to the change in the student-university relationship?

To summarize, this study is an analysis rooted in the historical-descriptive cross-national comparative method. As a framework, the author of this study considered the sociological, historical, economic, and political aspects of each country with the purpose of determining what effect, if any, these factors had on the phenomenon of student activism in the 1960´s, and, in turn, the impact on the systems of higher education in England, France, and Germany.

Case Selection

Case-oriented historical comparative research involves the selection of the type and number of cases to be compared. Selecting cases for cross-national research is important in that cases can be selected on the basis of their relative diversity and uniqueness or on the basis of their similarity to one another. In selecting cases, the comparison may begin at the global level, at which one can isolate examples based on similar historical and structural foundations. Conversely, selection may be based on cases that are different because of having followed another path of development (and, therefore, have different structural characteristics) (Ben-David 1977). In the present study, the selected national systems have similar structural and academic traditions, are parliamentary democracies, and are gerontocratic, industrialized nations. The differing levels of centralization of their educational systems, as well as the differing levels of intensity of student protest, provide an interesting area of contrast and comparison. The systems of education in England, France, and Germany have the same roots, yet are culture-specific. The tug-of-war between external events, internal events, and the student factor will ultimately be a crucial determinant in this study. Each interacts with the other in ways specific to each country and to the systems of higher education in each country.

There are many studies using three or fewer cases and many using forty or more cases. The reason for this diversity is directly related to the type of

comparative research being done. Those who undertake historical, cross-national research choose a few: those who undertake variable-oriented cross-national research "rely on cross-national data compendia (such as those compiled by The World Bank and the United Nations), and take advantage of the substantial supply of information on virtually the universe of nations available in these handbooks" (Ragan 1991, 57).

This work examines three cases of a phenomenon—the 1960s student movement on university campuses—that was present in many different countries. This study, a non-variable-oriented, historical-comparative cross-country analysis, focuses on England, France, and Germany because of the variation in intensity of student activism in these countries and because of the author's familiarity with the respective languages.

As mentioned earlier, typically, cross-national comparative case studies select a fewer number of cases than variable-oriented comparative research. Three cases were selected primarily because this author wanted to have a wider range of comparison than would be offered by the selection of two countries. In examining student activism during the 1960s, dozens of countries could have been selected. In order to stay within the parameters imposed by time, expertise, and financial considerations, three countries provided enough data for contrast and comparison.

Procedures in this Study

The preceding section illustrated the steps and procedures that comparative educational researchers follow in the course of their investigations: the following section continues with insights relative to this particular study.

It has been mentioned that any study is constrained by parameters of researcher expertise, time, money, and purpose. These parameters relate to the basic research decisions of: selection of topic, choice of framework of analysis, number of cases, selection of cases, and contextual boundaries. However, the specifics of data collection and collation, and difficulties of countermanding personal bias are two issues that presented a challenge for this researcher, and deserve further explanation.

Initially data was collected by division of data into two general rubrics: internal and external factors impacting student protest. These two broad categories were further divided into: historical imprints, political climate, economic environment, cultural traditions, ex-university factors (e.g., media, high school student groups) which represented external factors, and faculty hierarchy, centralization, student impact, participation, elitism, comprising the internal catalysts. The immense quantity of data created logistical problems; thus, recording and storage was done on computer. Triangulation was used to ascertain validity of sources, and unverified sources were discarded. The problems associated with data collation abound within comparative research due to quantity

of information generated by each case study, and their respective tangential issues. This study, therefore, limited the number of cases to the comparatively manageable number of three. Even so, careful attention to cross-cultural terms and societal differences was a time-consuming and challenging requirement. In short, contextual equivalencies are a must to render an accurate analysis.

An additional challenge faced was unconscious personal researcher bias. Originally, Japan had been selected as one of the three case studies. However, as the author had lived in Japan for five years, unintentional pre-conceptions based on personal experiences and knowledge could potentially bias the findings and implications. Thus, after additional research, Japan was exchanged for West Germany, where the chance for unintentional personal bias was much less.

The possible limitations include difficulty in accurate data collection and collation due to cross national interpretation of like terms; possibility of personal bias in sorting of data; and, due to the sheer quantity of data, a possibility that a key component for initiating student activism was not included in the study.

Mention has been made of the external forces that affect the atmosphere and environment of a country at a particular point in time. During the 1960s, many areas were in a state of flux, and many issues had the potential to influence the students and society at large. This study concentrates on the following determinants: social values and cultural traditions, national politics, national state of the economy, and national goals and ideals.

The goal of this study was to determine the efficacy of student activism on educational reform in Britain, France and Germany during the turbulent ‘60s by analyzing the above factors in light of the student movements, the general international trends, and the country-specific factors.

CHAPTER III

The Higher Education Systems of England, France, and Germany

Western Civilization has advanced through the influence of three earlier cultures. From Galilee it acquired its religion; sense of caring for the weak, sick and needy; moral principles; and recognition of the importance of family and community. From Rome, it obtained the foundation for its laws, government, and use of military predominance; and, from Athens, it inherited its thirst for knowledge, interest in the arts and science, and principles of criticism (Bligh et al. 1999).

The heritage of these three cultures is embodied in the church, state, and university each of which has dominated the other two at different points in history. The power of these three institutions in England, France, and Germany, indeed in all of Western Europe, has been colossal. It is the interplay between the three that has individualized educational institutions of higher education in these three countries.

This chapter provides an introduction to the higher education systems of England, France, and Germany: the historical background, the governance and structure, means of access to higher education, and funding. In subsequent chapters, the changes brought about by the student demands that affected the

governance, structure, access, and funding of higher education from the 1970s to the present will be discussed in detail.

England

In the Middle Ages in England, as in most of Western Europe, monasteries were the repositories of knowledge. While Socrates and Plato initiated learning through questionning and self-discovery, the medieval student in England sought answers from the scholars who were able to interpret the writing of Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato. Around 1167, a community of scholars gathered to learn, listen, discuss, and dispute theology and philosophy at the Augustinian Priory of St. Frideswide in Oxford. This collection of clerics, foreign scholars, and clerks formed the nucleus of the educational brotherhood which evolved into University College in 1249, Balliol in 1263, and Merton in 1264, all three of which eventually became the charter colleges of Oxford University.

In a similar fashion, the sister residential colleges of Cambridge had their beginnings in 1209. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, collectively known as Oxbridge, are actually a collection of autonomous, self-governing colleges operating under the aegis of university. These universities have always been regulated by a governing board, similar to a senate, and composed of both professors and administrators. The method of instruction, used ever since their

inception in the Middle Ages, is the tutorial system provided by faculty affiliated with the individual colleges.

By 1400, there were seven colleges at Oxford and six at Cambridge, a number that doubled by the year 1500. Additionally, by 1500, the universities had created an academic curriculum and an institutional structure and were advancing toward autonomy from the Church.

Indicative of the prevailing perception that higher education was the domain of the upper classes, Oxford and Cambridge were the only institutions of higher learning until the establishment of the University of London in 1830. Although higher education did spread to London in the early 19th century, the modern British education system,in reality, had its beginnings in the Education Act of 1870. From that time until the turn of the century, five additional education acts were legislated; these acts dealt primarily with primary and secondary education, but clearly underscored the rise of interest on the part of the government in educating the citizenry of England.

From the 1880s to the late 1920s, civic universities—known as "red bricks" because of their exterior façade—were established in major cities (Cardozier 1998). With the establishment of new universities, the question of funding needed to be addressed. In 1919, the Treasury created a committee authorized to track the financial needs of universities and advise the government about the grants that could be made to meet their needs. This committee, although

established at first rather casually, operated for seventy years, until 1989 when it was replaced by the University Funding Council (UFC) (Bligh et al. 22). In addition to providing a buffer between the university and the government, this committee implicitly signaled that education was a topic of national interest and concern, not simply a private matter for academe. More importantly, the government recognized the state's duty to maintain an excellent higher education system.

Traditionally, the British higher education system has allowed limited governmental influence. Thus, the administration and control of the higher education system has rested with the individual institution or buffer agency. After World War II, the government set two priorities for higher education: doubling the total number of science students within five years and providing emergency training for teachers. The emphasis on science and technology was legitimized as the Scientific Manpower Committee officially recommended substantial expansion in the training and output of scientists and technologists. This committee proposed an increase of 10,000 students – from 10,000 in 1955 to 20,000 by the late Sixties. The same year, David Eccles' white paper, *Technical Education,* was published, thus paving the way for "a streamlined, rationalized, and in a sense elitist structure to be developed alongside the universities. Colleges of Advanced Technology (CATs) were to be established and a strategy laid down for the reorganization of the technical world generally" (Simon 1991, 199). The CATs, focusing on

advanced level technical courses, were to be added to the three existing types of higher education institutions: the local colleges, the area colleges, and the regional colleges. By the beginning of 1964, the CATs were elevated to the rank of full university, with expanded student enrollment (ibid.). The number of full-time students at all institutions of higher education increased from 48,000 in 1957-1958 to 217,000 five years later, in 1962-1963. With the launching of the Soviet Sputnik, the necessity for immediate action was underlined. By July 1961, seven new universities had been authorized, each planning to enroll around 3,000 students (ibid.).

The year 1963 has become renowned as one of the most decisive in the evolution of British higher education. In this year, the Robbins Report, a report that formed the basis for thinking about and planning higher education ever since, was published. The Prime Minister appointed Lord Robbins plus 11 other persons to this committee, taking care to include a diverse group of education experts:

> Besides four university representatives covering the humanities, social sciences, sciences, and training of teachers …there were two heads of schools…and industrialist…an elected representative from the local authorities…a representative from the Vice Chancellor's committee…and a representative of technical education. (*ibid*, 333)

This carefully chosen committee was charged with the responsibility fact finding in order to determine short term and long-term strategies for the organization of the higher educational system. The result was a detailed report recommending 178 proposals for reform. The Robbins Principle, as it became known, stated that

“courses of higher education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so” (Stewart 1989, 98). At the core of the report was “the legitimization of a policy of massive expansion across the whole field of higher education” (Simon 1991, 234). Enrollment grew 104.1 percent from 1962-1963 to 1970-1971: the number of full-time higher education students increased from 217,000 to 443,000 (ibid., 164). While these numbers reflect a substantial increase in the overall number of full-time students enrolled in institutions of higher education, the majority of the growth occurred within the second-tier sector in higher education, the polytechnics and colleges, contrary to Robbins´ predictions.

On April 1, 1964, the Prime Minister established the Department of Education and Science (DES). This was to be a single department with two discrete administrative units: one responsible for schools, the other for science and universities.

In 1965, in an attempt to further alleviate the problem of overcrowding and offer more courses to those desiring practical training, an additional thirty polytechnics were established and put under the authority of a newly-formed Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA). In effect, this gave voice to the ‘binary system’ in which there were largely independent universities on one hand, and vocationally-oriented, governmentally-controlled polytechnics on the other. At this time, a second principle of British higher education concerning the public

sector was evident: there was a perception of "equal but different" sectors of higher education. It was hoped that this strategy would create more vocationally oriented institutions that would be regarded as being on the same "prestige level" as the universities.

Universities in England enjoyed self-governance by an executive governing board composed of a Chancellor, a Vice Chancellor, a Chairman of the Convocation and twenty-one members selected from local administrative posts. Additionally, universities, operating under Royal Charters, appointed their own staff, prepared their own budgetary needs, and decided on their own administrative policies. CATs and polytechnics were financed, and also governed, by the local education authorities (LEA). The binary system extended not only to funding and governance but also to degree-granting capability: universities had the ability to award degrees, while polytechnics relied on the CNAA for degree validation.

The central government department responsible for education in England is the Department of Education and Science (DES) whose head is the Secretary of State for Education and Science. The responsibilities of the DES extend to all schools, state- maintained and independent, polytechnics and universities. The DES, however, is involved only on a broad policy making level, leaving detailed administrative decisions to the LEA. The governance of the polytechnics and colleges in England was essentially a partnership between the central government and the local authorities. Thus, administration of higher education in the Sixties

rested with the elected government, primarily through the auspices of the DES, the University Grants Committee, the Committee of the Vice Chancellors and Principals, the professional Associations of Teachers, and the federation of Local Authority Associations (*ibid*).

Oxford and Cambridge, the ancient universities, are self-governing institutions. At Oxford, the administrative body is composed of teachers and administrators, and is called the Congregation. Its counterpart at Cambridge is known as the Regent House. The executive governing boards, called the Hebdomadal Council at Oxford and the Council of the Senate at Cambridge, is comprised of eighteen members elected by their respective faculty, plus seven ex-officio members. These ancient universities are composed of colleges and halls, which are also autonomous organizations, having their own head of college and fellows (teachers). Governance of each college is the joint responsibility of the head of the college and the fellows, who have complete authority to regulate college policy, finance, and property.

In contrast to Oxbridge, the University of London is governed legally by a body known as the Court, which assumes absolute legal authority over finances, property, and confirmation of the Vice Chancellor. The Court includes the following members: the Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor, the Chairman of the Convocation and twenty-one other members. In reality, the day-to-day affairs are governed by the Senate, with the Vice Chancellor as its head.

As far as other universities are concerned, they too are governed by a Court made up of forty to sixty members. Having more authority than the University of London alone, the Court meets once or twice a year to appoint members of the council. The council, consisting of faculty, administrators, and non-academic members of the court, serves as the executive committee and makes most of the administrative decisions. In England, the chief executive officer of the university is the Vice Chancellor, who is, in fact, a full-time administrator. The Chancellorship, on the other hand, is an honorary post, given to a VIP who holds no actual authority, and whose duties consist of ceremonial appearances. Immediately under the Vice Chancellor are Pro-Vice Chancellors who assist the Vice Chancellor in various aspects of university administration. The Registrar is a key administrator whose role is similar to that of the Registrar and Executive Vice President in American universities. Finally, the governance of polytechnics followed the guidelines laid out in the May 1966 white paper, *A Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges*. The chief executive officers of the polytechnics were called Directors, but carried out similar functions as their counterparts in the universities.

Although the British system at that time was characterized by a binary structure, virtually all institutions offered a similar degree program and require a similar length of study for completion of a degree: a three-year bachelor program leading to a B.A. degree (Brennan and Shah 1994). The differences arose in the emphasis on various required courses. Education in the "old universities" followed

a program based on the more traditional disciplines; education in the polytechnics and colleges follows a vocational, practical course.

Compulsory education for British students begins at age five and is completed by age sixteen, typically after completing grade ten. At that time, students could leave school and seek employment, or continue on. If they wanted a credential, for further schooling or employment, they took what is known as O-levels (ordinary level examinations), usually in five subjects. [In the 1980's the O-levels were renamed the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE)]. However, most secondary schools offered two additional preparatory years, known as sixth form education for students wishing to continue on to university. During the Sixties the students intending to enter university and having passed their O-levels, had to take advanced level examinations (A-levels). The A-level exams, known as the General Certificate of Education (GSE), were typically taken following the two years of additional preparation. These were essentially written examinations in five subjects, usually English, math, a foreign or classical language, a science, and a humanities subject (Graves 1988).

Individual universities and polytechnics set their own criteria as far as requirements for admission, usually based on grades earned in A-level exams. Normally, three advanced levels for universities and two for polytechnics were required for admission. These requirements varied widely, depending on the difficulty and the prestige of the institution as well as the level of demand for the

specific subject. During the period under examination, admission through a central clearing house applied only to polytechnics; universities joined that system later.

Equally as important as the administration issue, are those relating to funding. University funding during the Sixties was achieved through block, quinquennial grants, which were often amended annually, and given to the university by the University Grants Committee for their current expenditure. This left each institution virtually free to make its own decisions as to how to allocate the grant money. The amount of the grant was calculated on a student-enrollment basis, but the individual institution could make its own internal resource allocations. University tuition fees in the Sixties were paid not by individual students, but by the LEA as part of student financial aid. The most evident changes in university finance occurred with the increase in proportion of government grants to universities. Woodhall observes that

> [i]n 1920, central government grants contributed less than one-fourth of the total income of the university, and fees accounted for over one-third of their total income. By 1965, the central government provided almost 75% of university income, and fees contributed only 8%. If allowance is made for tax concessions to universities, and the fact that the LEA pay most of the students' fees, then the degree of public subsidy of higher education is seen to be well over _ of the total income of the university. (1972, 348)

Thus, although universities in England were—and still are—legally independent, they have been controlled by the central government because they depend on government funding for a large portion of their income, as much as ninety percent, in the case of a few universities.

France

Few systems of higher education systems can lay claim to the tradition or the length and breadth of influence of the French system. With the establishment of the University of Paris in 1215, France exercised a degree of influenced rivaled only by Bologna and Oxford. The Paris system of a University of Masters, in contrast to Bologna's University of Students, provided the foundation for the establishment of European universities from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century.

Not withstanding its influence as the European higher educational prototype, the dominance of the French university gradually faded during the next five centuries with continual religious struggles, unremitting civil unrest, and stagnant academic curricula. In 1793, universities were completely abolished by the National Convention of the French revolution, and all the properties of the universities were confiscated by the state. Two types of institutions were established in their place, thus leading to the dual system of higher education that still exists in France today. The first type consisted of specialized institutions dedicated to the training of soldiers and engineers and committed to a dual purpose: equalization of access to education and continuation of French supremacy in all areas (military, national culture, education, intellectualism, refinement). These autonomous institutions were known as the *grandes écoles,* and still

continue to flourish today as completely separate entities from universities (Kern and Cardozier 1998, 1).The second category of higher educational institution was the university system created by Napoleon.

In 1806, Napoleon I reorganized the education system into a university, under control of a *grand maître*, who had complete administrative authority over education at all levels. Rather than being a teaching institution, as we know it, this Napoleonic University was a centralized bureaucratic state monopoly, which had control over education at all levels. In fact, it was the University of Paris was what was to become the Ministry of Education. Under Napoleon's direction, independent faculties of law, medicine, pharmacy, and letters were created throughout France, reporting directly to the University of Paris. This centralized, hierarchical, militaristic system remained virtually unchanged until the student revolt of 1968.

After France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, the Napoleonic university was reorganized, and the German concepts of *lehrfreiheit* and *lernfreiheit* were adopted. This marked a shift from the prevailing ideology of Enlightenment, which promoted the ideals of freedom, emancipation, and patriotism. The philosophy of Enlightenment in France embraced the notion of the primacy of truth, beauty, and importance of intellect This view incorporated the significance of social and vocational considerations in the search for Enlightenment. It is interesting to juxtapose the French and German ideals of the

era: equality for each *citoyen* as a member of society in France, and the German concept of the perfectability of the individual. *Lehrnfreiheit* and *Lehrfreiheit* stressed the importance of individualism, as well as totality and universality of knowledge. Fearing that the defeat at Prussian hands signaled a weakness in their method of teaching and learning, the French attempted to borrow the German ideals. The educational debate that resulted became one about the character of French civilization.

Jules Ferry, the architect of the reform of higher education, realized that education could reduce inequalities in the human condition, and sought to make education compulsory. By 1890, the independent faculties of higher education in each city were divided into twenty-three universities, one per region (*academie*). Although several minor reforms in education were made after that time, often according to the prevailing political winds, the first reform introducing substantive changes to the system was the establishment of *instituts universitaires de technologie* (IUT), university institutes of technology, beginning in 1965. The IUTs were to train students to fill upper technical positions in engineering, business administration, social work, commercial art and other applied studies.

As in the case of England, the tremendous increase in student enrollment following World War II was partially responsible for the fundamental structural and academic reforms in 1968. Up to 1963, there were only sixteen public

universities in France to provide higher education to the steadily increasing student population:

> Overall student numbers had risen from 122,000 in 1939, to 247,000 in 1960, then to 612,000 by 1968 (more than twice the British figure), and only five percent of these were at the *grandes écoles*. Numbers at the Sorbonne were at least 160,000 by 1968. (Ardaugh 1990, 473).

During this period of the Sixties, 1,000 university students crowded into lecture halls designed for 500, thus signaling the need for immediate legislative action. With the extreme overcrowding in universities due to the admission of baby boomers, the deplorable run-down state of the buildings, the student-teacher ratio, the rigid, old-fashioned curriculum, and the outdated equipment, student outrage grew daily. Student fury culminated in a major student uprising, which led to a nationwide strike supported by workers, a paralyzed government, and the *Loi d'Orientation d'Enseignement Supérieure.*

Around the same time, in an attempt to deal with this horrendous overcrowding, faculties were added at the University of Paris campuses at Orsay and Nanterre. In addition, perhaps as an indication of the desperate nature of the situation, new universities were created in six provinces. To further provide facilities and a more vocationally-centered education, two-year technical institutes, *instituts universitaires de technologie* (IUTs) were established.

In France, all education from preschool though post-graduate study is under the direct control of the National Ministry of Education (*Ministère de l'education nationale de la recherche et de la technologie*). Universities, of which

there were twenty-three by 1968, were regimented under the rigid governmental system, centralized in the Ministry of Education. Because of this extreme centralization, French universities are unable to make even the smallest academic change without approval from the National Ministry.

Within the Ministry of Education is a directorate responsible for all of higher education; the directorate is assisted by five councils, of which the National Council of Higher Education and Research (*Conseil National de l'Enseignement Superieure et de la Recherche)* is the most important to faculty. It includes persons from several sectors, faculty, students, administrators, business and industry; makes decisions concerning curricula, accreditation of degree programs, research policies; awards national diplomas and degrees; and approves appointment and promotion of faculty (Chevaillier 1993). It is chaired by the Minister, and not only does it set policy for all of higher education, but it serves as a watchdog of quality (Neave 1985). Much of the administrative responsibility of the Ministry is delegated to the twenty-eight administrative regions, called *académies,* each of which is headed by a Rector whose authority includes education at all levels from primary through university. Higher education includes universities, IUTs, *grandes écoles,* STSs (post secondary schools for advanced technological training), art and music schools, schools that train nurses and other health workers, and other schools that train workers in fields similar to training in the community colleges of the United States.

Upon completion of a *lycée* (secondary school), the pupil sits for the exit exam, called the *baccalauréat* (bac); those who follow one of the academic tracks receive the general bac, and those who complete a technology track receive the *baccalauréat technologique* (BTn). The exams for the bac consist of both written and oral portions, with the written tests lasting up to four days and the total testing time averaging up to twenty-five hours. Access to higher education is limited to holders of the *baccalauréat*, and is virtually free. This access extends, of course, only to universities and not to the *grandes écoles* into which admission is highly selective and strenuous.

The *grandes écoles* (GE) are the elite among institutions of higher learning and attract the brightest students of the nation. Although some of the most prestigious of this group—*les Ponts et Chausées* (Bridges and Highway School), *l'Ecole des Mines* (School of Mines), *l'Ecole Polytechnique* (School of Polytechnics) and *l'Ecole Normale Superieure* (School of Higher Education)—were established in the eighteenth century, most of the *grandes écoles* were founded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the number increasing from seven in 1816 to eighty-five in 1914 (Freiberg 1987). While university entrance is granted to any bac holder, the aspirant to education in a *grande école* must complete a demanding two-year preparation program following the baccalaureate before attempting the entrance exam; admission to the prep program itself is a major hurdle. Of the *grandes écoles*, the two that come

immediately to mind are *L'Ecole Polytechnique* and *l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA).* The *Polytechniciens and the enarques* (from ENA) form an old boys' club rivaling Oxford, Eton, or Cambridge. To make the point, it is said that one must consider the exclusivity, the difficulty, the competitiveness that is part and parcel of entrance into any GE, then multiply it a hundred fold and you have the student at *l'Ecole Polytechnique* or *L'Ecole National d'Administration.*

It is the Ministry of Education that issues the various national diplomas of higher education, eleven in all. It is true that universities confer generic, regional diplomas; however, these diplomas, *dipôme de l'université,* which bear the name and seal of the university, do not have the cachet of a national diploma and students overwhelmingly choose the national diplomas over the university degrees. The national diplomas are the following:

- *Baccalauréat*—This is the ticket by which one gets into a university and is classified as a diploma of higher education (national).
- *Diplômes d'Etudes Universitaires Generales* (DEUG)—National diploma of General University Studies, awarded after the completion of two years of university study.
- *Diplôme D'Etudes Scientifiques et Techniques* (DEUST)—Diploma of University Scientific and Technical Studies, awarded after completion of two years of university study in curricula of pre-professional studies.

- *Diplôme Universitaire de Technologie* (DUT)—University diploma of Technology, awarded after completing two years of university study in a technical curriculum.
- *Certificat de Capacité en Droit* (Certificate of Capability in Law)—a two year degree which is, nonetheless, listed as a national degree of higher education. Requires part-time evening study for students 17 or older.
- *Licence*—signifies completion of the three-year university curriculum.
- *Maîtrise*—master's degree, awarded for completion of a four-year university program of study.
- *Diplome d'Etudes Supérieures Specialisées* (DESS)—Diploma of Higher Specialized Studies, awarded for completion of applied studies beyond the master's degree.
- *Diplôme D'Etudes Approfondies* (DEA)—Diploma of Advanced Studies, awarded for the first year of course work beyond the master's degree to students studying for the doctorate.
- *Doctorat*—conferred to holders of the DEA when a candidate successfully defends a dissertation.
- *Habilitation á Diriger des Recherches*—Legal entitlement to direct research, awarded to faculty based on a portfolio of postdoctoral research.

Core funding consists of three components: funding of personnel, funding of research activities, and funding of non-research activities. Funding for French universities comes primarily through governmental sources, especially in the case of teachers' salaries. In France, teachers and professors are considered civil servants, and salaries are formulated on a common civil service scale. Essentially all funding, except for research, comes from the Ministry of Education.

Germany

German higher education also has its roots in the church schools of the Middle Ages. The universities in German-speaking provinces were established, at first, through charters from sovereign princes as well as from cities: Prague (1348), Vienna (1384), Heidelberg (1385), Cologne (1388), and Erfurt (1392) (Rust 1984, xii).

While the major function of the university was to prepare students for the clergy, three faculties were offered in addition to theology—law, medicine, and letters. German universities cultivated worldly professions to a greater extent than their counterparts in England and France. The newer humanistic universities such as Freiberg (1456), Tubingen (1477), and Wittenberg (1502), were established with the purpose of focusing on the seven liberal arts from Ancient Greece (*ibid*.). With the onset of the Enlightenment, the Universities of Halle (1694) and

Gottingen were established and advanced newer thinking using inductive, rather than Aristotelian, deductive processes.

The German grammar school, referred to as *gymnasuim* from the sixteenth century, was established to prepare young men for university study, with the purpose of later entering the clergy. As in England and France, education was considered the privilege of the intelligent upper classes, and it was not until the Reformation that the concept of education for all people became accepted (*ibid*.).

The modern German university was established in the nineteenth century: following the defeat of the Prussians by the French, the perception of the role of the university changed. Through the efforts of Humboldt (1767-1835), Fichte (1782-1814), and Schleiermacher (1768-1834), the concept of the purpose of a university education changed. Previously, the German university had been a hierarchical, autonomous institution reflecting the semi-feudal society of the privileged upper classes. The Humboltian theory advanced the importance of a research-oriented university, which was built upon the foundations of *Lernfreiheit* and *Lehrfreiheit* (freedom to learn and freedom to teach) (Peisert and Framheim 1995). In 1809, William von Humboldt formalized his ideas for a new university, ultimately named the University of Berlin, with a proposal to King Frederick William III. This proposal was accepted, a palace to house the university was donated, and negotiations with potential faculty were begun. Perceived as an institution created for the realization of good scholarship, the humanization of the

state, and the emancipation of the arts and sciences from the faculties of theology and law, the University of Berlin was opened in 1810.

World War I and World War II severely disrupted the progress the German higher education system had been making and led to an era of "moral, academic, and qualitative decline in German higher education" (*ibid*, 5). During the National Socialist period (1933-1945), universities came under extremely rigid, totalitarian control causing the dismissal of many bright Jewish professors from their faculties due to the Reich's racist policies.

Against the backdrop of economic growth and industrial renewal, the reconstruction of the German university system following World War II included the restoration of university autonomy, unstructured teaching and research, and self-governance by the professors. The push for modernization was the focus of the efforts to rebuild the university. On June 23, 1949, a Basic Law was enacted, giving great power to the eleven states of the Republic, the *Länder*. The power was given to the states in order to ensure that there would never be a repeat of omnipotence in the hands of one entity.

In the 1950s, the first wave of increased student enrollment in German universities began. Around the same time, a plea for expansion of higher education to meet Germany's economic concerns was accompanied by a call to abolish the regional and social inequities of the German system. Public interest in higher education was aroused as enrollments continued to increase. In 1950, only four

percent of the student population attended a university. By 1960, this figure increased to eight percent, and it nearly doubled once again, increasing to fifteen percent by 1970. By the 1990s, the growth reached thirty percent. As the budgetary needs expanded due to the enrollment explosion, the federal government involvement increased, to aid the *Länder* cope with ever increasing expenditures.

Rosalind Pritchard quotes a 1962 article in *Minerva* describing the situation of the German university in the Sixties:

> At the University of Munich in the Law Faculty, there are 175 students per teacher; in the economic and social studies in Cologne, there is 1 teacher to 250 students. In the more popular, or "mass" subjects, the situation is still worse. In 1958, there were 2 teachers of English to 689 students. Practical work and seminars with several hundred participants have become common. Only students who are outstandingly talented or who are tenacious and insistent can obtain personal contact with teachers. (1990, 72)

The negative effects of overcrowding in German universities had far reaching consequences: a lowering of standards both in the work of the students and in the quality of academic staff occurred. As degree courses in Germany have no set time frame, in accordance with the tradition of *Lernfreiheit,* completion of degrees took seven or eight years (*ibid*).

The system in which the above problems occurred were not unlike those of the other two countries of this study. In Germany, as in France and England, there is also a binary system of higher education. The two primary sectors are: the university sector, comprised of older, Humboltian-oriented universities (the *Wissenschaftliche)* and the *Fachhochschule*; and the newer, more technology-

oriented institutions, established after the student population explosion of the Sixties. Traditionally, there has always been a separation between scientific and technical pursuits in Germany. The function of the *Fachhochschulen* is to prepare German students to enter the labor market through vocationally-focused courses. In contrast, as was previously mentioned, German universities have granted great latitude to their students as far as required courses, length of study, and attendance. It is not unusual for German students to graduate with an undergraduate degree at age twenty-eight. Teaching is by lecture and seminar, and as in France, is delivered in overcrowded, outdated lecture halls. Assessment is typically done by written examination at the end of studies; thus, course work plays little part in the evaluation process. Degrees are granted by the university; in the case of professions (medicine, dentistry, law, teaching, and pharmacy), students sit for licensing exams given by the *Länder*.

In the Sixties, a German student wishing to continue academic studies endeavored to gain admittance to a *Gymnasium,* which covered grades five through thirteen, or seven through thirteen, depending on the *Länder*. The specific purpose of the *Gymnasium* was to prepare the pupils for university admission through sitting for a strenuous exam, the *Abitur*. Similar to the French *baccalaureat*, the *Abitur* consists of three written and two oral exams in two major and two minor subjects (Peisert and Framhein 1995).

Those holding the *Abitur* have the right to study any academic discipline at any institution of higher learning. However, German universities have open access in principle only. The caveat is that institutions have to admit students based on the number of student places available in that particular discipline. The number of student places is calculated on the basis of national norms. A field of study can be declared to fall into a limited admission category (numerus clausus). Disciplines such as medicine, veterinary medicine, or dentistry, which were typically oversubscribed, admitted students by the numerus clausus system.

Upon admittance to the university, there are few restrictions placed upon students. They are not required to attend classes, or take weekly or monthly tests. Instead, they must pass an examination after two years to determine whether they are suited to continue their studies. Following this exam, there are no further examinations until the state or degree exam, which is taken only when the students request it. Upon passing this lengthy examination, the student is awarded a *Diplom* or *Magister Artium,* depending on the field of study. The *Diplom* is typically awarded to science and engineering students and the *Magister Artium* to humanities and social science students. Following the *Magister Artium,* students wishing to continue their studies undertake another three to six years of study for a doctorate. During the Sixties, with student enrollment at its peak, it was possible to become a professor by having received a doctorate. However, now, after approximately twelve years of higher education, individuals wishing to become a

full professor continue for another three years to receive the *Habilitation*. This degree, attained by defending a second thesis and presenting a public lecture, is the final step toward becoming a full professor.

As mentioned earlier, Germany has a federal system of higher education, with the *Länder* bearing the responsibility and possessing nearly total decision-making power. Due to the omnipotence of the individual *Länder*, coordination for the purpose of policy making is difficult. In order to ensure equality, a consensus must be obtained among the *Länder*. Any substantial degree of national educational planning, therefore, has rarely succeeded.

The components of the German higher education system are as follows:

<u>Universities</u>

1. The old universities, e.g. (Göttingen, Tübingen, Berlin, Leipzig, etc.), all established before WWII.
2. The technical universities, which evolved from technical colleges (*hochschulen*), e.g. teacher training, theological, and social work colleges .
3. The new universities, developed post WWII, primarily in the Sixties: Augsburg, Dortmund, Bremen, etc.

Polytechnics

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, in an attempt to serve students who had graduated from the technical high school, the *Fachhochschulen* were established.

As for the organizational structure of German universities, the Minister of Higher Education for each state was given the ultimate decision-making power and wielded his authority according to the law of the *Ländes* which, in turn, followed the national framework law. Supporting the Minister of Higher Education were the Rector or the President and the faculty senate. The senate was composed of professors, who were deemed civil servants with life-long tenure, and had extraordinary authority.

The university was composed of the following organizational units: faculties (much like U.S. colleges of law, medicine, arts and sciences, etc.) which were, in turn, made up of institutes, much like large, single-discipline departments, over which was a chaired professor. The chaired professor enjoyed nearly absolute authority over his institute, its programs, and its research agenda. Until 1968, the chaired professor, *Ordinarien*, held virtually all power over disbursement of funds and appointment of academic personnel.

Funding of German higher education in the 1960s was—and still remains—a state function and is, therefore, subject to the state budgeting and accounting laws. The German national government funds a relatively small portion

of the educational budget; the greater part is the responsibility of the *Länder*. Students are not required to pay tuition, which places a great financial burden on the state governments. As Germany continues to advance research projects, much higher education research funding must come from third parties.

This chapter has focused on the individual higher education systems in order to understand the differences and similarities, the structure, and pedagogical methods, the size and workings of universities in each country. This chapter laid the foundation for understanding the catalysts, internal and external, that became sparks for the student movement in England, France, and Germany. The catalysts and resulting demands are the subject of the next chapter. Chapter Four will present a detailed account and explanation of the student demands of England, France, and Germany on a nation-by-nation basis.

CHAPTER IV

Fundamental Roots of Protest and Significant Incidents in France, England, and Germany

The upsurge of student dissent resonating throughout the world during the Sixties had both general and specific common denominators. The general commonalities include a feeling of helplessness and disaffection on the part of the students toward the world around them; student dissatisfaction with increasing governmental power; and resentment of their limited role in decision-making processes. These sentiments of malcontent led to a search for alternatives. Combined with the equally strong specific grievances about archaic teaching materials, extreme overcrowding of classrooms, lack of student participation in most aspects of student life, antiquated university buildings, inadequate lodging, food, and instruction, and professorial absenteeism, the complaints grew from resignation in the '50s to violence in the 'Sixties. In *Student Activism*, Kenneth Kenniston observes that "[r]arely in history has apparent apathy been replaced by publicized activism, silence by strident dissent" (1971, 44). W.B. Fraser (1971) adds:

> In 1968, after a period of prosperity, industrial expansion, technological development, and national prestige, a new dimension of opposition manifested itself. To students' impatience with the slow pace of reform and the halting interpretation of democratization was added their anger against the traditional restraints laid upon learners: restrictions upon their social life, passivity in reception of information, docility in accepting the

> purposes for which the process was designed and sharing of power in the educational system and in the world. (159)

Historically, student protest has been irregular in occurrence, of short duration, politically non-impacting, initiated by a student minority, and led by students who are politically shrewd and ideologically grounded. This chapter will verify the soundness of that statement by retracing the causes, creating a timeline of the most significant incidents of protest in the late 'Sixties, and reviewing the resulting demands made by the university students of France, England, and Germany between 1967 and 1970.

France

The university system of France in the Sixties differed little from that inaugurated in 1806 by Napoleon. This Napoleonic university system, a centralized bureaucratic monopoly, remained virtually unchanged until the student protests of 1968, despite strong growth in the French economy, changes in the class structure, and a dramatic increase in the birthrate following WWII. This stasis extended not only to the physical structures, but also to the curricula, pedagogy, student-professor relationship, and admission policies. The students of the 1960s differed profoundly from their counterparts in the 1860s, yet the system itself remained unchanged. In commenting on the French higher education system, Emile Durkheim (1971) noted that his generation of students had received instruction in an educational system that was virtually equivalent to that existing

under King Louis XIV two centuries earlier. George Male (1992) reinforces this observation by saying that "[t]he basic characteristics of education in France have persisted so long as to become stereotypes, and much of the effort to reform education focuses on these basic characteristics which, not surprisingly, are resistant to change" (170).

Crozier (1964) added that France was an extremely rigid and traditional society, both in its institutions and in its outlook, which made any attempts at reform an arduous process. Alain Touraine also maintains that "[t]he university is a rigid system, controlled by a centralizing administration enamored of order and principles, overwhelmed by routine, incapable of defining objectives, or adapting its methods of change" (Dogan 1971, 307). It was, in part, this deep-seated resistance to change that angered students enough to take matters into their own hands.

One of the most fervently felt and palpable reasons for unrest was purely demographic. Many of the industrialized countries, including the U.S., experienced a rapid spurt of growth in university enrollment in the 1960s, but universities in France were subject to expansion far above that in England and Germany (Cohen 1978). Table 3 shows this growth rate in OECD countries from 1961-1970.

Table 3. Growth Rate of Student Population in OECD Countries, 1961-1970

	Percent		Percent
Australia	9.3	**Netherlands**	10.2
Belgium	10.2	**Norway**	12.0
Canada	17.7	**Sweden**	13.2
Denmark	8.7	**U.K.**	9.9
France	13.6	**U.S.A**	6.6
FRG	9.7	**Average**	11.3
Japan	15.4		

Source: Conference on Future Structures of Post Secondary Education. *Towards Mass Higher Education, Issues, and Dilemmas. Paris:* OECD, 1974, 182.

As few changes had been made to the university system during the prior century, the universities were poorly prepared and ill-equipped to handle the significant increase in university attendance. There were no selection procedures for admission to the universities, and admission was guaranteed to all students possessing the baccalaureate. The increase in enrollment during the 'Sixties skyrocketed, and the universities found themselves flooded with entering students and, more importantly, found themselves without adequate facilities and personnel to receive them. France lagged far behind Germany, U.K., U.S., Norway, and the Netherlands when one examines the number of faculty per 1,000 students.

This led to talk about the necessity of selection procedures beyond the *baccalauréate*. But, there was considerable resistance to implement any selection

policies for admission and enrollments continued to rise. Due to the lack of selection procedures, as well as the lack of impetus on the part of the Ministry of Education to execute such a process, university officials hoped to counter-balance the increase by the large dropout rate at the end of the first year. Thus, they relied on the tough end-of-the-year examination process to ensure a forty percent drop-out rate for first-year students (Halls 1976). Cohen (1978) states that "approximately three-fourths of the students entering the university dropped out before completing a diploma. France enrolled twice as many students as Great Britain, yet produced half the graduates" (16-17).

This extreme overcrowding fueled student dissatisfaction in other areas. Halls (1976) succinctly catalogues student grievances:

> They wished for an end to overcrowded lecture rooms and libraries. They wanted teaching methods other than the traditional lecture, the '*cours magistra',* given in an amphitheater before hundreds at a time. They wanted greater personal contact with their teachers. It was reported that in the math faculty at Toulouse, the student-teacher ratio was 90:1. (191)

George Male (1992) adds that

> More important than the lack of physical facilities…[was] the defect in spirit and atmosphere of French universities. The stereotype of French university teaching…includes dull lectures, copies of lectures circulated and memorized for examination, professors pouring out a stream of knowledge and not appearing to care whether it was understood or not…and generally poor contacts between professors and students. (175)

Dr. Phillipe Sarotte (2000) commented on his personal experience at Nanterre by stressing that student-professor contact was extremely rare. Professors delivered their lecture, when and if they came, and left, often without exchanging

one word with any student. Effective teaching simply was not a priority of most professors during those years. As an example of this limited student-professor interaction, a single professor might teach his class in an amphitheater holding 250 or more students. Therefore, students were physically cramped and pedagogically disregarded. In a belated attempt to ease the high student-professor ratio, assistant lecturers began to be appointed at a far more rapid rate than ever in the past. Paradoxically, this move, rather than alleviating the situation, further fueled the dissatisfaction of the students. For, although the crowding was extreme, the student perception was that the only mitigating factor in a frustrating situation was the implied prestige of being taught by a full professor (Halls 1976).

Next, the curricula were called into question. Rigid, lacking in diversity, and outmoded, the content of the curricula failed to keep pace with the demands and needs of the larger society. This raised in students an uncertainty about employment prospects, if and when they did graduate. The outlets for graduates had dwindled, and the rate of unemployment in the spring of 1968 increased to thirty-nine percent from twenty-nine in 1962 (Cohen 1978). Although the Fouchet Reform of 1966 reorganized the university curriculum, it fostered change in name only by switching content from one year to another, leaving all as it was before. This reform measure confused students and administrators alike, and further highlighted the immense difficulties related to university reform.

French university students also felt keenly their lack of input into university affairs. Halls (1976, 193) noted that French university students "wanted power, which crystallized into greater participation." Raymond Aron (1968) has commented that, at an average age of twenty-three, they considered themselves adults, but were continually treated as children by the university authorities. The OECD states that "the young, who represented a greater portion of the nation, have come to represent a new lifestyle, and set of expectations, which have a certain authority if their own, and to which attention must be given" (1971, 32). In short, the students wanted a voice. This came through in their demands for greater autonomy within the system.

Specific grievances included the poor quality of student restaurants; the mandate of single-sex dorms; the restriction of dormitory visits by the opposite sex; the pressure of end-of-the-year examinations as the sole yardstick for gaining admission to the next year of study; the dearth of instruction using scientific inquiries, technology, and innovation; the lack of alternatives in higher and further education in France (no counterpart to the "redbrick" universities of Great Britain had been implemented); and the fact that courses were no longer relevant to the societal and labor market needs of the second half of the twentieth century.

One subsidiary factor that served as a catalyst was the aforementioned Fouchet Reform of 1966. Christian Fouchet, Minister of National Education (1963-1966), attempted to make university education more specialized by

introducing a progressive cycle of studies and eliminating the annual certificates. Trying to find a solution to the forty percent drop out rate following the first two years, Fouchet instituted a two-year cycle. This change was compared by a later Minister of Education to "organizing a shipwreck to find out who could swim" (Archer 1979, 655). Upon completing the two years, a student would get a certificate, thus having something to show for two years of effort. The rationale behind this reform was to give students more choice; to produce a lower failure rate among first-year students; to provide better orientation to the complexity of university expectations; and to further the goal of democratization by offering these shorter, cheaper, less rigorous courses to those who would have been, before, locked out of the university system. Margaret Archer points out that these measures of reform, implemented by Christian Fouchet, sought to increase the relevance of university study to labor market needs as well as to the needs of a diverse population.

In congruence with short-study alternatives, Fouchet established a new institution of higher education, the *Institut Universitaire de Technologie* (IUT), geared to prepare students for industrial and commercial careers. IUTs existed alongside the universities and the *grandes écoles*; however, its aim was to provide an additional two-year outlet for those who had left secondary school. The two-year IUT courses were to train students for supervisory and managerial level jobs; the courses were "selected for their vocational value, assessed in the light of

economic needs" and emphasized group work and applied projects in electronics, civil engineering, statistics, and documentation (*ibid*, 657). The formal objectives of the IUTs were as follows (Cerych and Sabatier 1986, 169):

1. Numbers of students
   a) 160,000 by 1972 (80,000 per year)
   b) Deflect about half of the *bacheliers* entering higher education into short-cycle technical education.
2. Type of education and expectations for graduates:
   a) General goal: through a 2 year course of study, train *technicians superieurs* who, while more specialized than engineers, would have a broader background than ordinary technicians, thus enabling them to better adapt to changing circumstances.
   b) More specific requirements:
      i) Selective admission of secondary school graduates with a *Baccalauréat* or those passing an entrance examination.
      ii) Teaching program similar to the *grandes écoles* , mixing theoretical and practical studies.
      iii) Teaching staff to be drawn from technical *lycées,* universities, and practicing professionals.
      iv) Most graduates to enter professional life directly as *cadres moyens,* although the better ones could certainly pursue additional studies.
3. Administrative status within the university
   a) General goal: semi-autonomous status
   b) More specific requirements:

i) IUT director and budget approved by the Minister of Education, but most members of an IUT council would be named by the university rector.
ii) Council would consist of equal numbers of external personnel, IUT staff, and outside professionals.

Although the goals were specific, and although the thesis behind the creation of IUTs was primarily sound, the success was much less than was hoped. It was intended that the IUTs be a sweeping reform within the higher educational system: while focusing on lessening the drop out rate: IUTs also addressed the need of practical labor market concerns. Additionally, to better administer the two-year courses, a system of in-course examinations was inaugurated. To add to the organizational changes, as the IUTs were being created in 1966, the government announced that the *Sections de Techniciens Supérieure* (STS) in the *lycées techniques* would no longer remain in the *lycées*, but rather, would be reassigned to the IUTs. This move meant the loss of superior students and senior professors. In turn, this created an atmosphere of uncertainty in both the *lycées* and the IUTS. The planners had anticipated, and had prepared for a large student enrollment; nonetheless, by 1970, IUTs had only around 30,000 students, although the capacity was for 45,000. (Day 2001). This pattern of growth, as compared to other short-cycle technical programs and universities, can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4. The Growth of IUTs within French Education, 1966-1971

			Student enrollment (thousands)					
			Short-cycle technical					
Year	Establishments	Departments	IUT	STS	Total	University (i)	Other	Total
1966-67	13	22	1.6	30.0	31.6	-	-	
1967-68	25	66	5.4	28.7	34.1	501.1	108.0	645.3
1968-69	43	135	11.9	27.6	39.5	576.1	111.9	737.5
1969-70	53	171	17.3	26.5	43.8	601.7	118.9	764.4
1970-71	58	225	24.4	26.8	51.2	627.0	113.0	791.2

Source: INSEE, *Annuaire Statistique de la France.* 1967-81
(i) University : exclusive of IUTs
Other: Includes preparatory classes for *Grandes Ecoles, the Grandes Ecoles,* teacher training schools, etc.

In addition to the uncertainty and anxiety felt in the technical sector, there was equal consternation within the university sector. For, although Fouchet's intent was sound, in precipitously enacting his bill without adequate implementation measures, he created enormous confusion amongst the university students (non-technical studies) and the faculty over evaluation of previous credits, organization of studies, transfer to a different field of concentration, and examinations. In the final assessment, the Fouchet Reform only augmented the inadequacies of the higher educational system, and became an additional source of dissatisfaction (Frankel 1971). It must be noted, nonetheless, that these reforms were an indication of concern on the governmental level for the dilemma of student enrollment within the French higher educational system.

Additionally, discontent with society in general was widespread among the university students of the 'Sixties in France. Students felt they were being

"processed rather than educated, turned into cannon-fodder for the production line in a consumption-conscious society" (Halls 1976, 191). These students criticized not only the educational system, and the bourgeois French society; but in due course, the fabric of all ideologies. Halls explains that these students, on the whole moderate, and not radical revolutionaries, believed in the necessity of massive university reform. To them, the university was the servant of big business and rampant capitalism. The university promoted the bourgeois culture and conservatism and catered to the rich and privileged. Class distinctions came to be a further cause for protest. Cohen (1978) remarks that

> Bourdieu, Passeron, Boudon, Bisseret, Saint-Martin, among others have shown that school success is closely related to the cultural values of the home, and that these in turn are class-bound. Success in the secondary school and admission to the university were also class-bound. (14)

Feeling alienated from parents and society at large, students were disillusioned with relationships in general, and felt that authority had become too hierarchical and unyielding. The university, with its rigidity, elitism, and unchanging nature, came to be connected with the Pandora's Box of societal concerns and failures, in the minds of many French university students of the Sixties. Contemptuous comments about "*le système*" were commonly heard, and in France, as in the U.S., the "Establishment," with the university at its core, was attacked.

French students could, however, give vent to their frustration and discontent by joining the national student unions. The principal university student

organization was the UNEF, or *Union Nationale des Étudiants de France.* Founded in 1907, the UNEF had only approximately 50,000 members in a half million student population by May 1968, down from 85,000 members in a student population of 328,000 in 1963. Many former UNEF members had left to join more extremist student groups; others joined no organization. Table 5 illustrates this decline in membership by the late 1960's.

Table 5. Student Membership in UNEF, 1945-1976

Year	Number of students in higher education	Members UNEF (approx.)	Members, % of total student population
1945	123,000	25,000	20%
1950	170,000	42,000	25%
1957	212,000	88,000	42%
1963	328,000	85,000	26%
1964	384,000	85,000	22%
1967	460,000	49,000	11%
1976	821,591	50,000	6%

Source : Cohen, Habiba. 1978. *Elusive Reform. Boulder,* CO: Westview Press. p .232.

UNEF, while unable to point to a large membership, and unable to claim to be the voice of the majority of French university students, was, nonetheless, the oldest student union, and that fact carried enough prestige to cause in-fighting among extremists for the leadership of this organization (*ibid*., 31). In addition, UNEF provided a link for rapid mobilization of students during the unrest of this era. Other student assemblies, mostly small extremist groups, included JCR *(Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire),* a Trotskyist group; CALS (*Comité*

d'action des Lycéens), the student group for secondary school students; and CLER (*Comité des Liasons des Étudiants Rêvolutionnaire*), which joined forces with FER (*Fêderation des Étudiants Révolutionnaire)* in April 1968.

Although the majority of university students in France did not belong to any student group, there were few who were not ripe for protest, and would be willing to join the minority to give voice to their dissatisfaction (Halls 1976).

France: 1960s Protest Timeline

The emergence of a new mood within the general student population of French universities coincided with the end of the Algerian War (Prost 1981). This feeling of change in mood and atmosphere is captured in the following quote by a student who returned to the Latin Quarter at the beginning of 1963:

> In the space of two years, all had changed and I must make an huge effort to adapt myself to the good as well as the bad (…) In the UEC itself, there existed an entirely new atmosphere, all lacked, at once, by the sudden liberation of values and by the invasion of psychological themes and vocabulary. (author's translation)
>
> [*En l'espace de deux ans, tout avait changé et je dus faire un gros effort pour m'adapter, tan bien que mal (...)Dans l'UEC même, régnait une atmosphere entierement nouvelle, manquée tout á la fois par la soudaine liberté des moeurs et par l'invasion des thèmes et du vocabulaire de la psychanalyse.* (Prost 1981, 295-296)]

The first incident of cohesive student activism evolving from this new mind set, was the protest over the inadequate, and segregated, student residence halls, in 1965. The subject of sexual freedom was pounced on by students as their *cause célèbre.* However, the basis of the students' anger was part of a larger

discontent: their resentment at being treated as "nineteenth century infants, to speak when spoken to and defer to their elders—the faculty and administration" (Harris 1970, 83). Two years after that student demonstration, a similar incident occurred at Nanterre, then a branch campus of the University of Paris, located in the suburbs of the city.. The Nanterre student turmoil, although it concerned residence hall restrictions, was the first in a succession of episodes of unrest that erupted at Nanterre in 1967 and 1968. On March 21,1967, police were sent into a female residence hall to oust 150 male demonstrators.

Later that year, a strike occurred that would emphasize the reality of increasing discontent. In November 1967, sociology students and professors alike protested against curricula which were in no way germane to the labor market realities of the late 1960s. This walkout spread to the entire faculty, involved 10,000 students, and lasted 10 days (*Le Monde,* 1968).

It was in January 1968, again in Nanterre, that the real flame of revolution was kindled; and, it was at Nanterre that the fragmented student groups coalesced into one angry student bloc. Nanterre, constructed in 1964, was intended to relieve some of the overcrowding at the Sorbonne, and was touted as "the campus of the twenty-first century". Erected in a suburb of Paris, Nanterre was "neither a traditional French campus, nor a self-contained American style campus" (Cohen 1978). In fact, Schnap and Vidal-Naquet (1971) characterize it as " a concrete nightmare in a nightmarish landscape (that of the shanty town)" (95). Since

Nanterre lacked library facilities, cultural centers, trees or any other landscaping, sports arenas, student restaurants, and meeting place, it offered no diversion whatsoever for its students. Table 6 graphically offers a visual account of the evolution of the events prior to, during, and following the May revolt in France during the decade of the 1960s.

Table 6. Events Leading to May '68 Protest in France

1960	Proposal to grant draftees' right to desert rather than fight in Algeria	
1961	French Generals' revolution in Algeria defeated	
1962	Eight killed in anti-Algerian War protest	
	Algerian War ended	
1964	University of Nanterre opened	
1966	UJC formed	
	JCR formed	
	Strasbourg students take over Student Association	
1967	*March 21*	"Bedroom Revolt" at Nanterre
	November	Nanterre Curricula Strike
1968	*Jan 8*	Misoffe Incident
	March 22	Occupation of Nanterre Administration buildings
		Formation of the group "March 22 Movement"
	April 1	Suspension of classes at Nanterre
	April 2	Student Political Debates at Nanterre
	April-May	Continued student protest
	May 2	Closing of Nanterre
		Summons of students to a May 6 disciplinary hearing
	May 3	Nanterre students regroup at Sorbonne
		Police intervention at request of university authorities
	May 6	Bloody Monday
	May 10	Night of the Barricades

Table 6: (cont.)

May 13	Labor unions join fight
May 17	Renault workers join protesters
May 19	DeGaulle forced to return to France from Romania
May 22	The GCT, France's largest labor union agree to begin negotiations
May 24	DeGaulle's first speech
May 27	Presentation of Grenelle Accord: rejected by workers
May 28	DeGaulle's second speech
May 30	Public opinion and support returned to pro-government
June	Grenelle Accord ratified
June 24	Sweeping victory for DeGaulle and His party in general Election

On January 8, 1968, in what would later be called the Misoffe incident, the fuse of student insurgency was ignited. At the inauguration of the university swimming pool, a young, red-headed, sociology student named Daniel Cohn-Bendit (Danny the Red) taunted the Minister of Youth, Francois Misoffe, saying:

> Mr. Minister, I've read your 'white pages' on youth. It is about 300 pages and doesn't even mention the sexual problems of the youth. (author's translation)
>
> [*Monsieur le Ministre, j'ai lu votre 'livre blanc' sur la jeunesse. Il doit avoir trois cents pages et vous n'evoquez même pas le probleme sexuel chez les jeunes.* (Dansette 1971, 67)]

Following a further exchange in which Cohn-Bendit likened Misoffe's response to that of Hitler Youth, rumor had it that Danny the Red was to be expelled. This precipitated a new demonstration, an administration-initiated summons of the police, and the inception of the March 22 Movement. The March 22 Movement was the name for the activist group, spontaneously created to

commemorate the date that the police breached the time-honored sanctity of university grounds. Infuriated at the actions of the university administration and the police, this group of students surfaced, calling themselves *enragés.* During this same time, six protesters of *Comité Vietnam National (*CVN*)* were arrested, instigating the occupation of the administration buildings by the *enragés.* At first only few in number, by evening 150 students had joined the initial group of protesters. Cohen (1978) describes the occupation in the following words:

> That evening, 150 students met in the professors' council room, debated a number of political issues till 2:00 A.M., drank, feasted, and left behind them greasy papers and wine stains on the green carpet….The group of protesters, led by Cohn-Bendit, christened themselves the "Movement of March 22", or the *enragés.*(35)

Although immediate disciplinary action was called for, the Minister of Education, Alain Peyrefitte, opted to hold disciplinary meetings on May 6. The six-week delay was an effort, by Peyrefitte, to avert provocation for further student demonstrations. However, one of the issues discussed by the protesters, included plans for a political debate to be held on Friday March 29, and as large-scale debate preparations began, the university authorities elected to suspend all classes until Monday April 1. In their next finesse, students bettered the administration by switching the debate to April 2. Again, the numbers of disgruntled students increased: there were approximately 1,500 students in attendance at the Nanterre amphitheater (Dansette 1971).

From April 2, until a month later, the student movement grew appreciably:

> The movement of March 22 gained momentum in the weeks that followed. Meeting on subjects of imperialism and Vietnam multiplied. Slogans at Nanterre read: "Professors, you are old", "Don't trust anyone over thirty." At the same time, general protest against university education became more and more aggressive. (Cohen 1978, 35)

As the student unrest was growing, so were the demands from the professors to restore normalcy and order to the campus. As all administrative decisions, faculty promotions, budgetary provisions, and hiring issues were under the direct control of the Ministry of Education in Paris, the administration had no authority to enter into discussions. Indeed, discussions between students, professors, and university authorities were futile, as all decisions were made in Paris (Harris 1970).

On May 2, those involved in the occupation of the administration buildings on March 22 were informed that they were to appear before a disciplinary committee on May 6. Additionally, in what was to be a disastrous decision, Nanterre was closed. This action led to the regrouping of the students of the Movement of March 22 at the Sorbonne on May 3. From that moment on, the protest was to grow exponentially every day.

The inevitable eruption occurred on Friday May 3, 1968 when some of the *enragés* congregated with leaders of other political groups in the courtyard of the Sorbonne. In a catastrophic misevaluation, authorities called in the police. As the police routed the students from the building into police vans, the number of dissenters rose from a few hundred to 2,000. The infringement of the sanctity of

the Sorbonne by police, an event that had last occurred in the Middle Ages, was an inflammatory act, even in the minds of the most temperate students (Halls 1976). Adrien Dansette (1971) compared that act to "the effect of a red flag on a bull" (91).

In Janet Harris' book, *Students in Revolt* (1970), Daniel Cohn-Bendit describes the events of that day in his own words:

> The police were in full control of the streets, and the political battles were being safely fought in the ministries and in parliamentary committees. Hence, it seemed a very simple matter to send the forces of law and order into the Sorbonne, occupy all the facilities, and arrest 400 students. Emerging from their libraries, from their lectures, or simply strolling back to college along the Latin Quarter, students suddenly found themselves face to face with riot police blocking the gates of the Sorbonne. Their reply was immediate. Suddenly, the walls were covered with such slogans as *Stop the Repression*, while the ranks of demonstrators swelled to unprecedented proportions. All hell broke loose when the first police vans left the Sorbonne filled with students taken off for questioning. (94-95)

Students threw cobblestones, and erected barricades; police fired tear gas and physically assaulted students. Fraser (1988) states that the students' spontaneous action, provoked by governmental intervention, took all involved by surprise. Hélène Goldet, a student at the Sorbonne, exclaimed:

> It was great! Who started it? I don't know. Nobody knows to this day. People just didn't like seeing that huge column of black police vans carting off those who had been arrested. They ripped up the iron gratings from around the trees on the pavement to block the vans, threw everything they could lay their hands on at them, burnt newspapers to prevent the motorcycle police from getting through (*ibid*., 204).

Of the 400 arrested, only four were imprisoned. Nonetheless, their imprisonment resulted in the call for a nationwide university strike on Monday,

May 6. Known afterward as Bloody Monday, May 6 began with protests, demonstrations, marches and rallies on the part of more than 6,000 students through the streets of the Latin Quarter. University students were joined by *lycée* students who were members of *Comités d'action Lycéens* (CAL). The battle—for that is exactly what it was—continued until 10 o'clock that night, when the police finally disbanded the students. Police casualties numbered 487; student casualties were unknown because most refused to go to the hospital. Suffice it to say, the police succeeded in their dispersal of the students by beating them to the point of unconsciousness and leaving them in the streets. This deed, televised throughout France, aroused considerable passion for the students; in addition, the entire nation was becoming aware of the struggle. In an opinion poll taken two days after the clash, it was reported that four-fifths of Parisians championed the students. It was apparent that large segments of the middle class supported the students (*Le Monde*, May 8, 1968).

May 10, 1968 saw a further increase in public endorsement; by evening, 25,000 people had gathered. On this night, known as the Night of the Barricades, the demonstrators were determined to retake the Sorbonne. As Cohen points out, "Cohn-Bendit declared the streets to be a lecture hall, and the Boulevard Saint-Michel, the heart of the Latin Quarter, became the vast area of teach-ins" (1978, 37). The students' attempt to stand their ground against the police resulted in the

construction of barricades from cobblestones throughout the entire area Latin Quarter. Commenting on the spontaneous barricade formation, a student remarked:

> It was a real stroke of genius. People were beginning to make the piles into barricades. Militarily speaking, it was probably silly. But, politically, it was exactly the thing to do. The image of barricades in French history is associated with all the heroic moments of popular uprisings: 1830, 1848, the Paris commune. The barricade was a symbol, the defense of the poor, of the workers against the armies of the kings and reactionaries. (Fraser 1988, 211)

The TV and radio stations were covering the events on the spot; confrontations with the police were continuing; and frantic attempts on the part of the administration to negotiate were being generated. The student demands were simple: reopen the Sorbonne, discharge the police, and liberate the imprisoned students (Prost 1981). When the Minister of the Interior barred the Vice-Chancellor form negotiating with Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a chance to de-escalate the conflict was lost, and the pattern of intensification of the struggle was set. At this juncture, although public sympathy was on the side of the protesters, the combatants were predominantly students. It was this first night of the barricades that was to determine the course of events.

Up to that point, the labor unions had been guarded in their support of the students, calling them "*fils á papa*", or Daddy's boys, referring to the perception that college students were rich, spoiled sons of the upper classes (Halls 1976). However, the media coverage of the police intervention aroused their sympathies,

and the workers agreed to take common action in the form of a nationwide strike on Monday, May 13. Cohen (1978) describes the strike as follows:

> The largest strike in the history of France took place; half a million to a million people struck in Paris. The strike extended into the provinces. In Paris the march of strikers was led by students carrying red and black flags, wearing crash helmets, and carrying banners that read: 'Students, teachers, and workers together.' (38)

Ronald Fraser (1988) adds:

> Factories and offices, oil refineries and shipyards, transport and post offices, banks, department stores, administrative buildings, high schools, ground to a halt; all over the country a calm but massive refusal was being expressed- the refusal to continue to live and work under the authoritarian conditions of the Gaullist regime. (217)

France was in an emergency situation that threatened to oust DeGaulle's government.

By May 17, the protesters had convinced the workers of the huge Renault-Billancourt plant to join in the protest; by May 19, DeGaulle was forced to return from Rumania in order to save his government. On May 24, DeGaulle addressed the nation. Fraser (1988) comments that "[s]uch was DeGaulle's power still in this highly centralized country that everything seemed to hang on his speech" (223). However, the seventy-seven year old DeGaulle came across as unsure of himself, out of touch with the current mood of the country, and defiant in his adherence to his dated policies. The crisis reached its peak on May 29, as immense rallies and marches were held to denounce DeGaulle and his government. When news that the

palace was empty—and that DeGaulle had vanished—hit the streets, it seemed that a victory for the students was assured.

This period, from May 17 until the end of the month, deserves mention. It is considered one more anomalous incident in the atypical occurrences of May 1968. General DeGaulle returned from his journey to Romania at the request of his Ministers on the May 17, reducing his intended five-day trip to a brief two days. As mentioned before, his speech was a disaster, and as the realization of the import of his failure to rouse the French citizenry hit him, DeGaulle became uncharacteristically morose. Dansette (1971) explains:

> The failed speech of Friday the 24th – it's always necessary to return there – was for General DeGaulle a painful failure, but a decisive turning-point. Thus, it began for him a testing period which, in spite of an extraordinary disappearance, ended Thursday the 30th in hurrahs from the Champs-Elysées. (author's translation)
>
> *L'allocution manqué du vendredi 24 – il faut toujours y revenir- a été pour le général deGaulle*, *non seulement un échec pénible, mais un tournant décisif. Alors commence pour lui un periode éprouvante qui, au-dela d'une extaordinaire disparition, se teminera le jeudi 30 dans les hourras des Champs-Elysées.*(301)

As the days passed, DeGaulle seemed more tired, more depressed; the General seemed "impregnated with melancholy" (*ibid*, 301). On the May 29, after a 9 a.m. meeting with his ministers, he announced that he had not slept for three days, and was going to rest for twenty-four hours at his home in Colombey. By 11:15, General and Mrs. DeGaulle, left the Champs-Elysées. However, they did

not reach Colombey; and, for nearly twenty-four hours his frantic Ministers had no idea where the President of France had gone.

With the explosive situation in Paris changing hour by hour, with protests erupting throughout the entire country, and with the uncertainty of the continuation of the Fifth Republic, this was a situation unparalleled in the history of France (*ibid*., 301). All feared the worst. The government of the Fifth Republic was in complete turmoil.

However, May 30 told another tale. Returning on that day, a rested, decisive General DeGaulle once again addressed the nation to declare his rejection to step down from his position and to make it clear that "parliament would be dissolved, general elections held, (and) the armed forces mobilized under the authority of the local *préfets" (ibid*, 227). DeGaulle had gone to Baden-Baden, Germany, where army training was taking place, to assure himself of the French army's loyalty. And, in fact, the meeting with Jacques Massu, a loyal Gaulliste and military commander, is seen as responsible for the radical change in DeGaulle's attitude within twenty-four hours. As soon as he heard his General-in-Chief speak, Massu knew that DeGaulle was completely demoralized. After DeGaulle said, "I can't stay any longer (in power)….I have only to go," Massu, in short but definite terms, calmed the General's fears, dispelled his doubts, assured him of the army's loyalty, and castigated the student activists for their behavior. That was exactly what DeGaulle needed. The deference shown DeGaulle by the French soldiers

reinforced Massu's words and DeGaulle returned to Colombey confident, erect, and certain that he held victory in his hands (*ibid*., 227).

When DeGaulle addressed the crowd on May 30, the tone of his voice, the force of his words, and the conviction of his purpose was evident to all. Fraser (1988) summed up the effect of DeGaulle's speech in the following way:

> He spoke for only four minutes, his voice like thunder. We looked at each other, wondering what this upping of the political stakes meant. An east European émigré among us, who I suppose knew more about the real meaning of power than we, said quite simply: "It's all over now." (227)

From that date on, support for the student's cause waned amongst the general public, and among a large percentage of the students in Paris.

Although Paris was the backdrop for the most publicized and most prolonged student protests, other areas of France experienced uncharacteristic turmoil, as well. The events in the regions outside Paris, although not as well known, were equally disturbing. Adrian Dansette, in his book *Mai 1968* (1971) illustrates the similarities among all the student demonstrations during that period:

> Students in the provinces have been observed less than their comrades in Paris. Basically, they seem to experience the same discontent, to feel the same emotions, to show the same reactions. Between the one and the other, the resemblances are more striking than the differences, and these, whether it's a question of ideas, passions, or acts, have, above all, a degree of intensity. (author's translation)
>
> [*Les étudiants de province ont été moins observés que leurs comarades de Paris. Pour l'essentiel, ils paraissent ressentir le même malaise, éprouver les mêmes sentiments, manifester les mêmes réactions. Entre les uns et les autres, les ressemblances sont plus frappantes que les différences et celles-ci, qu'il s'agissent des idées, des passions, ou des actes tiennent surtout un degré d'intensité.*(211)]

Dansette continues by commenting that, although Paris proper might experience more of one type of demonstration, ideology, or behavior, and the outlying regions another; fundamentally, they followed an analogous course. He explains that in Paris and the provinces alike:

> The faculties are occupied, the students exercise their power, hold general assemblies, put together committees, joint or mixed, revere the holy trinity of anti-establishment activity, share self-management (or joint management) and autonomy between the reformists and the revolutionaries, elaborate on their status. In Aix-en-Provence, Besançon, Brest, Caen, Claremont-Ferrand, Grenoble, Lyon, Marseilles, Nantes, Strasbourg, Toulouse, to cite some examples, the universities, or certain faculties, are as revolutionary as those in Paris. (author's translation)
>
> [*Les facultés sont occupées, les étudiants excercent leurs pouvoirs, tiennent les assemblées générales et réuinissent des commissions, paritaires ou mixtes, révérent la sainte trinité des contestations, l'autogestion (ou de la cogestion) et de l'autonomie se partagent entre les réformistes et révolutionnaires, élaborent leurs status. In Aix-en-Provence, Besançon, Bordeau, Brest, Caen, Clermont-Ferrand, Grenoble,Lyon, Marseilles, Nantes, Strasbourg, Toulouse, pour cité que quelques examples, Les Universités, ou certains de leurs facultés, sont aussi révolutionnaires que celle de Paris.* (1971, 211)]

Although the details might vary from city to city, the similarities of the demonstrators and demonstrations stand out as one examines region after region. The national press and the local editions confirmed the dimensions of this phenomenon: in the seventy-four *départements* covered, 1,070 incidences of protest occurred between May 1 and June 13 (Tartakowsky 1992). To illustrate in greater detail the widespread and unprecedented events of protest that erupted

throughout France, the unrest that rocked the city of Toulouse will be examined in greater detail.

Toulouse, situated in the southernmost area of France, was the first provincial university town to react to the Parisian events. The number of enrolled students during 1967 and 1968 at the University of Toulouse stood at 21,038, a potential source of student support for the agitators at Nanterre and Paris (Faure 1988, 200). On April 23, following the Parisian protests of April 11 and 19, a group of thirty or so *Jeunesses Communistes Revolutionnaires (JCR),* and *Comités Viet Nam (CVN)* congregated in Toulouse, a surprising occurrence for this usually peaceful college town. The prime cause was to show their solidarity for Rudi Dutschke, who had just been seriously wounded in an attack in Germany. Approximately 200 students passed by the Capitol Square, and arrived at the *Faculté des Lettres*. The dean, Godechot, gave permission to the students to set up shop within the university environs.

Nothing but discussions occurred until the next day, April 25. On that day, the course of events was similar to that at Nanterre. A student militant, Daniel Bensaid, informed the nearly 400 students gathered in the courtyard of the recent events in Paris and Nanterre. Students of the extreme right attended the meeting in order to oppose students of the extreme left, who were holding the meeting. Tempers flared, stones were thrown, and police were summoned. Eventually,

following the order of Rector Richard, the students dispersed. With only a brief respite, another battle between these two groups erupted. Faure (1988) comments:

> These acts, as banal as they might appear to us today, made the era eventful. It was considered to be the origin of the Toulouse Movement, thus, its name "the 25th of April Movement". (author's translation)
>
> [*Ces faits, aussi banales peuvent-ils nous apparaître aujourd'hui, ont fait evenement á l'epoque. Il fut considerés comme l'origine du mouvement Touloussain d'ou son nom de « Mouvement de 25 Avril ».* (200)]

In the days that followed, few large altercations occurred. However, on May 7, students of the *Faculté des Lettres* met in the amphitheater to discuss their next move. The result was that a "principle of unlimited protest" was adopted. The objectives of the principle were as follows: liberation of the arrested students in Paris, cessation of police intervention within bosom of the university, and liberty of expression (and its extension to the *lycéens*). This meeting ended with a sulfur firecracker hitting a window, thus scattering the now 4,000 strong crowd who immediately raced toward the Rector's residence shouting, "Rector, resign!" (*ibid*, 200). On May 9, 3,000 members of the Students Union and Teachers Union held a meeting in the Sports Arena to discuss the topic of the "the critical university." As a result, the Movement of 25 April advocated the necessity of a tripartite management team, the limitation /suppression of the Rector's duties, the eradication of exams, and continuing control of knowledge concerning university affairs. Within two days, the Toulouse factory workers' union signed a "unity of action" statement agreeing to protest in all areas of social activity. With this new

presence added to the already growing protest movement, the southwestern region of France seemed to be filled with thousands of agitators. In fact, in Bordeaux, the numbers of demonstrators reached 25,000, while in Toulouse, the number plateaued at 50,000 (*ibid*, 201). The numbers of protesters increased dramatically due to the participation and solidarity of the factory workers at Sud-Aviation, Azote Chemical Products, Breguet-Aviation, the Toulouse Public Works, the Beaux Arts of Toulouse, and, the nearby farmers. By May 20, the following numbers of workers could be added to the continually growing number of strikers: 7,500 workers (all three factories) from Sud-Aviation, 3,500 workers at Azote Chemicals, 1,200 at Breguet-Aviation, and 900 at Air France. The sheer magnitude of this event can be illustrated in the quote below:

> And, if it's not possible to give in the frame of this article the details of the businesses on strike, one can say, however, the on Monday 21 May, there were in the Haut-Garonne (i.e., the surrounding region) more than 100,000 workers on strike. (author's translation)
>
> [*Et, s'il n'est pas possible de donner dans le cadre restreint de cet article, le détail de ces enterprises en grêve, on peut dire cependent que le mardi 21 mai, il y avait en Haut-Garonne plus de 100,000 travailleurs en grêve.* (*ibid*, 202)]

Although this region-wide rally dwindled until its closing stages at the end of June, it made an impact on all the other regions in France, and, ultimately, on the actions of DeGaulle and his Ministers.

Demands for University Reform

The demands of the French university students can be categorized under three broad categories: autonomy (structure/governance), participation, and relevance. Autonomy refers to the need to structurally break the elephantine *facultés* into smaller and more manageable units of teaching and research, as well as to the need to create multidisciplinary institutions. Included in the demands for autonomy were pedagogical and financial autonomy for each university, an obvious move toward decentralization. Participation referred to arguably the most important demand in the minds of the students: parity between faculty, students and staff on the principal decision-making university committees. The demand for relevance targeted the admission system, the examination system, and the coursework as it related to the labor market of the Sixties. In short, the rigid, centralized Ministry of Education; the lack of student contribution in university discussions and decisions; the inapplicable coursework (as far as the labor market needs of the day were concerned); the dearth of multidisciplinary courses; and the elitist admission policies were some areas in critical need of reform, and were at the top of the students list of demands. As demands have been discussed in detail in several previous sections of this paper, only a recapitulation will be offered in this section. Table 7 illustrates the student demands by category.

Table 7. French Student Demands by Category

Structure/Governance	Participation	Relevance
Decentralize educational system	Allow more student participation	Link coursework to jobs
Dismantle faculties	Co-manage administration	Modernize lecture system
Create more universities	Encourage student-professor interaction	Revise textbooks
Update libraries		Expand course offerings
Introduce Interdisciplinary studies		Increase school supplies
Revise curricula		Introduce technology
Abolish hierarchy of professoriate		
Abolish examinations		
Revise elite admission process		
Modernize student housing		
Abolish gender-segregated housing		
Enlarge restaurant capacity		
Improve student-professor ratio		

Up to 1968, the *facultés* were inflexible, immutable, and impersonal institutions. And, as part of the national university, they were under the tight control of the centralized Ministry of Education, No decisions were made without acquiescence to authority and hierarchy. Students clamored for autonomy as a practical means to an end. If faculties were restructured, there would be a greater chance for reform in two key areas: curricula reform and interdisciplinary studies.

The curricula, a decades-long source of frustration, were considered outmoded, if not completely irrelevant. Lectures, especially in the *cours magistrales,* were given by full professors who had taught the same material

without change for decades. Professors, used to a degree of freedom completely at odds with the rigidity and centralization of the system in which they worked, taught as they wished, and often *when* they wished. In short, relevance was not a vital concern.

Cohen (1978) illustrates this point by stating:

> The professors who were in charge of the curriculum had been able to maintain a system of education that in many ways was impervious to the modern world. There was little eagerness to institute practical courses; for instance, the university refused to institute new types of training for the expanding business world. While the U.S. prepared 50,000-60,000 graduates each year, France turned out 3,500, at the very most, and that included all higher educational institutions. (21)

Students were as aware of the stagnant curricula as well as they were aware of a system inexorably resistant to change. With poor job prospects upon graduation, the demand for change in these areas was made loud and clear. However, the students' mandate for change did not extend to absolute abolishment of the national university system. They feared that the break-up of the national system would result in smaller, more competitive units. Already yoked to the duel system of the university vs. *grandes écoles,* they did not want further delineation and competition (*ibid*, 51).

Revision of the admissions process was also important to the students of the Sixties. Affronted by the class-based, elitist selection process, the students wanted, and demanded, a more flexible process. They declared that they wanted farmers' sons to have the same chance as businessmen's sons of entering all the

facultés, and not just the less prestigious ones, such as the *Faculté des Lettres.* Typically, admission to the *facultés* that ensured entrance into top-level positions such as law and medicine, were available to only a select few, whose fathers were usually senior executives. In their research, Boudieu and Passeron (1964, 1999) have shown the great inequality of opportunity.

Abolishment of end-of-the-year examinations also ranked high on the list of demands and was undoubtedly important to the students. Examinations had always been an integral part of the French educational process, and one that engendered an enormous amount of stress on students. The enormous amount of stress was due to the necessity of mastering an immense amount of knowledge—an entire year's worth of studies—and the consequences of failure (the repetition of the entire year).

Other student demands included the abolishment of the mandarin hierarchy (to allow younger professors the opportunity to teach); the dismantlement of the *facultés* and the creation of additional universities; the introduction of interdisciplinary studies into the degree programs; the improvement of the student-professor ratio; the recall of the mandate for gender-segregation of student housing, and modernization of residence halls; the enlargement of the student restaurant capacity to reflect the increase in student enrollment; and the revision of outdated, impersonal teaching methods.

Restructuring of the university included not only autonomy, but also participation. Fed up with the internal system of mandarin rule, and the external system of Ministry rule, students wanted representation and participation in the decision-making process at all levels. Thus, administration of the university would be by cooperative management with students, faculty, university personnel, and lay persons having equal roles. Participation included more mundane areas, as well. Students argued for an overhaul of the teaching system to allow for greater student-professor interaction through smaller classes. They wanted to be able to hold face-to-face discussions and conversations with their professors, to participate in the learning process, and to develop a sense of rapport with the professor as well as their fellow students.

The demand for relevance, of course, primarily focused on the necessity of post-graduation employment. Students considered their courses inapplicable to the labor market of the Sixties. Unemployment was at a high, and prospects of finding a job were small. While the French are immeasurably proud of their language expertise, the job market needed business graduates rather than humanities graduates. Additionally, to supplement their demand for course relevance, the students wanted a revision of textbooks to ones that were completely up-to-date; an increase in school supplies; and the expansion of course offerings to include interdisciplinary subjects, technology, and business courses.

Clearly, the demands of French university students centered on university related grievances. External causes of unrest, such as dissatisfaction with DeGaulle's government, came predominantly in the heat of the moment following the Night of the Barricades. Global issues like the Vietnam War were for the most part peripheral to the principal catalysts for protest. Unlike students from universities in England and Germany, who had clear external political stimuli for dissent, French students demanded, first and foremost, internal change.

England

While the stimuli for student insurgency in France were predominantly internal university factors, and student conflict in Germany was chiefly caused by external political issues, the catalysts for student strife in England were caused by both internal and external elements. Even with the additional stimulus of unrest across the English Channel in France and in Germany, the unrest in England was comparatively mild.

It was a combination of political and academic concerns that fueled the 1966-1970 season of protest in England. The grievances against the local universities were similar to those in France: lack of student participation in academic decision-making; *in loco parentis* restrictions on sexual relations; freedom of speech; student/ professor ratios; and inadequate library facilities. Disaffection with a variety of political issues, by and large global, also promoted

the growth of student activism. Even so, the difference between the countries on opposite sides of the British Channel was readily evident. Serious large-scale revolution was not a cultural tradition in England, where confrontations were usually cerebral rather than physical.

While there were the complaints common to all college students such as student/ professor ratio, tuition increases, segregated residence halls, poor quality of food, and poor facilities, students in England were well off compared to their counterparts in France or Germany. Unlike in France, the typical university in Britain was small as was class size, and there was frequent contact between professor and student. The extreme overcrowding, paucity of supplies, and antiquated facilities found in France were not an issue for revolt in England.

Student enrollment was also a problematic issue in England. Table 8 below gives an accounting of the number of students in higher education in Britain from 1957 to 1968.

Table 8. Students in Fulltime Higher Education, Great Britain, 1957-58 to 1967-68

Numbers of students in the thousands

Year	Universities including former CATs	Colleges of education	Further education	All fulltime higher education students	Percent of students in universities
1957-58	103	33	13	148	69
1962-63	131	55	31	217	60
1963-64	140	62	36	238	59
1964-65	154	71	43	267	57
1965-66	169	82	51	302	56
1966-67	184	95	59	339	54
1967-68	200	106	71	376	53
Percentagegrowth 1962-63 to 1967-68	53	50	93	129	74

Source: Simon, Brian. 1991. *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990.* New York: St. Martin's Press. p. 260.

Colin Crouch (1972) explains why the numbers do not indicate severe overcrowding:

> Arguments that see student revolt as a response to crowding and poor facilities are especially vulnerable; if this were an important factor, then student revolt in Britain would have been virtually confined to the colleges of technology, whose conditions are far inferior to those of the universities; but in practice the very reverse has been the case (196).

Student activism in Britain came about largely as a response to university disciplinary measures as a result of student political protest (Shaw 1989).

It was a Catch-22 of sorts: students protested against some global issue (racism in Rhodesia, Americans in the Vietnam War, nuclear bombs) or assertion of a specific student right, and when as a result of their protest a few of their group

were disciplined by the university authorities, the protests escalated. The intensification of protest brought more restrictions upon the students and less choice in their own affairs. As the cycle continued, the feeling of powerlessness increased and students became more convinced that they had to obtain a measure of control in their own lives, especially in the academic arena. Thus, students became determined to participate in the governance of their own institution.

Increasingly, students felt betrayed by the Labour government and its policies and this feeling was soon transferred to university authorities. As Simon (1991) explains:

> Explanations of this phenomenon, which appears very specific to this generation of students, are many and various. They relate specifically to the feeling of helplessness, indeed alienation, of the young in a world then seemingly inexorably divided into two opposing parts, both armed with nuclear weapons threatening mass destruction….Allied to this was a growing antagonism to increasing governmental power and its exercise by new technocratic seemingly allowing less and less opportunity for the citizen to influence public affairs. (392)

The Establishment, with its fusion of industrial greed, military power, bureaucratic intervention, and authority, was rejected and national government as well as university government was held suspect. Since students were part of the academic community, it was this arena, a familiar and possible objective, they first targeted for change.

The disaffection and dissatisfaction of British students also had external catalysts that formed a strong basis for their malaise. In fact, the political environment is vital to the genesis of student power in England. Many problems,

which were outside the control of the university administrators, were the sources of the dissent and disruption on British campuses. The Vietnam War, the armaments race, the nuclear bomb testing, racism and inequality to minorities, and pollution of the environment all carried a measure of responsibility for student unrest. In reality, society in general, perhaps more than higher education, can be considered the basis for student unrest in England.

Jack Embling (1974) states:

> It seems clear the root causes lie not in higher education but in society as a whole, that students are to a large extent sharing the tensions and strains and the widely varying reactions of the comparable age groups outside the universities and colleges. Their intellectual and moral sensitivities and articulateness may be greater and they have peculiar difficulties of their own but it is the outside world and its changes that bite most hard. (122-123)

A more specific issue was student disappointment and feeling of betrayal by the Prime Minister Harold Wilson. The New Left students, in particular, supported Wilson and the Labour Party in the 1964 election. By 1965, Labour had been in power for approximately twelve years, enough time for student disillusionment and feelings of betrayal to fester. Student rhetoric against the Labour Party centered around how the Party had betrayed the working class, and had sold out to capitalism. In 1965, when Wilson ignored the call to remove Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, from office during charges of repression towards the native black population and ignored the UN imposed embargo against Rhodesia, university students were furious and expressed their disapproval by

staging sit-ins at the Rhodesia House. This was the first of two issues related to race that raised the ire and social consciousness of students.

The second concerned the Labour Party's extension of Immigration Restrictions imposed by the prior Conservative Party. Many of Britain's black immigrants were from countries that were members of the commonwealth, and had rights due to that status. Restrictions severely limited the number of commonwealth subjects allowed to enter the United Kingdom, and this was seen as a race issue by most British students. (Crouch 1970,1972; Shaw 1989).

By 1966, dissatisfaction with Wilson grew even more profound. A pay freeze, support for America's intervention in Viet Nam, and reaction to a seaman's strike all served as additional causes for cynicism toward the Labour Party and led to student unrest.

British students have a history of being politically active. In the 1960s, the activist students' political orientation was Leftist. The student Left –New Left—in Britain can be explained in the following words:

> …we find a movement which has rejected a Soviet path to a bureaucratic centralized socialism, and which sees western social democracy as having succumbed to the influence of capitalist society to the extent that, it represents no longer the proletariat, but those of the class ruled technocratic state….Within the university, this global stance tries to relate itself to the local issues at hand. It seeks to give shape to dissatisfaction with authority in terms of critique of authority….It seeks to create forms of communal action in direct contrast with bureaucratic action.. It seeks to expose, in the specific instance of the university, the oppression of technocratic class rule. (Crouch 1972, 207-208)

The student New Left in Britain were "notable for their ideology of student power… and had transferred the ideas of the radical or revolutionary trade unionism to the student milieu" (Shaw 1989, 243).

Thus, the catalysts for student protest in Britain were bifurcated: grievances against local university restrictions and its absolute authority; and political grievances resulting from dissatisfaction with the Labour government's stance on global issues. Both of these issues caused a polarization toward Leftist causes.

England: 1960s Student Protest Timeline

The issue that inaugurated student protest in England was the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia by Prime Minister Ian Smith in November 1965: students marched to Rhodesia House and arrests were made (Crouch 1970). Although student protest had erupted in the U.S., West Germany, and Japan, this outbreak of student activism among London School of Economics (LSE) students was the first of its kind in Britain in recent times. The support of dock workers for the intolerant racist statements of a Cabinet Minister further fueled student dissent. Fraser (1988) explains that

> London dockers, traditionally among the more militant sectors of the working class, marched with meat-market porters on parliament in support of a Conservative Shadow Cabinet member, Enoch Powell, who had bitterly denounced what he saw as the coming inundation of Britain by black immigrants. (273)

As the LSE student body had a large non-white, commonwealth-originated sector, both of these incidents escalated the student movement. New Left LSE

students were aware that only a global issue would be able to make the impact necessary to arouse a significant part of the student body. Colin Crouch, at that time an LSE student, states:

> We had hoped to see such participation within the student body, but had recognized that mass interest could only be achieved in the event of a "big issue", such as Rhodesian UDI had been. Toward the end of the academic year 1965-1966, we therefore resolved that a demand for greater student participation in the running of LSE should be launched as a major campaign the following October. (1970, 35)

Racial tension was one of the core components of the initial drive for activism; lack of student participation in university affairs was another. A large number of the students were intensely interested in participative democracy, and were determined to see change within the university governance (Crouch 1970). At this juncture, David Adelstein, a white South African student, was elected president of LSE's student body. This graduate student played an integral role in the events that were to follow.

The decision of sitting Director, Sir Sydney Caine, to retire necessitated the hiring of a new Director at the LSE. During the summer, Dr. Walter Adams, principal of the University College in Rhodesia, was appointed to the post of Director. This event galvanized approximately twenty LSE students, members of the Young Socialists League (YSL), into preparing a pamphlet denouncing the choice and charging Adams with racism, as well as administrative mismanagement. When a letter was written to *The Times* in response to criticism of the student's actions by Adelstein, it was written in spite of a refusal by Sir

Sydney Caine, the prior LSE Director, and identified the author as an LSE student. An LSE regulation stipulated that no student could submit anything to the press in which they identified themselves with LSE without explicit authorization from the Director. Although the letter was signed by David Adelstein and eight other students, only Adelstein was summoned before the Board of Discipline. This was the first meeting of the Board in fifteen years, and the students felt that their right of free speech was being denied, and that Adelstein was being made the scapegoat (*ibid*). This action helped to unite the students frustrated with university authority.

This incident reinforced the students´ perception of having no say whatsoever in the affairs of the university. The students argued that they deserved to participate in decisions that directly affected them and their futures. The faculty response succinctly stated that as transient members of the academic community, students should not be consulted; administration should rest in the hands of the faculty. This led to the first boycott of classes and the first stirrings of student power. Subsequently, a fee increase for overseas students stirred the National Union of Students (NUS) into calling for another boycott and brought forth the creation of a new student group, the Radical Student Alliance (RSA).

The next incident was the turning point for students and administrators alike. January 31, 1966 was designated by the president of the Graduate Students Association as the date for the next student meeting, which was to be held in the Old Theater. Although consent for the meeting was rescinded by the Director, the

meeting went forward with disastrous results. Finding the doors blocked by porters, students tried to push their way into the theater. In the rush, a senior porter suffered a heart attack and died. The students and the administration blamed one another for the events of that day (Crouch 1970). Again, the Board of Discipline called before them David Adelstein and seven other students; six students were dismissed and Adelstein and one other were suspended for the rest of the year.

Following this decision, 800 students elected to boycott classes, engage in a hunger strike, and stage a sit-in at the main entrance of the school. Students from other schools joined the protesters, accusing the administration of stifling free speech. The sit-in continued for another week and resulted in two concessions from the administration. First, following an apology by Adelstein and the other student, the suspensions were rescinded. Even more importantly, students were granted representation on the LSE Board of Discipline (Crouch 1972).

Unrest did not spread from the LSE campus until December 1967, when students at the Regent Street Polytechnic and the Holborn College of Law and Commerce staged a sit-in to protest lack of student representation. These two institutions are also located in London. The first campus revolt outside of London took place shortly afterwards, in January 1968, at Aston University in Birmingham. The Aston sit-in was, likewise, in protest of the lack of student participation. The brief sit-in resulted in the formation of a committee to address the student concerns (*ibid*). Although student protest emanated primarily from

London, various forms of student protest were experienced on campuses throughout Britain. The causes were diverse leading to varied demands. However, most demands, in England, regardless of the initial number and variety, typically metamorphosed into one primary demand: student participation. Table 9 illustrates the variety of issues as well as the ubiquity of student protest in Britain.

The column for race includes immigration issues and civil rights; while student participation encompasses autonomy and disciplinary action. The column labeled "other" includes student protests that were out of the ordinary, i.e. University of Edinburgh students protesting the refusal of their Rector (Malcolm Muggeridge) to present their viewpoints to the university authorities; University of Bristol students wishing to open their Student Union/Cafeteria to all who wanted to use it, etc. Free University indicates the desire for the students to run their own critical university.

Table 9. Issues and Universities in England Experiencing Student Protest, 1966-1970

Race/Immigration	Student Participation	Other
University of Leeds	LSE	University of Edinburgh
LSE	Holborn College of Law	University of Bristol
Enfield College of Technology	Regent Street Polytechnic	
Essex	University of Leicester	
Oxford	Hornsey College of Art	
Queens College, Belfast	Hull	
University College, Dublin	Guildford	
Trinity College, Dublin	Croydon	
	Birmingham	
	University of Keele	
	University of Bradford	
	University of Leeds	
	University College at Swansea	

Facilities/ Food/Dorm	VietNam/Military Involvement
University of York	University of Sussex
University of Manchester	University of Manchester
	Oxford
	Cambridge
	University of Glasgow
	Exeter

Free University
Cambridge
Hornsey
Croyden
Guildford
Birmingham

Around the time of the Aston protest, a protest of a different sort occurred at the University of Edinburgh. As mentioned above, protest arose when the Rector, Malcolm Muggeridge, refused to represent student views on birth control to the authorities of the university. By February 1968, students at the University of

Leicester initiated a sit-in when the Leicester University authorities refused to concede to the comparatively mild request for student participation. As Leicester was known by all as a notoriously apolitical university as far as student political participation was concerned, it is representative of the times to note that these typically politically apathetic students founds themselves masterminding a sit-in in the administration building. When university officials offered to arrange further talks, the Leicester students called off their protest.

It was also in February that student protest began to assume a new dimension. Until this time, students had been content to communicate their dissatisfaction peacefully through sit-ins or passive demonstrations. The next dimension included unruly, often violent, protests against some visiting speaker or dignitary with whom the students disagreed. The first person to experience this new level of protest was a U.S. Embassy official, who was covered with red paint while visiting the University of Sussex to speak on Vietnam (Crouch 1972).

In March 1968, another major occurrence of vehement student protest arose. This time it was at Essex University. On March 8, 1968, the Cabinet Minister, Enoch Powell, repeated his inflammatory comments, at Essex University, about nonwhite immigrants from the Commonwealth flooding into England. Irate students blocked Powell's car from leaving, resulting in disciplinary action. The student reaction was the same as that of LSE student—boycotting lectures. As at LSE, the number of boycotting students increased, and the charges

against the University were identical. In both cases, students felt that their freedom of speech had been infringed upon and a role in university affairs was being denied to them. Large-scale revolt was headed off by levying fines against the protesters instead of suspending them (Fraser 1988).

In March, several other disruptions of a similar nature took place. At the University of Manchester, the Secretary of State for Education was heckled while addressing an assembly. At Oxford, another Minister was nearly thrown into a nearby pond. And, at Cambridge, the Secretary of Defense was nearly prevented from reaching his meeting, due to large numbers of student demonstrators (*ibid*.). March was also the month that the passionate Grosvenor Square protests over American involvement in Vietnam took place. March 1968 was a benchmark in student protest in Britain: it became the first violent row between protesters and the police. In protest against Vietnam, 100,000 demonstrators congregated outside the U.S. Embassy in London's Grosvenor Square.

> Although this was not entirely a student event, it fitted into the pattern that was being set by the new student left in many places: a pattern of recourse to semi-violent action, not through irresponsible hooliganism but because of a definite belief in the theoretical and moral appropriateness of such a course of action. (*ibid*, 101)

The escalation of student protest was apparent and it showed no signs of abating. Even students at the University of York joined in the spirit of protest and managed a brief sit-in to protest tasteless university food.

On May 7, as things were escalating rapidly in France, 150 students from Essex refused to let a scientist from Porton Down, a research center known for carrying out biological warfare experiments, give his planned speech. Heckling and disruption continued to be a favored form of protest. Crouch (1972) comments on the importance of this incident of student dissent:

> The dispute was significant, not merely because of the scope of crisis it created within the university and the concern over biological warfare it stimulated, but because it provided an opportunity for militant students to spell out their doctrine of intolerance for speakers of whom they disapproved. (198)

Again, it was disciplinary action that further fueled student protest. Like at LSE, three protestors had been summoned to appear before the Chancellor of Essex University. Dr. Sloman summarily, without trial and on his own authority, expelled these principal protesters. The Essex student body that felt freedom of speech was being denied to them, staged sit-ins. As a result, committees were formed to address student-administration relations and the three protesters were reinstated (*ibid*, 198).

May was the period of another bout of protests, in another segment of academia: the art colleges of Hornsey, Guildford, Croyden, and Birmingham. Students at the Hornsey College of Art in London initiated a sit-in over the matter of autonomy for their student union and a sabbatical year for their president. However, in time, it evolved into revision of the entire foundation of art education at Hornsey. Students began to see protest as having a silver lining. Not only was it

an effective political weapon, it was also a valuable, worthy educational experience that could be life-transforming. In order to reconstruct a valid art curriculum, the students progressed from a sit-in to the taking over the college. This hitherto apolitical college took a revolutionary stance and transformed Hornsey College into a free university, the Crouch End Commune. Desire for participation, adequate education, and communication is evident in the following comments of a Crouch Commune student:

> It was in the small seminars of not more than twenty people that ideas could be thrashed out. Each person felt personally involved in the dialogue and felt the responsibility to respond vociferously to anything that was said. These discussions often went on until the small hours of the morning. If only such a situation were possible under "normal" conditions. Never had people *en masse* participated so fully before…At last we had found something that was real to all of us. We were not, after all, the complacent receivers of an inadequate educational system. We were actively concerned about our education and wanted to participate, but had never been given the chance before. (Crouch 1970, 112)

The noteworthy feature of this protest was that these characteristically apolitical art students felt passionate enough about their education and their participation in it to become student activists. Great frustration and a sense of desperation were the driving forces in this case, as in most other cases mentioned in this study. Soon, the other art colleges followed suit; at Guildford, sit-ins lasted through the summer.

By the summer term, typically a period of quiet due to examinations, race had once again become a prime issue causing further incidents. At the University of Leeds, Mr. Patrick Wall, MP, and his wife were mobbed as he tried to speak to

an assembly at the university. Lack of student representation was, once again, the cause for a sit-in. This time, it occurred at the University of Bradford and was closely followed by comparable protests at the University of Keele and the University of Leeds. Similarly, at the Enfield College of Technology, students protested the decision to reduce the number of foreign students, an act they interpreted as racist. This sit-in was notable because it was the only incident of significant protest at a college of technology. It was estimated that by June 1968, seventeen colleges and universities had been party to some form of student activism (*The Times,* July 1968*).*

In October 1968, new sit-ins were planned at Essex, Nottingham, and Leeds Universities. *The Guardian, The Times, and The Daily Mirror* reported that an estimated two-thirds to three-fourths of the student bodies of all four universities were part of the sit-in, and between 3,000 and 5,000 people used the LSE campus for political discussion and medical assistance (*The Guardian* Oct. 1968. The escalation of student protest was the reason for the erection of gates at LSE, ostensibly for crowd control. This action, taken by Dr. Adams, was to contribute to difficulties later.

In October, sit-ins, mostly of the conventional, non-violent sort, occurred at Oxford, the University of Exeter, the University of Birmingham, and the University of Manchester. The causes for protest ranged from inadequate library

facilities to lack of student representation to the Vietnam War. Simply put, the mood for protest was ripe, on any grounds.

December saw student activism hit the characteristically conservative University of Bristol, as well as the University of Glasgow. Both demonstrations were initiated to protest class oppression and American imperialism; both protests ended without incident. However, when a group of students initiated a sit-in in the House of Commons in December, it marked the first time that student protest had progressed from university environs to legislative bodies. It also signaled a change in the psyche of the students. They were no longer content to air their grievances in the cloistered locale of the university; nor were they content to restrict their protest to peaceful demonstrations. By the beginning of 1969, protests had become disorderly and destructive and Essex and LSE students caused damage to university property. In the case of Essex, students staged a sit-in in a computer lab, ultimately destroying sociology research. At LSE, students resumed their protests against racial oppression in South Africa and Rhodesia, and subsequently focused on a more concrete, attainable goal—the removal of the LSE main gates installed in October.

This incident heralded another point of reference in student protest in England. Up to this date, university administration had refrained from calling in the civil authorities; however, in light of the skirmishes between the students determined to tear down the gates and the university administrators equally

determined to prevent it, police were summoned. This action was to enflame students in England, as in France, as their sacrosanct university environment was invaded. This decision was to have major repercussions. After thirty students were arrested, further scuffles with administrators resulted in students forcibly removing keys to university buildings from administrators and locking themselves in the buildings (Cowan 2001).

Students from Essex University mounted a show of support for the students at LSE by joining the sit-in at LSE and initiating sit-ins at Essex. At this point, LSE was closed and all classes were canceled. Rallies and sit-ins continued for three weeks, and when classes as LSE were begun in February, protests trickled to a close. Protest had even reached the Queen's University in Belfast, University College, and Trinity College in Dublin, as they experienced sit-ins and disruptions, now commonplace in England and Scotland. The last major disturbance of the student movement occurred in 1970 at Warwick University when it was revealed that the university administration had been keeping secret files on university staff and students. The widespread student movement in Britain, at this point, fizzled to a stop.

Table 10 provides a timeline of the major incidents of student protest in England during this era.

Table 10. Major Student Protests in England 1965-1969

1965	LSE students protest Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence by a series of sit-ins	
1966	Sit-in at LSE and class boycott over appointment of Walter Adams as Director	
1967	*Jan. 31*	Incident at Old Theater of LSE causing death of one of the porters.
	March 13-21	Adelstein suspended by Disciplinary Board for role in Jan 31 uprising. Student sit-ins and hunger strikes force Adelstein's reinstatement.
1968	*March*	Students at Essex boycott classes in demonstration against disciplinary action of students protesting Enoch Powell's comments.
	May	Essex University students disrupt speech by scientist at biochemical weapons plant. Boycott and sit-in at Essex over suspension of students involved in disruption of Powell's speech.
	October	Grosvenor Square Rally of 100,000 students to protest American involvement in Vietnam
	Dec	Essex University students boycott lectures to protest British involvement in Nigeria.
1969	*Jan.*	Essex University students invade a computer lab and destroy research to protest expulsion of student LSE students protest about British investment in Rhodesia and South Africa
	Jan.-Feb.	LSE students use force to tear down main gates of LSE.

Demands

The bona fide demands of university students in England were few and primarily targeted increasing student participation in university governance. This demand, however, was broad based. At the heart of the petition was to allow student representation in order to influence rules and restrictions regarding their college career, including gender segregation, examinations, and evaluation of courses and lecturers. In a macro-perspective, students merely wanted to be recognized as adults and in charge of their own future.

British university students had several outlets for coalescing demands that students in France and Germany did not have. Every university student was automatically granted membership in the National Student Group (NUS) and therefore, had an affiliation— however tenuous—with other students. This meant that students had a forum in which to air their ideals and grievances. Additionally, they could affiliate, if they so chose, with a student group that better represented their personal political outlook such as the Young Socialists League (YSL). Since British students, as stated earlier, were politically astute and leaned toward the Left, concern with the overall state of society and the world was as significant as the state of their specific university. While national and global problems were catalysts for student dissatisfaction, student demands reflected the desire to find viable solutions to the problems that were in their sphere of influence. For that reason, British student demands focused on obtaining authorization to participate

in various levels of university governance. Unlike in France, theirs was not a substantial list of demands. Participation was the key demand and all others were deemed inconsequential.

Germany

One must look to Germany's Humboltian tradition, and to its experience during World War II, to understand the mindset of the students during the 1960s and to better understand the catalysts that sparked the student unrest of this period. The intellectual void left by the Nazi exploits between 1931 and 1945 was profound; it took approximately twenty years to salvage, if only partially, what had been lost. Rosalind Pritchard (1990) comments on the loss to both university and student:

> The abject surrender of the German universities to Nazism is….well known….The Nazis were bitterly anti-intellectualism, and some of the most gifted university staff were expelled, especially Jews, as a result the universities declined from their former eminence. (65)

She also adds that "both students and staff had suffered greatly during the Hitler period and this had resulted in mass ignorance, especially on the part of the students" (*ibid*, 67).

The student body shrank from 124,500 students in 1931 to 85,000 students in 1935; the universities shriveled from twenty-three before the war to nine afterwards and sixty percent of the buildings and equipment for higher education were destroyed during the Second World War (Fallon 1980). Physically,

economically, and intellectually, the remaining universities were in ruin, and needed to be rebuilt in every way; however, reconstruction proceeded leisurely and cautiously. As David Schoenbaum clarifies in Fallon's *The German University: A Heroic Ideal in Conflict with the Modern World*:

> The states were not about to surrender any of their prerogatives to the federal government, even for federal money. Professors, endowed by the Humboldt tradition with an authority even Louis XIV might have found a bit excessive, were not about to countervail their own power. Politicians, still sensitized by the Third Reich, hesitated to exert political pressure on the university. (1980, 65)

Nevertheless, by 1946, universities had reopened, partially reconstructed from the nineteenth century milieu from which German universities had been originally conceived: twenty years later, they were only slightly different from the archetype of 150 years earlier. The prototypical German university emerged as a result of neo-humanist reforms implemented by Wilhelm von Humboldt in the early nineteenth century. The key principles of the Humboltian concept of a university are as follows: wide-ranging internal autonomy of the state university; its self-administration by chaired professors (*Ordinarien);* emphasis on research (free from external pressures and social interests); and a distinction between university education/school instruction and professional practice (Peisert and Framheim 1990).

Created with British and American support, the *Freie Universität* (FU), Free University, of Berlin was perceived as a university with a more open, innovative and liberal structure than most; therefore, it attracted liberal students,

especially those who wanted to legally avoid military service by enrolling in the university. In fact, Tent (1988) remarks that "[s]tudents had prominent representation in the affairs of the university; they were members of the Board of Regents, the faculty boards and the Senate, thus giving them a say in the appointment of professors. The Free University of Berlin was created with the concept of equality and praxis as two cornerstones" (162).

Germany dealt with the trauma of the Hitler years largely by maintaining silence; thus, many students were ignorant about the war years and Germany's role in the war until entering the university. Until that point, school textbooks ended historical commentary at the year 1932. In order to bring the events of Hitler's regime to light, the *Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund* (SDS), the first student association in post-war Germany, organized an exhibit named "Un-expiated Nazi Justice" which "documented the complicity of many jurists in the Federal Republic with the Hitler regime" (Levitt 1989, 212). Cyrill Levitt (*ibid*.) comments on the political consequences this new knowledge had in subsequent events:

> Between 1960 and 1964 German students, especially those at FU, experienced a series of political shocks. They came face to face with Germany's recent past, many of them for the first time. Germany's tragic past had left deep scars which also contributed to the politicization of students….This rediscovery of recent German history was to play an important role in the radicalization of …students. (212)

In reaction to the discovery of Germany's responsibility for the events of World War II, student political leanings swung to the opposite end of the

continuum, the Far Left. In keeping with that ideology, civil liberties, student rights, international politics, disarmament, alternate life-styles, and ecology were issues of importance to German university students of the ‘Sixties.

In 1960, when reports from the *Wissenschaftsrat* (the Science Council) indicated that a crisis of massive university overcrowding was impending, many large, new universities were built and established universities were enlarged. This marked an unprecedented degree of cooperation between the national government (*Bund)* and the states *(Laender).* As Fallon (1972) explains, while it was a genuine attempt to alleviate the crisis, it had little substantive effect, due to the sheer immensity of the overcrowding:

> Unfortunately, the desperate plight of universities in the 1950s was so severe that, coupled with the increasing proportion of students proceeding to university study in the 1960s, even the extraordinary financial investment of the Federal Republic made hardly any impact on the quantitative problems it was designed to correct. (71)

The involvement, and recommendations, of the *Wissenschaftsrat*, however, had two valuable functions: it brought the issues to the German public, who became interested in, and debated, the issues of university reform; and, it had a decisive influence on the structural development of the higher university system for thirty years. Paradoxically, involvement in the interests of higher education reform by the German public was to play an important role in the events that occurred during and following the student protests.

The internal stimuli for student protest were much the same as in France: overcrowding, lack of student-professor contact, dearth of materials, elitist admission policies to institutions of higher education, unacceptable facilities for classes, stagnant, hierarchical professorial system, and not enough student participation in the governance of the university (Phillips 1999). The following table, Table 11, illustrates access, enrollment, and graduates from institutions of higher education in West Germany during the years 1960 to 1970. Clearly, one of the prime concerns for the state governments, as far as the higher educational system of West Germany, was the overwhelming numbers of students enrolling in university, and the number of those graduating.

Table 11. Secondary School Graduates, Access to Higher Education, and Higher Education Graduates in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1960-1970

		1960	**1965**	**1970**
Secondary school graduates (in 1000)	Academic track	55.4	51.7	89.2
	Higher vocational track	0	0	0
	Total	**55.4**	**51.7**	**89.2**
Beginning students in higher education (in 1000)	At universities	65.4	63.2	92.2
	Short-cycle institutions	20.6	26.5	29.2
	Total	**86.0**	**89.7**	**121.4**
Higher education graduates	From universities	27.9	40.5	47.3
	From short-cycle institutions	11.3	15.3	22.0
	Total	**39.2**	**55.8**	**69.3**

Source: Fuhr, Christopher. 1997. *The German Higher Education System Since 1945.* Bonn: Internationes. p. 52

The *Abitur* was the German equivalent of the French *baccalauréat.*. With the exception of medicine and law, German students possessing an *Abitur* were accorded the right to enter any discipline in any German university. In 1960 only a small percentage of those in the social elite were able to pass the *Abitur* (only five percent of all persons between nineteen and twenty-three were able to pass); between 1950 and 1960, the number increased from 114,000 to 252,000 (Goldschmidt 1972). The influx of students, coupled with the Humboltian tradition of learning (allowing students to choose the courses to be taken, the plan of study, and the length of time to complete the studies and sit for the final examination), produced an academic bottleneck. Each year new undergraduates entered the system, yet it took on average between six and eight years for a German student to complete his studies (*ibid*.). This, of course, created extreme overcrowding, which weakened the collaboration found in a community of scholars and also provided a focus for student discontent.

The hierarchical professorial system also created an untenable situation. A professor in Germany, upon appointment to full professor, became "simultaneously head of an institute, with complete control over his discipline" (Fallon 1972, 60). Aspiring, younger scholars were kept in secondary, dependent, and unrewarding roles until the time they were appointed to a full professorship, upon a professor's death. As in France, neither innovative inspiring teaching, nor

student contact held any interest for German professors, and they continued to lecture as they had done for over a century. (Goldschmidt 1972).

Students at *Freie Universität* in Berlin enjoyed greater freedom of speech, assembly, and participation than students at most other German universities. This is perhaps why this particular university initiated and continued to lead student protest activities (Tent 1988).

Three external political events served as motives for student unrest and the political socialization of German students. The first occurred on July 18, 1961 when students demonstrated against the Spanish Consul-General. The Consul-General had come to Berlin to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Fascist assault on the Loyalist government; his presence, and the reason for it, caused a demonstration that ultimately had to be broken up by the Berlin police. The second incident is well known to all: the building of the Berlin Wall by the German Democratic Republic on August 13, 1961. The last occasion arose in October 1962, when the publisher and editors of *Der Spiegel*, an extremely popular liberal political magazine, were arrested and charged with treason. Students in Berlin demonstrated, by the hundreds, for freedom of the press (*ibid*.). While the so-called *Spiegel* Affair raised student consciousness concerning freedom of speech, it was the proposed emergency laws that cemented the alliance between trade unions and left-wing social democrats who were determined to fight against their passing. Levitt (1989) notes that "[t]he two intertwined national political issues

that deeply affected student politics in the mid-sixties were the proposed passage of the emergency laws and the formation of the grand coalition between the conservatives and Social Democrats" (213).

Since 1964, the emergency laws had been a fundamental concern of the SDS. In fact, on May 30, 1964, the SDS joined with five other student organizations to hold a congress in Bonn to discuss the emergency laws. This student-led action was the beginning of a general movement in opposition to the emergency laws and against the coalition of the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party.

Each of the incidents mentioned above, combined with the students' discovery of the recent past, deeply influenced the political attitude of the students of this era. Because of this, politics became primarily centered within the university proper and taken up by the students.

Because of these deep-seated feelings, many German students, in the early Sixties, joined the long-established student group, the SDS, which was founded in September 1946, and consciously identified themselves as members of a New Left student organization, affiliated with its equivalents in the U.S. and in other parts of Europe (Levitt 1989).

Global issues such as the Vietnam War, nuclear disarmament, civil liberties, political hypocrisy, police oppression, and international relations were all *causes célèbres* for German university students. By the mid-1960s, students were

ready to express their grievances openly, in the public arena. Dietrich Goldschmidt addresses (1972) this resolve:

> University students have [*sic*] constantly pointed to the shortcomings of the…university system, first by internal reform discussions, then by demonstrations and political campaigns. In 1960 the German National Union of Students (VDS), the official student representative body, published a memorandum under the title 'Farewell to the Ivory Tower', declaring their intent to awaken student responsibility for social and political problems outside the institutional framework of the university. (157)

As in England and France, students increasingly felt the urgency to have their needs, and convictions, addressed. In the case of Germany, the determination to rally a united student voice to attend to disappointments of society, the government, and global issues was powerful. This intensity was due, perhaps in part, to the profound shame many students felt upon learning of the prior generation's involvement in Hitler's youth groups and the desire to never again turn a blind eye to events happening around them. In Germany, as in the other two countries, the aggregate of past historical events played a vital role in the actions of university students and the reactions of the society, university, and government during the 1960s (Phillips 1999).

Indeed, it was partly because of the fear of returning to the nightmare of Hitler's regime that the vehemence of German students against the Vietnam War was without parallel in other countries (Goldschmidt 1972). As one former organizer of the SDS explained:

> Totalitarianism means concentration camps, killing people, aggression against nations, gassing Jews. Democracy means a guarantee against all this happening. And Vietnam showed us that things weren't that simple. A democratically constituted society such as America had, within itself vehement racial conflicts and it threw itself into an imperialistic colonial war in Southeast Asia which equaled the deeds of the German Reich under Hitler. (214)

For an extended stretch of time, the German student protest enthusiasm found slight reaction from the general public. And, unlike in France, the workers in Germany were extremely antagonistic to the demonstrations. They could not understand why students, who were being educated at the university and had favorable job prospects upon graduation, didn't take advantage of their situation. Ultimately, their lack of support would make an enormous difference in the chance for the success of the student revolt in Germany.

However, the catalysts for revolt in Germany, taken as a whole, provided the spark necessary to mobilize large numbers of students in multiple cities. The following section will give a chronology of student unrest in Germany in the 1960s.

Student Protest: Major Incident Timeline

From the end of the Second World War until shortly after President Kennedy's trip to Berlin, Germans were passionately pro-American. However, they lost faith in American ideals following Kennedy's assassination, and soon developed a clearly critical view of American participation in the war in Vietnam, the U.S. government's 'credibility gap', and widespread racial problems across the

southern part of the United States. This shift in attitude set the stage for the beginnings of student protest.

Student protest began in earnest in May 1965 as students boycotted all political science lectures following what came to be known as the Kuby Affair. To commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Allied victory in World War II, the students at the Free University had invited several prominent individuals to speak to the student body. Amongst the invitees was writer Erich Kuby who had previously been critical of the Free University, a fact that had caught the attention of several of the university administrators (Goldschmidt 1972).

When the Rector, H.J. Lieber, refused to let Kuby speak, students initiated a large demonstration in defense of the freedom of speech. Fallon (1972) describes the emotions of the German Free University student at this time:

> In the eyes of many students, the German university was not serving the needs of society but was instead simply generating apologies for an increasingly conservative culture in which the anti-democratic tendencies of the period from the turn of the century to 1945 were markedly reasserting themselves. (76)

Not content to simply rally, some 3,000 students circulated a petition protesting the rector's actions and calling for his resignation. The rector resigned, and German students felt their power for the first time.

The watershed began on June 2, 1967 in West Berlin at an anti-Shah rally: the movement evolved from a single university student protest to a mass movement. In a protest against oppression in Iran, more than 5,000 students from

the Free University marched in front of the Opera House, where the Shah was planning a visit. [A few weeks before, the students had heard a speech outlining the excesses of the Shah of Iran, who was known both for personal extravagance to the detriment of his people, and cruelty to those who disagreed with his methods and decisions.] Police began attacking the students, apparently not to keep order, but to inflict harm. More than 100 students were injured, and one student, Benno Ohnesorg, was shot in the back of the head by a policeman (Harris 1970; Pinner 1968). Explaining the significance of this event, Levitt (1989) notes that "[t]his single event radicalized tens of thousands of German students and created, literally overnight, a mass political movement." (215). Goldschmidt (1972) adds:

> The fact that a Berlin student was shot dead by a policeman in June made students' solidarity spread through Germany; their struggle for better conditions of study, better curricula, less individualistic examinations was- for a certain time- overshadowed by purely political demands such as for peace in Vietnam, atomic disarmament, or against the enactment of emergency laws in West Germany, and the power of newspaper monopolies. (158)

Newspapers, especially those under the control of Axel Springer, were responsible for the overzealous attack by the police in the minds of most Free University students. Students suspected they were being turned into "scapegoats for the ills of society, and believed that the same Nazi tactics employed against the Jews in the Third Reich were being used against the students in Berlin" (*ibid*, 158).

In September 1967, SDS announced a formal campaign against the Springer chain, and planned on making the public aware of the alleged abuses by

this press in a tribunal against Axel Springer's news media. Jürgen Habermas (1971) points out that the students, by then, had expanded the fundamentals of their dissent and were experiencing a sense of moral outrage that "the established social systems are incapable of solving the problems of survival in other parts of the world" (35).

However, as plans were being made, the leader of the German SDS, Rudi Dutschke, was shot and nearly killed by a mentally unbalanced man. Protests and rallies erupted in Berlin and throughout Germany (Goldschmidt 1972). All major cities erupted in protest, with Bonn, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Stuttgart students participating in earnest. With the attempted assassination of Dutschke, the problem of widespread political aggression was beginning to be felt.

By April 5, 1967 eleven students were arrested for plotting to "bomb" Vice President Hubert Humphrey. Although the bombs were in fact made of only flour and pudding, with a couple of smoke bombs for effect, a clear sense of violence was in the air and brutal terrorism was not far off. When on April 2, 1968 Andreas Baader and three companions set fire to two Frankfurt department stores, the terrorist Baader-Meinhof gang, also known as the Red Faction, was born. (Levitt 1989) Clearly, university disaffection had been replaced by political unrest on the part of some and terror campaigns on the part of others. In an effort to curb the demonstrations and escalating aggression, the Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats brought forth a bill for legislation: the Emergency Powers Act. Rather

than easing the tension, this served to heighten the disquiet and indignation of the German population. Pritchard (1990) concisely describes the essence of the Emergency Laws:

> The Emergency Laws were directed against the existence of trade unions, freedom of assembly, confidentiality of mail, the right to free speech, free choice of job, and parliamentary control of the executive. The threat to freedom of research and teaching implicit in them needs no emphasis. (87)

In protest, on May 11, a large demonstration, later named the Star March (Sternmarsch), comprised of around 70,000 people, was held in Bonn. At this precise time, Paris student leaders were calling on, and receiving support from, trade unions to join them in their fight against police violence. This was the plan in Bonn, as well; however, unlike France, the unions held a separate rally in Dortmund, and no cooperative effort between students and workers emerged. Ironically, while general strikes were increasing in France, the SDS were unable to enlist the German workers' aid in supporting their cause for protest against the ratification of the emergency laws. Therefore, as Ronald Fraser (1988) noted "the student movement was driven back not by the repressive forces of the bourgeois state, but by the refusal of the trade unions to break their post-war consensus with that state" (262).

Shortly afterwards, a series of strikes, rallies, and sit-ins were held throughout West Germany. In Frankfurt, 5,000 demonstrators congregated and elected to strengthen the effort within universities "in hopes of drawing new recruits into the movement and then to carry the struggle into the cities" (*ibid*,

263). In a short period of time, matters became serious enough for the Rector to close down the university for a week. When the university reopened, students occupied the administration building and re-christened it the Karl Marx University. Under continued pressure from Frankfurt university students, on the same day as the take-over, factory workers joined students, at last, to protest the emergency laws in a demonstration that gathered 15,000 people. The occupation, and renamed university, lasted two and one-half days until Frankfurt police routed the students. Students relished creating a rival university to the West Berlin Critical University, and relished equally the feeling of power they had as they took over the Chancellor's office:

> Two days in which the students also sat at the Chancellor's desk and smoked his cigars. They were having a lot of fun, answering the phones, giggling. They put on the Chancellor's ceremonial robes and cycled through the main shopping street…. After files were broken into, the police were called in, and ended the occupation. (Fraser 1988, 263)

Violence escalated further in November, when police clashed with 1,000 students in front of a courthouse on the street, Tegeler Weg, which subsequently gave the protest its name. Incidents such as that in Frankfurt were reenacted in university towns all over Germany.

It would seem that with the increase in student activism and escalation of demonstrations in all parts of West Germany, the trend would continue and might follow a course similar to that in France. However, "[i]f student political activism reached new heights in 1968, the rapid progress of dissolution began to occur, as

well" (Levitt 1972, 216). Table 12 provides a timeline of the major incidents of protest in Germany.

Table 12. Major Protests in Germany, 1961- 1970

1961	Student protest against Spanish Consul (July 18) Berlin Wall erected (August 13)
1962	Students protest restrictions on free speech; call for resignation of Rector of Free University of Berlin Protests in support of *Der Speigel* publisher First student protests over student political advocacy at the Free University
1965	Boycott of political science lectures to advocate university reform (May) Protest against proposed Emergency Laws (May 30) Kuby Affair (May) Vietnam protests
1966	3,000 Free University students in West Berlin stage sit-in, demanding student viewpoints be considered: limit on students studies proposed. (June 22) Emergency Laws passed (Oct.)
1967	Eleven students arrested for plot to bomb Hubert Humphrey (April 5) Anti-Shah protest: (June 2) Killing of Benno Ohnesorg by police Multiple protests throughout Germany attracting students in the thousands. Student movement becomes mass movement. Kritische University formed (a theoretical discussion arena)

Table 12: (cont.)

1968	Rudi Dutschke shot (April 11) Easter protest against Emergency Laws Star March (May 11) BAK papers published SDS Women protest against SDS (Oct.) Collapse of SDS (dissolved *de facto*) Tegeler Weg Demonstration (Nov. 4)
1969	Basic Law changed to allow Federal Government intervention in system of higher education regulated from 1949 by *Länder*
1970	*De jure* dissolution of SDS

Table 13 provides a comparison of major incidents of student protest or incidents serving as a catalyst for protest in England, France, and Germany. It is organized by year and by country, and key political events are included as a point of reference.

Table 13. Major Incidents of Student Protest in England, France, and Germany 1963-1970

Year	England	France	Germany
1963			Easter marches against nuclear disarmament
			Youth riots in Munich
1964	Labour wins election after 13 years of conservative rule		
1965	Wilson shows support for U.S. in Vietnam	DeGaulle reelected	Leftist students organize a congress against proposed Emergency Act
1966	Labour Party wins again	JCR formed	West Berlin student protest against Vietnam War
	Massive financial crisis	UKC-ml formed	West Berlin sit-in
	VSC formed gov't announces fee increase for foreign students		SPD agrees to join Christian Democratic Party in coalition
1967	100,000 students demonstrate against foreign students' fee increase	Student strike starts at Nanterre	Police arrest students for planning to attach Hubert Humphrey
	1st student occupation at LSE: lasts 9 days		Police kill Ohnesorg at Anti-Shah demonstrations
	1st VSE demonstration brings out 10,000		Student movement becomes mass movement
1968	2nd VSC demonstration: political violence in Grosvenor Square (March)	Incident between Cohn-Bendit and Misoffe (Jan)	Demonstrations by parties and trade unions
	Speech by Enoch Powell (April)	Nanterre occupation formation of March 22 Movement	Dutschke shot: heavy fighting follows, 2 killed, hundreds injured (Easter)
	London dockers rally in favor of Powell (April)	May events May 3-mid-June	Demonstration against Emergency Powers Act (May)

Year	England	France	Germany
	3rd VSC demonstration (Oct)		Women SDS'ers revolt against SDS (Oct)
			Collapse of SDS
			Violent street battle–Tegeler Weg in West Berlin
1969	LSE closed after students take down gates (Jan)	National day of action against repression in universities	Last attempt to reorganize Extra Parliamentary opposition
	Gov't attempt to outlaw "unofficial strikes"	Orientation Law passes (Nov 11)	Berlin fails (Dec.)
	Meeting of NUS and CVCP to discuss student participation		Amendment to Basic Law of 1949

Demands

The wave of politically based student protests served to bring enormous individual and public weight to bear on university authorities and federal and state government officials. However, once the attention was on reform, the bona fide demands reverted to internal university grievances. Student demands were clear and included: expansion and modernization of the universities, revision of professorial system, and teaching methods, democratization of university admissions, and increased student participation.

One of the areas most troubling to the students, and in most need of change, was that of the professoriate. Based on the hierarchical chair system, the full professor (*Ordinarien)* wielded an enormous amount of power that was demonstrated in the term, *Ordinarienuniversitäat.* The students likened the

Ordinarien to the factory owner who owned the means of production and used it to his own advantage. According to Pritchard, (1990) students and *Assistenten* complained that

> The control which the Ordinarius exercised over resources resulted in academic work ceasing to be a form of collegial collaboration, and taking on the character of some sort of 'merchandise'…[and that] whatever value the concepts of intellectual freedom and unity of knowledge might once have possessed, they were now being destroyed by the prevailing constellations of professorial power and unenlightened administrative procedures. (90-91)

Thus, dismantling the chair system was of utmost concern. In its place, the BAK (*Bundesassistentenkonferenz*), the untenured academic assistants to the full professors, argued that a comprehensive system of higher education would restore intellectual integrity to the university. In 1968, they developed a plan to integrate all of the tertiary institutions and restore the unity of teaching and research through the theory of learning-through-research. Students and the BAK presented this as one of their requirements (*ibid*).

Student participation in academic affairs was another key demand for which the students proposed a solution—triple parity. The triple parity model of power sharing gave each of the three academic groups within the university—the *Ordinarien*, the *Nichtordinarien*, and the students—thirty-three percent of the votes. Power would be divided equally amongst these groups who would cast their votes in the governing body, the Senate. As might be expected, this caused a great

deal of controversy, but it serves to show the earnestness of the students' intent to have a voice in deciding important issues that impact their futures.

CHAPTER V

Academic Reforms Following the Protests of 1968

> *The 1960s and the early 1970s were the greatest period of attempted reform of institutions of higher education in the Western world in eight hundred years.* - Kerr 1986, xv

Clark Kerr makes two points about this period of reform following the student protests of the sixties: that the exigency for change during this period was unparalleled; and that it was a period of *endeavoring* to change, not necessarily achieving *de facto* or *de jure* transformation. At no time in history did so many nations around the world begin negotiations, within a comparable time span, for modification of their systems of higher education.

The realization of any nation's goals for reorganizing its system of higher education is tempered by four factors:

1. Change is influenced by a combination of societal, political, economic, and cultural factors; thus, reform is never straightforward.
2. The interplay of power among the three major societal forces (government, citizenry, and institutions) has an impact on the planning, prioritizing, and ultimate success of reforms.
3. The degree of modification to the principles and procedures of the existing organization impedes or facilitates attainment of the reform measure.

4. The precision of the identification of goals and means for implementation of reform measures enhances or diminishes the likelihood for accomplishing university reorganization.

This chapter presents and assesses the higher education measures of reform enacted between 1968 and 1976 in England, France, and Germany. This is not to suggest that student protest was the sole or even the primary cause for the acts of reform that were introduced. Indeed, the viewpoint advanced here is that it was the curious mixture of internal and external stimuli — different in each of these three countries — rather than a single cause that ignited student protest, and focused university, governmental, and societal attention on academic issues. The aim of this study is to discover which of the student demands were in fact included in reform measures and enacted in the years immediately following the major uprisings in England, France, and Germany. Since it has been asserted that student protest is one of the most significant stimuli leading to academic change (Altbach 1989; Archer 1972; Simon 1991; Stewart 1989), determining the extent to which these demands were met is one means of evaluating the impact of student activism on the ensuing academic reforms during the years following the uprisings.

Just as the reasons and manner of protest varied from country to country, so did the measure of reform. It is interesting to note what role the degree of centralization plays in establishing the reform. In France, the extreme

centralization paralyzed the university authorities, and the government, and hindered them from making necessary decisions in a timely manner. In contrast, the complete lack of centralization in Germany, created an impediment when it came to enacting any proposed legislation.

France

Drafted between July12 and October 25, 1968, the *Loi d'orientation de l'enseignement supérieure* (Law on the Orientation of Higher Education) was intended to initiate sweeping change in the areas of autonomy, participation, and democracy. As Frances Scotford Archer noted:

> Agreement was reached on the defects of the system which events had highlighted- the inertia of its structure, rigidity of its centralization, its obsolete teaching methods and the detrimental role played by the traditional examination procedure. The three major principles of the new law were, autonomy, participation, and orientation. (1972, 145)

Autonomy referred to the dismantling of the unwieldy Napoleonic university and the creation of interdisciplinary units with greater flexibility, financial autonomy, and administrative independence: it was an attempt to decentralize the higher education system. Participation referred to the increased participation in academic affairs by student delegates to university councils. The third principle of orientation — democracy — sought to maintain open admission to universities for holders of the *bac* (in rejection of a new selection process) and to increase admission for students from lower income groups.

The Higher Education Law — commonly known as the *Loi Edgar Faure*, or the Edgar Faure Law — was enacted on November 12, 1968 as a practical measure to end student rebellion. On the surface, it was promising — a valiant effort to be innovative, yet conciliatory, to the many stakeholders. Edgar Faure, the Minister of Education who was the principal architect of the Act, and for whom it was named, recognized that change was imperative and recommended that the three broad principles mentioned above be considered.

However, Edgar Faure was not the first nominee for the important position of Minister of Education. The circumstances under which Faure assumed office demand attention because they "illuminate all future controversies" (Debbasch 1971, 31). In order to address the university crisis, Prime Minister Georges Pompidou nominated a recognized technician — and Pompidou's most loyal supporter — to the position on May 31, 1968. M.F.X. Ortoli, determined to bring order to the university, began to offer measures of appeasement to the students, sought to gather pertinent information, and continued to keep a watchful eye on solutions to the problems of university teaching (*ibid*., 31). Before Ortoli had barely begun working toward his goals, he was relieved of his responsibilities, and replaced by General DeGaulle's candidate, Edgar Faure. DeGaulle selected Faure because of

> the capacity for work, the ability and talents of a conciliator, and gave him a free rein: " All I ask of you is that the students don't award diplomas to themselves." (author's translation)

> [*la capacité de travail, l'intelligence souple, l'habilité et les talents de conciliateur, et il lui laissa carte blanche : 'Tout ce que je vous demande, c'est que les étudiants ne se décernent pas eux-mêmes leurs diplômes.'* (Prost 1981, 308)]

Not only was Ortoli replaced, but his mentor, Georges Pompidou, the Prime Minister of France was replaced as well. DeGaulle then appointed M. Couve de Murville to the position of Prime Minister, following the June elections.

The selection of Couve de Murville would ultimately play a key role in the complexity of designing the *Loi d'Orientation.* The personalities of the Prime Minister and the Minister of National Education were diametrically opposed. M. Couve de Murville was a dyed-in-the-wool diplomat who believed in the value of time to resolve the most serious problems. Sophisticated and refined, he was prudence itself, and taking any action at all was a slow, meticulous process. Faure, on the other hand, was an arbitrator who thrived on action, was comfortable in high voltage situations, and ready to effect reform of the higher educational system in France. His modus operandi scandalized Couve de Murville (Debbasch 1971, 32-33). Consequently, altercations between the two began from the first moment, often requiring the intervention of DeGaulle. Invariably, DeGaulle sided with Faure, creating an even more awkward and uncomfortable situation. It was a problem with no solution and it plagued the designers of the reform bill.

As Cohen states, Faure, "once appointed, recruited the ablest and most knowledgeable men to aid him in the task of reforming the universities" (1978, 48). While his selection of cabinet members was deemed by many in the government to be unconventional and suspect, no one dared criticize DeGaulle's *protégé,* at least to his face. Murmurs were heard along the line of: " Lui, il est bien, mais son entourage…" meaning "He is okay, but his colleagues…" (Debbasch 1972, 33). For his leading advisers Faure chose Gérard Antoine, former rector of the academy of Orléans, who was assigned the task of coordination; Michel Alliot, former rector of Madagascar, who was assigned the duty of cabinet director; and university professors François Furet and Jacques de Chalendar (Cohen 1978, 48). Faure described his team enthusiastically as a working party without boundaries. He and his colleagues made good use of all work done by his predecessor's group and any additional outside assistance (*ibid*). As Ortoli had done, Faure sent his assistants around the nation to collect proposals for university reform. They

> were thus in a position to gather, organize and centralize the bewildering number of reform proposals that ha[d] been drafted in May and June….They classified most of the important projects prepared by high-ranking civil servants, individual teachers and organized groups as well as those elaborated in the *facultés*....They synthesized them thereby making political decision makers fully cognizant of the universities' demands. (*ibid*., 48)

For nine months following the May 1968 riots, these men met each week with the foremost officials of the ministry as well as with rectors, faculty, and

students. They gathered, organized, and integrated data, and served the function of key intermediary.

Faure seemed to be able to grasp the ethos behind the events of May 1968 and hone in on the crux of the problem — the necessity to reform the structure of the universities and the internal pedagogical or academic inadequacies. He intended to create a university in the real sense of the word. The French *facultés* were not universities: the word *university* existed in France, but the institution, in the true meaning of the word, did not. The speed at which the bill was designed was breathtaking:

> The Acts followed without delay. On September 4, the Council of Ministers proceeded with the first examination of the project of the Law of Orientation for Higher Education; the 19 it (i.e., the Council) adopted it; on October 1, it was presented to the Assembly; on October 3, discussion begins; on October 10 it was adopted unanimously, except for 33 abstentions from the Communist Party and 6 from the UDR. The law was enacted on November 12. (author's translation)
>
> [*Les actes suivent sans delai. Le 4 septembre, le conseil des ministres procède au premier examen du projet du loi de l'orientation de l'enseignement supérieure ; le 19 il adopte ; le 1ère octobre, il est déposé sur le bureau de l'Assemblée ; le 3 octobre, la discussion commence ; le 10 il est adopté à l'unanimité , moins de 33 abstensions de les Communistes et 6 de l'UDR. La loi est promulgée le 12 novembre.* (*ibid*, 48)]

The result of the *Loi d'orientation* was that it outlined principles of reform, offering a fundamental proposal for specific implementations. The highlights of the law were as follows:

- Title I stresses that a university´s purpose is to formulate and transmit knowledge,
- to develop research, and to train people to enter the labor force. Thus, a
- university must give students both necessary knowledge and essential elements
- of training.
- Title II elucidates the intention behind pluridisciplinarity. Universities should try to incorporate Title I stresses that a university's purpose is to formulate and transmit knowledge, to develop research, and to train people to enter the labor force. Thus, a university must give students both necessary knowledge and essential elements of training.
- interaction between the arts and letters and the sciences; in short, the separate disciplines should not remain isolated. In addition, there were to be regional councils of higher education, as well as a national council, comprised of faculty, students, and lay people thus ensuring contribution from all quarters.
- Title III concerns administrative authority and participation within the educational units, later named *Unités d'enseignement et de recherches (UER),* or Units of teaching and research. Professors and students would have equal representation, with sixty percent of the faculty on the council having the rank of *professor* or *maître de conference.*

- Title IV is connected with pedagogical autonomy of the UERs. The UERs were to make decisions about instruction, education, and physical education. The national Ministry of Education was to supervise the granting of degrees, and the formulation of all requirements leading to the degree.
- Title V involves financial autonomy. All UERs were to prepare budgets for the Ministry of Education. The Ministry would allocate funds to the UERs, which could, then, distribute the funds as was specified and needed by each individual unit.
- Title VI concerns the rights and responsibilities of professors. Lecturers could be hired from outside any unit; however, they must meet national requirements and submit to the hiring process performed by faculty representatives. Also included in this title was the guarantee of academic freedom in teaching and research.
- Title VII added a proviso to the guarantee of academic freedom of Title VI. Academic freedom was incompatible with any form of propaganda. Professors must take care to refrain from political indoctrination of their students. Additionally, any threat to order or liberty within a university would be subject to disciplinary action by a council expressly elected for each incident. Students are accorded the right to freedom of information in

regard to political, economic, and social matters, and will be able to do so in a designated location.

- Titles VIII and IX address the implementation of the Act.

There can be no doubt that the *Loi d'orientation de l'enseignement supérieure* was a hastily constructed piece of legislation. Faced with a national crisis, and battling the pressure of time, this measure of reform was legislated in four months. And, in attempting to be everything to every stakeholder, it was able to completely satisfy no one (Cohen 1978). Faure, himself commented on the difficulties inherent in the task: "Some recommend that the law be more bold, others that we be more prudent — we have tried to hold ourselves between the two" (Ballet 1968).

The question is, How many of the students' demands were actually realized in this reform measure? The next section will address this question. To do so, the demands will be separated into the categories of structure/governance, participation, and relevance. Table 14 gives a visual summary of the demands as well as the outcome. The demands that were incorporated into the Act have a plus sign (+); the ones that were not implemented have a minus sign (-). Altered or revised demands have an asterisk (*).

Table 14. Demands by French Students in 1968 and Outcome in the *Loi d'orientation*

Structure/Governance	Participation	Relevance
+ Decentralize educational system	+ Allow more student participation	+ Link coursework to jobs
+ Dismantle faculties	* Co-manage administration	* Modernize lecture system
+ Create more universities	- Encourage professor-student interaction	* Revise textbooks
* Update libraries	+ Freedom of Expression	+ Expand course offerings
+ Introduce multidisciplinary studies	+ Decrease student-professor ratio	+ Introduce technology
+Abolish hierarchy of professoriate		- Introduce Continuing Education
- Revise elite admissions process		
* Modernize student housing		
+ Abolish gender-segregated housing		
- Enlarge restaurant capacity		

Structure and Governance

One of the foremost sources of frustration for French university students was the rigidity of the higher education system. As centralization made it impossible to effect any change without clearance from the National Ministry of Education, students demanded more autonomy in the administration of the university.

The concept of autonomy in structure and governance had been discussed in May at the Caen and Amiens colloquia, and had become a key topic by the time Faure convened his committee. Degree of centralization was at the core of

the discussions, with discussants weighing in on both sides. Some — including those attending the Caen and Amiens conferences — wanted competitive, autonomous universities, supported by private funds. Others, especially the UNEF, wanted standardization of quality, and supported state funding (*ibid*). However, both groups wanted to continue under the aegis of a national system of education. The plan that was selected, the Alliot Plan, stated that "[t]he structure of the educational system will no longer descend from the Ministry to the establishments below; on the contrary, it will be a federated structure of autonomous institutions which will regroup themselves from the bottom to the top" (Chalendar 1970, 197).

Thus, as the students had demanded, the faculties would be divided into groups united by discipline. As Cohen explains, "[t]hese groupings, the UERs (*Unités de l'Enseignement de la Recherche*), would combine to form a university that could have 'major emphasis'" (1978, 54). In addition, to recognize the need for autonomy decisions would come from the bottom up: first, from the department to the university, and finally, to the Ministry of National Education. This was a complete reversal of the pre-Faure Act method (*ibid*, 54). It was estimated that a UER could accommodate anywhere from 500 to 2,500 students. Based on this calculation, it was estimated that approximately 600 UERs would be needed. By 1969, 674 had been created out of the original twenty-two universities plus the forty-three newly established universities (*ibid*, 54). These

units would be administered by an elected council whose members would serve on the National Council. This change eliminated the *faculté* configuration and installed, instead, a structure that included faculty, non-teaching personnel, students, and lay people. Headed by a president who had powers equal to the former rectors and deans, this was the first concrete step toward university autonomy.

To address the demand for participation, national, regional, university, and UER Councils were created, each composed of elected faculty, students, and lay people. As students and faculty would have equal representation, one of the prime student demands — a voice in academic affairs that directly affect the student career — was achieved. Phillipe Sarotte has seen the changes from both perspectives: that of a student at Nanterre in 1967-1968, and that of a professor at Nanterre for fifteen years. He makes the following comments:

> From lack of participation, after 1968, there was over-participation. Professors, students, even secretaries, had representatives. However, it soon appeared as if everyone was suffering from "new reform mania." It was as if that was one thing they (the reformers and authorities) *could* do that was an obvious presentation of genuine attempts to reform activists would be appeased, and people would see reform in progress. (Sarotte, 2000)

Title II Article 6 of the *Loi d'orientation d'enseignement et de recherché* clarifies the rationale behind the formation of the UER: "universities…should associate as far as possible the arts and letters with science and technology. They may have, however, one predominant vocation" (Halls 1976). The purpose was to

bring together various disciplines and to create new universities, thus reducing the gargantuan University of Paris into smaller, more flexible units. Halls explains that "[t]he thirteen universities of the Paris area, six of which are distributed around the periphery, represent a necessary rationalization of the single, elephantine institution that existed before" (*ibid*., 210). The process of partition was accomplished only with great difficulty and yielded thirteen "multidisciplinary" UERs. A major impediment was the mix of academic politics into the division process. Cohen explains that

> Political considerations were indeed an important factor. Faculty of similar political leanings tended to stay together. In some cases where certain groupings would have been desirable, they ultimately did not join because of a "misalliance" since for one reason or another, they were incompatible. For instance, the recruiting and administering of some sections of letters prevented the science *facultés* from joining with them. (1978, 54)

For instance, the *Institut d'Anglais* with around 9,000 students was divided into three separate UERs; the partition was achieved according to political lines. The UER Charles V was the chosen spot for those of the leftist orientation while other professors moved to different Paris UERs according "to affinities that were pedagogical, scientific, and political, thus, giving each group its particular coloration" (Cohen 1979, 91). Outside of Paris, in larger towns, UERs tended to be structured along traditional disciplinary lines, while small towns simply renamed the old *facultés* UERs. The political considerations could also be metaphorical, as in divergent interests or personality clashes.

Problems also emerged when attempting to unify very different disciplines into the same UER. Cohen sheds light on the problem of restructuring by remarking on another, non-political, quandary that existed:

> Professors of science did not want to be linked with those in the humanities. Those in literature denounced project which separated them from other fields in the humanities, and which they feared would reduce their influence and their budget….The rich *facultés* (medicine and science), which owned important laboratories and numerous researchers, feared that if they were regrouped with the *poor* ones (law and literature) in the same university, they would be forced to divide up the funds for research equally among all the disciplines; as one researcher in physics said,' How do you make a professor of Greek understand that we need millions to make a nuclear reactor function?' (*ibid*, 89)

One year after the May 1968 student protests, seventeen new universities were established: Amiens, Besançon, Pau, Caen, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Limoges, Nantes, Nice, Orléans, Tours, Poitiers, Reims, Brest, St.-Etienne, Rouen, and Metz (*ibid*., 90). In the large cities such as Lille, Lyons, Montpelier, Strasbourg, and Nancy, multiple universities were created. Some were organized quite haphazardly; for example: "Letters-Law (Lyon II); Letters-Science (Aix-Marseille I); Science-Medicine (Lyons I, Toulouse III, Grenoble I, Rennes I; Science-Law (Bordeaux I); Law-Medicine (Aix-Marseille II, Montpelier I, Lille II)" (*ibid*, 90).

These UERs were divided into three categories: those with a teaching role; those with a research function; and those former higher education institutions,

including the IUTs established on Jan 7, 1966, which already satisfied some degree of multidisciplinary emphasis in their work (Halls 1976).

As mentioned before, the unwieldy University of Paris became thirteen separate universities, which were eventually divided as follows:

Paris I:	Economics, public law, history, geography
Paris II:	Law
Paris III:	Modern languages, communications
Paris IV :	Classical civilization and literature, computer sciences
Paris V:	University Hospital Centers of Cochin, Necker, Gardes; UERs in Psychology, social sciences, linguistics, applied mathematics, humanities (Sorbonne), pharmacy, and dentistry.
Paris VI	Most of the science faculty at Halle-aux-vins, department of geography From Nanterre letters *faculté,* university hospital center at Pitié Salpetrière
Paris VII	Sciences from Halle-aux-vins, mathematics, solid state physics,genetics, biochemistry, UER Charles V (English from the Sorbonne, clinical sciences from the Sorbonne, lower level medical studies from Montrouge (1st cycle), part UER of French and history of the Sorbonne
Paris VIII	Experimental university of Vincennes, multidisciplinary
Paris IX	Centre Dauphine, business administration
Paris X	Nanterre (Paris-Ouest), letters and law
Paris XI	Orsay (Paris Sud), pharmacy and sciences

Paris XII	Créteil (Paris-Est), political science, humanities, university hospital, Ecology, urbanism, architecture
Paris XIII	Saint-Denis Villetaneuse (Paris-Nord), law, economics, humanities, Sciences

Although the law stipulated that the UERs must be multidisciplinary, only Paris I, V, VII, and VIII complied. The others were simply the *facultés* renamed "universities" (Halls 1976).

Relevance of coursework to the labor market was one of the largest concerns of students in 1968. In fact, relevance became the code word for curriculum reform. Following the *Loi d'orientation,* through the experimental universities, alternate programs, and work-study programs some strides were made in linking pedagogy and praxis. Innovation in course offerings burgeoned as courses in urban studies, women's studies, history of the cinema, and sex education were introduced. There were attempts to create interdisciplinary courses, to use more technology, and to increase instruction in courses such as business administration and marketing. Attempts were made to combine programs, introduce new degrees, and foster research. Again, the effort was there; the magnitude of change was not.

Students also demanded that interdisciplinary studies be introduced, that the content of the courses be altered to reflect the times, and that the method of teaching be revolutionized. And although there was a concerted attempt to form multidisciplinary units, the reform demanded little alteration towards

interdisciplinary work. A few efforts were made to link, for example, psychology and linguistics, or medicine and the biological sciences. These attempts were haphazard and rare, rather than an implementation that was *de rigeur.* As far as the content of the curricula was concerned, the reform stated that each university was to determine the content as well as the pedagogical method. However, in 1968 Faure introduced experimental universities that, although planned in 1968, opened in the 1970s: Antony, Luminy, St. Denis Villeteneuse, Dauphine, and Vincennes. Vincennes, having approximately eighty percent of its students in letters, and Dauphine, dedicated to business administration, were the most important of the five. At these universities, students could take courses leading to practical application such as business administration and computers and had the opportunity to take individual courses rather than the usual year-long program of study. Less restrictive access was offered at Vincennes to applicants who did not possess a *bac.* In addition, this experimental university was authorized to implement its own curriculum requirements, administer its own examination arrangement, offer small classes, and improve teacher-student relations (Cohen 1978).

Private education at the elementary and secondary level is quite widespread. However, there are only a few private universities (six in all) in France, and all but one of them Catholic. As private universities, they do not have the right to award degrees, and therefore private university students must go to a

public university to sit for examinations. The private universities did not take part in the student unrest, and were the silent sector of higher education, in terms of demands. On the whole, students from private universities did not participate in voicing the demand for reforms.

The student petition for the abolishment of examinations was not granted *in toto;* however, accommodations were made. Prior to the reform, students took an examination at the end of the year over the entire year's worth of coursework. Passing the examination allowed the student to progress; failing required the student to repeat the entire year. A compromise was made: final examinations would be held, but partial examinations would also be given following the American method in quizzes and midterms (Lambert 2000).

The demand to abolish the chair system was met, in part, as faculties were split up into UERs. Before 1968, professors were kings and the department their realm; the few that made it to the rank of full professor were indeed the elite of academe. The majority of the faculty spent years as master-assistants and assistants with few privileges, long hours, little pay, and hardly any prospect of change (Sarotte 2000). Schnapp and Vidal-Naquet offer the following student comments defending the abolishment of the mandarinate:

> The present system place an entire department or an entire section under the authority of one single person, with all this entails in the way of rigidity and waiting for the retirement of the head doctor-in-chief [person in charge]. Moreover, the method in choosing these all powerful persons

made it impossible to determine their qualities of organization. (1971, 487)

Edgar Faure supported the necessity for change in a declaration to the national assembly, stating that "[t]he little empires, the little feudalities which have calmly constituted themselves over the years in certain sectors of higher education or research have shown their decay. It is not necessary to reconstitute them. (Cohen 1978, 71)

The hierarchical chair system was abolished in October 1968. However, this was done in name only as the rights and privileges of the mandarins were not completely eliminated. Even the restructuring of the *facultés* into UERs did not succeed in eradicating the chair system. As professors were shifted to a different UER, they "moved on political and philosophical grounds, where they had their own clan" (*ibid*., 134). Thus, *de facto* reform did not take place.

The 1968 reform did not abandon the admissions process that was such an integral part of French culture and which was culturally biased. Inherent within open admissions is the thorny problem of democratization of recruitment. For those without financial means, even after being granted admission on the basis of possessing a *baccalaureat,* university attendance was a moot issue. The baccalaureate holders were usually children of the *bourgoisie*, not children of farm workers. So, although admission was open to all who possessed the *bac*, it was not open to *all*. As a concession to those who advocated an even more rigid

system of selection — to limit the influx of those who did enter yearly — a *numerus clausus* was executed for the fields of medicine and law (Faure 1968).

The demands that have to do with crowding or unsuitability of student accommodations, teaching facilities, libraries, and restaurants had long been acknowledged by those in the Ministry of Education. After May 1968, there was an attempt to increase, enlarge, and modernize. The effort had limited success due to lack of money, lack of space to expand, and lack of alternate solutions. Modernization took place in a piecemeal way: a library improved here, a restaurant enlarged there. Although there were single sex residence halls, there were also ones with unlimited visitation rights. The restructuring of the universities into thirteen institutions caused an even greater housing and classroom space problem. As space allotment was often based on student enrollment figures, the needs of various universities were often unmet and inadequate (Cohen 1978).

Table 15 shows the major changes to the French higher education system since 1968. From Table 15, one can see that reform did take place. In the next chapter, Chapter Six, this change will be compared and contrasted with the changes that took place within the higher educational systems of England and Germany; moreover, the reform in France will be evaluated as to its permanency and effect on the problems of the higher educational system listed throughout this study.

Table 15. Changes within the French System of Higher Education Since 1968

Before 1968	**After 1968**
16 universities	75 universities
governance by the Rector	governance by a council
isolated un-interdisciplinary faculties	UER, multidisciplinary
amphitheater lecture-type classes	seminars and independent study
end-of-the-year exams	continuous testing, mid-term exams
one exam per year	twice-a-year exams

England

It has been said that the student uprising in Britain was probably the calmest, most restrained, and least excessive of the eruptions of student unrest in the industrialized world (Crouch 1972). The uprisings of university students in Britain had fewer catalysts, demanded fewer transformations, and were more limited in size and span, more passive in conveyance of demands, and more temperate in deeds committed. Crouch points out that

> Unlike, for example, the French students, those in Britain have been unable to draw on a tradition of taking to the barricades: the left-wing tradition within British universities has been predominately an intellectual one, as opposed to activist. Radicals in the current [sic] revolt have had to take their historical models from other societies, rather than from their

> own, and have tended to take contemporary ones, such as Berkeley and Paris. (*ibid*, 196)

University students in Britain were less concerned than their counterparts in France about their housing, classroom facilities, student-professor ratio, student/ professor interaction, course content, or overcrowding. The issue of overcrowding had already been addressed to some extent between 1952 and 1962, as fourteen new universities were established. Of these, five were university colleges which were granted university status: Southhampton (1952), Hull (1954), Exeter (1955), Leicester (1957), and the University College of North Staffordshire (1962). Also, Newcastle separated from Durham (1963), and with the following, was added to the UGC list: Sussex (1961), Royal College of Science and Technology in Glasgow (1964), St David's college, Lampeter (1961), York (1963), East Anglia (1963), Essex (1964), Kent (1965), Warwick (1965), and Lancaster (1964). These 1960s universities helped mitigate the crisis of burgeoning student enrollment so, in England, overcrowding was not one of the major causes of student discontent.

Due to the nature of English universities at that time, the issues related to overcrowding were moot. Universities were also smaller, offered more frequent student-professor contact, and were elite institutions rather than mass institutions. However, student participation was an issue — perhaps the prime issue — students were concerned about.

Typically, university students in Britain were members of the New Left, which condemned modern bureaucratic authority. For the student, the university is the most convenient target, and at this time, students had real concerns about the role of the university in modern society. The following quote better explains the New Left British students' fears:

> The function of a university becomes that of training persons to fill posts, or of carrying out research for either the Government (mainly in defense) or industry (either on methods of producing new products, or on techniques for 'managing' new employees). (*ibid*, 205)

Thus, authority, especially academic authority, was considered suspect. As mentioned earlier, the New Left was concerned with race issues; protested against nuclear armament, passionately supported the guerilla revolutionary, while denouncing the bureaucrat; and, was equally antagonistic to Soviet communism and to Western capitalism. The reason external issues were at the core of the British student activism becomes clear; the ideology of the New Left permeated the protest movement in Britain.

At the heart of the unrest in England was a single issue: the part students should play in the government of their university. Students felt that they should have representation on the university Senate or at least the University Council. They reasoned that they were not like the students of the previous generation: they had been granted the right to vote at eighteen, and should be allowed to shoulder the responsibilities of adults. They felt that they should be treated as

adults, especially in matters concerning their own academic records and future options. Stewart describes the primary issue as well as some of the less realistic issues:

> Most of the activist groups wanted to be on all the governing bodies in some cases claiming half of the membership… In many cases, they wanted to be free of all university and community rules and to live as private citizens, paying their dues like any householder, answerable only to the law of the land…They wanted to treat the students' union as a trades union and to break up *in statu pupillari* and the university as a managing corporation as far as possible. (1989, 120)

However, the lack of student representation on university councils was the crux of the dissent, and was, in the minds of most students, non-negotiable.

In the British system of higher education during the 60s, university chancellors, vice-chancellors, and other senior officials made all decisions regarding academic matters and belonged to the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP); thus, they were able to deal with problems, and find solutions, within a relatively short amount of time. Changes dealing with issues as diverse as student participation, teaching methods, housing, or textbooks could be handled by the appropriate person or committee in the university chain. Therefore, for matters such as student participation on university governance committees, the reform process was immeasurably less complicated than in France. The fact that student protest could be addressed with comparative speed helped deescalate the tension. In fact, in October 1968, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals and the National Union of Students (NUS) met in

Cambridge to discuss the causes for conflict and to try to reach some basis for understanding (Stewart 1989). The joint statement issued on October 8, 1968, recognized points from all sides and was considered a historical document:

> This document…is of historical importance not so much because of its content as it is because of its affirmation on behalf of senior and junior members of universities that they are partners in the educational system under a voluntary discipline of scholarship. Students are not customers purchasing degrees, nor wards under guardianship, and certainly not enemies. (122)

The CVCP recognized the fact that students could play a valuable role in the decision- making within the university and stated that there would be student representation on committees. The NUS agreed that disruption of classes, destruction of property, and violence of any sort were to be prohibited. Infractions would receive a punishment suitable to the event. While this was not a legislated act, it served to bring students and authorities together for talks for the first time since the founding of the CVCP in 1922. It opened the door for further discussions, and it was honored by both parties until 1971, when it was rescinded.

The New Left was also concerned with the relevance of coursework to the labor market and access to higher education for all and not just a select few. In point of fact, this was an area of concern to educators and politicians, and had been, since the early 1950s. As early as 1955, the Himes Committee was set up to strategize the means for transformation of the technology sector. One transformation of the technical education sector took place in 1957 when the ten

Colleges of Advanced Technology (CAT) were named; however, by the mid-60s, the CATs had been granted university status and were no longer in the public sector. Therefore, in 1966, in an attempt to provide degrees for students who could not enter the university for work, scholastic, or financial reasons, an institution was envisioned to complement the universities and colleges of education.

Aimed at serving a less affluent student population, the objective of the polytechnics was to offer a more practical curriculum, easier admission policies, part-time courses, and even bridging courses for fulfillment of the baccalaureate degree. In May 1966, *A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges* was published. It stated the objectives for the establishment of polytechnics, which would be comprised of both full-time and part-time students at all levels. As Simon explains, "[i]n essence, by a process of merging individual, and hitherto separate colleges, the object was to create large institutions, with a minimum of 2,000 full-time students (and at least another 2,000 part-time later)" (1991, 253). The polytechnics would be academically validated by the CNAA, rather than the universities, and would be financed by local government through contributions to a central pool of money from which the central government would allocate funds. Providing more occupationally related courses, short-term and night courses, and focusing on teaching more than research, the polytechnics catered to local home-based students and consequently had stronger ties with local industry and

commerce. In January 1969, the first three of thirty polytechnics were operational: Hatfield, Sheffield, and Sunderland. By 1973, all thirty had been designated (*ibid*, 254). In 1992, the polytechnics were labeled universities; nevertheless, they continued to function as before in terms of enrollment requirements, student population served, courses offered, etc. Table 16 reviews the ten Colleges of Advanced Technology and Table 17 lists the polytechnics.

Table 16. Colleges of Advanced Technology in England

Colleges of Advanced Technology
Birmingham College of Technology
Bradford Institute of Technology
Loughborough College of Technology
Royal Technical College, Salford
Battersea College of Technology (later moved to Guildford in Surrey)
Chelsea College of Science and Technology
Northampton College of Advanced Technology, London
Welsh College of Technology, Cardiff
Bristol College of Technology (later moved to Bath)
Brunel College, London (later moved to Uxbridge)

Source: Stewart, W.A.C. 1989. *Higher Education in PostWar Britain*. London: Macmillan. p 140

In the decade from 1958 to 1968, before the advent of the polytechnics, university attendance increased by 110 percent. As the polytechnics opened, by the 1970s student enrollment grew only thirty-five percent. Thus, one potential source of student discontent was tackled before a crisis ensued. Table 18 helps clarify the events that impacted the higher educational system in England.

Table 17. Polytechnics in England and Date Founded

Location	Date Founded	Location	Date Founded
City of Birmingham	1971	Thames	1970
Brighton	1970	Manchester	1970
Bristol	1969	Middlesex	1973
Hatfield	1969	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1969
Huddersfield	1970	North Staffordshire	1970
Kingston	1970	Oxford	1970
Lanchester, Coventry	1970	Plymouth	1970
Leeds	1970	Portsmouth	1969
Leicester	1969	Preston	1973
Liverpool	1970	Sheffield	1969
Central London	1970	Sunderland	1969
City of London	1970	Teeside	1970
North London	1971	Trent	1970
North East London	1970	Wolverhampton	1969
South Bank	1970	Wales	1970

Source: Stewart, W.A.C. 1989. *Higher Education in PostWar Britain.* London: Macmillan. p 140

Table 18. Major Events in English Higher Education

Pre-WWII

1919 UGC established

Post-WWII

1940s Priorities : 1) to double science students within 5 years
2) to provide emergency funding for teachers

1944: 1944 Education Act

1950s:

Development of technical colleges (later called CAT's) under LEA control

"Redbrick universities" given full charter.

1960s:	
1962	Anderson Report committed to supplying all eligible students with grants and places in institutions of higher education.
	Robbins Report on Higher Education: expansion of higher education
	Unitary system promoted.
	Six new universities and 9 new CAT's established
	Increase in number and status of teachers. Opportunity to get B.Ed. from Teachers Colleges.
1968	Crosland Report: Binary System established
	30 New institutions planned: Polytechnics.
1969	Open University established
1970s:	
1975	Government abandoned quinquennial system of funding. Loss of funding certainty for universities.
	Teacher Training Colleges closed or merged with polytechnics.
1978-	Higher fees to overseas students.

With the creation of polytechnics came the necessity for additional teaching staff, which affected the colleges of education. Simon notes that "what was needed was roughly to double the number of teaching places from 60,000 (in 1965) to 110,000 (in England and Wales) by 1973; thus, if "there were a prize

awarded for expansion…it would have to go to the colleges of education" in the 1960s" (*ibid*, 255).

Student insistence on opportunity for those formerly unable to enter institutions of higher education was realized through the establishment of the polytechnics and the expansion of the colleges of education; there was also another innovative outlet–the Open University. The following illustrates the need for this atypical means of acquiring further education:

> And what equality of opportunities should be provided for potential students who had missed out on higher education at the standard age of 18 plus? In 1969, a new form of university was established to meet the needs of part-time, home-based students. The Open University… has provided a valuable service for hundreds of thousands of students who would not otherwise have had the opportunity for a university education. (Bligh *et al.* 1999, 26)

The expansion of educational services had a cost, however. While funding was not directly impacted until the 1980s, in 1969 the Minister for Higher Education, Shirley Williams, proposed a thirteen-point plan to the universities. This plan, most of which became established policy in the '80s, called for the reduction of student grants, the substitution of student loans, and the requirement for students to undertake specific employment after graduation. Thus, in the years following the 1983 drop in student enrollment, funding to the universities and public sector would be cut by nearly twenty percent (*ibid*, 26).

The prime source of unrest for the university students in Britain was participation, and that was negotiated to their satisfaction. While much of the

protest focused on external issues, such as nuclear disarmament and the Vietnam War, the voiced demands concentrated solely the internal issue of participation. The massive changes, which followed the explosion during May 1968 in France, did not take place in Britain until the late 1970s. It is necessary to note that these changes occurred not because of the 1960s unrest, but because of university funding reductions made by the Thatcher government in 1979. Thus, while the demands — and subsequent reforms — were small in comparison to the demands in France, Germany, and the U.S., they held importance as they created the recognition, for the first time in British academia, that students have a valid right to participate in decisions affecting their education and their future.

Germany

Although the conditions of teaching facilities, pedagogy, housing, and student-professor relations in Germany mirrored those in France and the desire for student participation equaled that in England, it was predominantly deep-seated political issues that created student unrest in Germany. The university students of the 1960s were educated under the allied occupation force mandates and believed profoundly in the fundamental precepts of democracy. Fallon makes the point that

> The students consisted almost entirely of a generation raised after the war. Strong lessons on the virtue of democracy had been woven into the curricula of the primary and secondary schools under the watchful concern of the governments of the former allied occupation forces. Upon reaching adulthood, their first encounter with society was a nineteenth century relic

> which resembled suspiciously the antidemocratic authoritarian institutions they had virtuously learned to distrust. (1980, 76)

Consequently, students were becoming dissatisfied with the nature and function of German universities and extending this disaffection to the whole of society. As German adolescents left home for a university stay of approximately seven years, "[t]hey quickly realized… that the university is not an oasis, and this led to general political involvement" (Pritchard 1990, 95) . Thus, educational criticism and social criticism were inexorably linked together in the minds of German students, and eventually exploded into public demonstrations. Harris (1970) succinctly explains the stance of German university students in the 1960s: "The university was to be the battlefield on which the principle of democracy and the reform of the entire German society was to be fought. It was national and international policies — not the workings of the university itself — that were the issues around which the German students rallied" (45).

After June 2, 1967, the date of the anti-Shah protests and killing of Benno Onesorg, the student movement in Germany, as in France, attracted students by the thousands. And as the students marched, demonstrated, and planned sit-ins or teach-ins, the media informed the German public of the activities on a daily basis. In the wake of the Dutschke shooting, the government attempted to restore a forced calm through the Emergency Laws. If the public had not been aware of or involved in the debate on reform prior to the enactment of the Laws, this action

served to bring it to the notice of every German citizen. Bauss explains the significance of the government's act:

> There has, in the history of the Federal Republic, been no theme, which has concerned the democratic forces at all levels [of society] so long and so persistently as the Emergency Laws; about no complex of politico-social development of the Federal Republic has there been such detailed, fundamental and continuous argument. (Pritchard 1980, 87)

The Emergency Laws, targeting the freedom of assembly, the freedom of speech, the confidentiality of the mail, and the existence of trade unions, were considered to be repressive, even anti-moral, measures enacted as a panicked response to student activism.

The ban on strikes, and the right to use regular troops for "internal disorder" led to comparisons to Nazi repression: the threat to *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit* was implicit (*ibid*., 87). Still, the Emergency Laws served to make the German society aware of the issues raised by the students and, even more importantly, served to pressure university officials and the *Länder* (the federal states) to instigate discussions on reform.

The impetus for reform was evident; however, the ability to instigate measures of reform lay with the eleven state governments. As has been stated earlier, the system of higher education in Germany was under the control of the *Länder* which "enjoyed complete authority in the domains of education and culture" (Peisert and Framheim 1995, 5). Therefore, by virtue of cultural federalism, the *Bund* (the federal government) played no role in the system of

higher education until 1969. The Basic Law of 1949, giving authority in educational matters to the *Länder,* also served to restrict federal intervention, or interference.

In short, the state played the foremost function in the control, administration, and organization of institutions of higher education in Germany. Article 7 of the Basic Law of 1949 states that "the entire school system is subject to the supervision of the state" (Mitter 1992, 188). However, it had been evident for quite some time that, due to the increased demand for higher education beginning in the early 1960s, there were substantial shortages of space and personnel in higher education, made insolvable because of an equally hefty shortage of financing. The *Länder* were no longer able to bear the financial burden of improving the higher education system.

As a result, it became necessary to amend the Basic Law to allow the federal government to expand its role in state affairs. In 1969, the Basic Law, unchanged since 1949, was amended to allow the federal government to participate in the policy-making and funding of higher education and research. In fact, the specific objective of the amendment was to involve the federal government both in the financing of educational expansion and in educational planning. Federal involvement notwithstanding, the *Länder* remained responsible for any legislation regarding normal standards and practices. Peisert and

Framheim (*ibid*, 7) list the tasks to be shared by the *Länder* and the *Bund,* as recorded in the Amendment*:*

- the expansion and construction of higher education institutions, to be provided for by legally regulated joint framework planning
- the possibility of cooperation, by way of agreements, in educational planning and the promotion of institutions and projects of scientific research of national importance
- to issue "framework regulations" with regard to general principles of the system of higher education

They also add that:

> [t]he amendment of the Basic Law in 1969 created a basis for Federal participation in educational planning…Officially, this constitutional amendment marked a turning-away from the principle of genuine cultural federalism. The term coined for the new form of cooperation between the *Bund* and the *Länder* was cooperative cultural federalism.
>
> Thus, the path was cleared for earnest debate on higher education reform.

And, as an indication of the political weight attached to these discussions of reform, the policy statement, given by Federal Chancellor, Willy Brandt, in 1969, listed education and training, science and research as top priorities for the year (Führ 1997).

As discussions began, students, who until then had been principally concerned with global issues, presented their petition for change. It included demands such as increasing student participation in academic decisions and representation on committees; dismantling the professional chair system; and

reevaluating course content and university organization, structure, and governance. The subject of reform was of interest to many:

> The whole range of topics was matched by the number and variety of participants: governments and parliaments of the *Bund* and *Länder;* the political parties; the scientific organizations, associations, and not least, the members of the higher educational institutions, including their various interest groups. Accordingly, the concepts and proposals were multifaceted and controversial. Often their only common denominator was the demand for change. (*ibid* 8)

The Reform Act of 1969, instigated because of student unrest, led to major reforms in German universities. It gave the states autonomy over the establishment and administration of institutions of higher education; established a Federal Ministry of Education; changed the governance structure of the universities (extended years in office of the Rector and allowed the election of non-faculty members to that position); and rescinded direct funding from the Ministry of Education to the Institute (Fuhr 1989). These changes came in large part because of studies and analyses presented by the SDS and the BAK.

An integral part of the students' and assistants' analysis of university reform came through Marxist doctrine. They used Marxist precepts for probing the relationships and organizational structure of the university. The *Ordinarien* were perceived as holding totalitarian control of the entire academic process. The professorial institutes were seen as hierarchical arrangements designed to splinter knowledge and disturb collaboration in research. Pritchard explains: "students perceived institutes as organs of domination by an academic oligarchy who

treated them almost as private property" (1970, 90). To rectify the situation, the students of the SDS and the assistants of the BAK felt that:

> whatever value the concepts of intellectual freedom and unity of knowledge might once have possessed, they were now being destroyed by the prevailing constellations of professorial power and unenlightened administrative procedures. In order to restore the intellectual integrity of the university, they advocated the introduction of a system of comprehensive education. (*ibid*, 90)

After years of negotiations, the 1976 Framework Act for Higher Education was enacted in January of 1976. Based on many of the recommendations of the SDS and the BAK, this Act addressed the organization and governance of higher education, the reform of the curricula, the personnel structure, the admissions process, and the increase of participation by all members of the academic community in the governance committees governance of the universities. In addition, the Act transferred the decision- making powers that had formerly been held by the states to the institutes. This made Germany one of the most decentralized higher educational systems in Europe (Führ 1997).

The negotiations leading to this Act began in 1969, at the same time the proposals for the amendment of the Basic Law were made. Pritchard (1990) describes the arduous process as "prolonged party-political mauling" (101). This piece of legislation, however, committed the entire system of higher education to development of comprehensive universities, and was a response to the demands of the German university students. The debate and ultimate formulation of the

Gesamthochschule strategy were to surmount the following drawbacks of the German higher educational system (Cerych and Sabatier 1986, 198):

- A very low percentage of the gross national product was earmarked for education, compared to the corresponding allocation in other countries;
- An equally low percentage of students completed secondary education and entered higher education;
- A segmented educational system at all levels made student transfer from one sector to another very difficult, or almost impossible;
- An insufficient number of highly qualified young people could prevent the German economy from competing nationally;
- The decision-making process in universities excluded real participation of the various groups concerned;
- The existing patterns of study blocked any true reform and encouraged a conservative educational system;
- Education lacked an appropriate relationship to employment.

The appeal of the comprehensive university was that it offered the promise of being all things to all people. As the German people are against the principle of centralism, being all things to all *Länder* was a challenge indeed. It would be a goal that would prove difficult to attain. This Amendment established general guidelines for the expansion of higher education, and within these parameters, the *Länder* were able to execute their own statutes. Some of the most essential articles included in this Act are:

1. Curriculum and the *Gesamthochschule* (GHS): The GHS was chosen as the fundamental model for the restructuring of the system of higher education in Germany. All existing institutions of higher educations were to be joined in a new comprehensive system composed of unitary, federal, or collaborative structures. All objectives were to pertain to the entire

system. Curriculum goals included common study courses, credit transfer, interrelationship between theory and practice, interdisciplinary research and teaching, development of university methodology, introduction of student counseling, optimum use of resources, research opportunities for professors deprived of them, and regional/ supra-regional course planning.

2. University democracy: one of the principal demands of the students and the assistants was the granting of joint decision-making privileges with the professors and the administrators. Professors, students, junior academic staff, and other non-academic members of the university were to have voting rights and were to be represented on the university central committees. Parity, however, was not given to all four groups. Professors were to have the majority vote on academic issues regarding research and scholarship, much to the chagrin of the other parties.

3. Academic organization: formerly the units of organization had been Chairs, institutes, and the larger Faculty. These components were supplied and staffed according to the reputation of the *Ordinarius.* Now, however, members of one large academic field, or several smaller but related ones, were bound together into subject areas, headed by an elected chairman. As Pritchard notes "The effect of this reorganization was to take power away from the *Ordinarius* and disperse it widely" (*ibid*, 101).

The Framework Act of 1976 was unique, not merely because all major student demands had been incorporated within the Act, but because it created a legal framework for the German system of higher education throughout all eleven *Länder* for the first time. The fundamental importance of this Act rests in the "attempt to overcome the accumulated decades of non-reform in higher education and embodied a radical rethinking of the purposes and structures of third level institutions" (*ibid*, 102).

Therefore, as the crux of the innovative reorganization model was the *Gesamthochschule,* and as most of the new institutions would be located in Hesse and North Rhine-Wesphalia, the aims were outlined in a state document of Westphalia. The intentions included organizational mergers (autonomy, merger of institutions, merger of subject areas, and mergers of staff); social justice; compulsory education; promotion of applied and vocational courses; and flexible non-degree courses. The premise behind the concept of autonomy, under the section on organizational mergers, is that all comprehensive universities were to have the right to use their own organizations for self-administration and were to retain the right to supervise doctoral and post-doctoral research. The goal of merging institutions refers to the meshing of the three educational establishments — the Universities, the *Pädagogische Hochschulen* and the *Fachhochschulen* — into one unit retaining the former functions and purposes of each. It was hoped that the merger of subjects would spur innovative, integrated teaching and

research components for interdisciplinary work; the aim of merging staff was to integrate staff to work effectively and efficiently together for teaching and research (*ibid*, 102).

Social justice means parity of opportunity. Two means of accomplishing this were delineated: regionalism and broader access. Up to that point, universities had greatly increased student enrollment with no room for expansion. The *Gesamthochschulen* were intended to help relieve the strain on the universities and were planned to offer educational opportunities to students in regions where none existed. In addition, these new institutions were organized for the purpose of making university level courses available to those students who do not possess the *Abitur.* One interesting and groundbreaking feature was to permit students of varying levels of entry qualifications to study together toward a degree (*Diplom*). The curriculum includes both long and short courses which provide the ability for transfer between one and the other. These courses are graded by both length and subject matter, and are intended to promote equality of opportunity and job mobility (*ibid*, 102).

Students who lack the *Abitur*, as well as holders of the *Abitur*, may take the offered bridging courses to aid them in completing their courses. This also provides equality of opportunity. Most of the bridging courses were offered only in North Rhine-Westphalia comprehensive universities.

Relevance of coursework to labor market opportunities was a key concern of the student protesters. The promotion of applied and vocational subjects targeted that item on the students' list of demands. The thrust of this goal was to provide not only theory, as had been done prior to this act in the classical universities, but also practical experience. The implementation of this section was meant to erase the dichotomy between theory and praxis. And, the bridging courses were to provide some needed flexibility of transfer between courses and disciplines. To this point, if a student wanted to switch courses, it was extremely difficult, if not virtually impossible.

Therefore, as mentioned before, in order to form these new institutions, three existing institutions were to be merged to form the unitary comprehensive university: the classical universities, the teacher training colleges (*Pädagogische Hochschulen),* and the technical colleges (*Fachhochschulen).* Following the Framework Act, six comprehensive universities were established in Kassel, Duisberg, Essen, Paderborn, Siegen, and Wuppertal. These six institutions are the only ones completely fulfilling the aims outlined above. However, there were other institutions that labeled themselves GHS, which did not qualify for the title. If the additional ones are added, a total of eleven GHS were created in the 70s. Eichstätt, Neudettelsau, and Bamberg are the most well known among the eleven. Additionally, there is a seventh institution that could lawfully request the designation of comprehensive university — Hagen, a distance university, founded

in 1974. Although the sample of comprehensive universities is quite small, these GHS do represent partial implementation of the reform. Making higher education more widely accessible to working-class students was one of the primary goals driving the creation of the GHS. Students from working class families in 1973-74 comprised 18% of the total GHS enrollment compared to approximately 10% of traditional university enrollment and 24% of *Fachhochschulen* (technical universities) (Cerych and Sabatier 1986). Furthermore, as one of the prime reasons for the creation of the comprehensive universities was to ease the bottleneck in student enrollment, it is helpful to understand how the GHS supported this goal. Table 19 shows the total GHS enrollment figures in Hessen and Nordhein-Westfalen (NRW).

Table 19. Total GHS Enrollment in NRW and Hessen

Year	NRW (5 institutions)	Hessen (GHS Kassel)	Total
1972-73	21,520	3,792	25,312
1973-74	24,837	4,769	29,606
1975-76	29,319	5,566	34,885
1976-77	34,204	5,601	39,805
1977-78	37,134	5,747	42,881
1978-79	39,682	6,496	46,178

Source: Cerych, Ladislav and Paul Sabatier. 1986. *Great Expectations and Mixed Performance. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, Ltd.*, p. 203.

The concept of a comprehensive university was valid; however, its implementation was flawed. As a result, the comprehensive ideal was not

successful. The concept of such an institution was meant to eliminate the elite status of universities and offer to all a labor market-oriented, practical education. One difficulty was that, although the law demanded equality, the university professors continued to maintain the boundaries between themselves and the technical college professors. Examining the aims set forward in the Framework Law of 1976 helps discover some of the reasons for the failure of the comprehensive universities to achieve their goals.

Although numerous institutions did merge structurally, staff integration was not achieved. This had a negative impact on amalgamating the degree courses and on the assimilation of theory and praxis. The objective of social justice has been largely met: places were opened up in remote areas, and access to university level courses was broadened to include those that formerly would have been rejected for university study because of lacking the prerequisites (primarily those from working class backgrounds). Additionally, the comprehensive universities enriched and fortified the economy of these regions. The target of compensatory education was achieved to a large extent as students without the *Abitur* achieved good educational standards. The trouble is that the concept of open access is far removed from reality. While a crack has been opened permitting greater access to a greater number of applicants, this is far from the typical comprehensive university open admission system.

It is in the area of promotion of applied and practical studies that the GHS have best fulfilled their objective. The comprehensive universities maintained applied teaching methods and have also demonstrated academic quality. While the flexibility of the new courses opened up opportunities for students, the short courses have not been well subscribed. This is due to the civil servant tradition of picking students primarily from the long course track. The primary obstacle to the success of the comprehensives rests in the need on the part of the professors to maintain status differentials and to implicitly, if not legally, segregate faculty by institutional area.

As a last comment on the Framework Act of 1976, it's interesting to take note of the fact, that following the implementation of this act, no existing institution of higher education has been fashioned into a GHS. And even more paradoxical, just as the Act was ratified, the plans for continued implementation came to a standstill: since that time, no additional GHS has been established.

Conclusion

Some change did occur in the higher education systems of the three countries in this study; however, change was not uniformly profound. The governments and higher educational systems of England, France, and Germany reacted to the protests and demands in ways that were specific to the disruption resulting from the protests, as well as country-specific issues, such as ideologies,

traditions, historical markers, and societal participation. Clark Kerr (1986) speaks to the importance of noting the difference between "reform" and "response." He states that reform is "active and by choice" while response is "reactive and of necessity" (xvi). Change is inherent in both reform and response. More to the point, he adds that some changes have elements of both, and "these often may be the most effective of all *(ibid.)*." This encapsulates the changes in the systems of higher education in England, France, and Germany following the student protests of the late 1960s: response preceded reform, but both reactions to the demands for change were present.

All three governments had been aware of, and concerned about, the evident problems in their systems of higher education by 1960. In 1966, England produced the Robbins Report, while France enacted the Fouchet reforms in 1965; and Germany had empowered the *Wissenschaftsrat* to study higher education. Efforts, albeit conservative and sluggish, had been initiated in all three countries prior to the student movement. If there is any definitive basis for the conclusion that student protest did, indeed, force reform, it is for these reasons: the student unrest fractured the complacency held by governments, university personnel, and citizenry within these three nations; it introduced another power source to influence policies and politics; and it emphasized the social relevance of education. As a consequence, student protest made change, whether slight or great, a critical, and immediate, inevitability.

CHAPTER VI

An Analysis of Student Protest and Academic Reforms

In studying foreign systems of education, we should not forget that things outside the schools matter even more than things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside. The practical value of studying in a right spirit and with scholarly accuracy the working of foreign systems of education is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and understand our own — Michael Sadler, 1900

Education is about tomorrow, although all its established systems were developed for a world that no longer exists. —Edmund King, 2000

The purpose of this chapter is to present a contrastive analysis to aid in the understanding of a particular phenomenon, in an explicit era, within a precise societal organization in each of the three selected European countries. In Chapter One, the specific purposes of the study were listed, as follows: to determine the origins of the student-initiated demands for higher educational reform in England, France, and Germany in the 1960's; to identify the objectives of the student demands for university reform; to determine the extent to which these demands have been realized; and to compare and contrast the objectives and results of the student-initiated governmental and administrative reforms in these three countries. The first two objectives were undertaken in Chapter Four; and, the third aim was addressed in Chapter Five. Specifically, the aim of Chapter Six is to delineate, explain, and analyze comparative variations in the catalysts, student demands, and resulting administrative or legislative actions taken following student protests,

within England, France, and Germany in the late 1960's. The purpose of this study is neither to focus on a country-by-country analysis, nor to provide an exhaustive explanation of the phenomenon of student activism itself. Likewise, this is not a contrastive analysis focusing on the academic sphere alone. Rather, the intent of this study is to weigh and balance the prime external and critical internal factors that led students to demand change within the university, and by extension, within their societies.

Reform movements are historically contextualized, emerge from various internal and external stimuli, and, as Margaret Archer (1992) notes, are embedded within ever-changing societies. These catalysts can influence and spark emotions and actions, both simultaneously as well as conflictingly, within every province of every nation. Therefore, the parameters for variation within each country are great. And, since the affected areas of change are intricately and irrevocably intertwined, it is important to realize that, as Archer (1979) argues, any attempt to account for these variations of the form, concentration, and rationale for the protests directed at higher education systems must take into account the important interrelationships between students, university, and society. In selecting the methodology and framework of analysis suitable for this study, a historical-descriptive analysis with three nations selected as the context for the case studies, the above interrelationships are integral to the analysis of change.

It has been said that change is universal. Clearly, change comes from a multifaceted and complex array of independent and interrelated factors. Nonetheless, in spite of its universality, it is often difficult to accurately define or precisely measure the amount of change that takes place. According to Tony Becher and Maurice Kogan (1980), there are two main problems intrinsic to any dialogue about change as a phenomenon:

> The first arises from its protean character: to speak of change is not to denote a simple, neatly defined concept, but rather one which appears in a whole variety of contexts and guises. The second difficulty derives from general unpredictability, especially in many social situations of the direction which future changes may take. There are seldom any clear prescriptions for bringing about a desired state of affairs; it is generally unwise to proceed as if they exist.

Since change does not take place in a void and occurs within the interrelated areas of society, it can be held that reform takes place within areas whose boundaries expand and contract unremittingly. The fluctuation of the collective margins is influenced by numerous dynamics, and is subsumed into external and internal factors that are continually affecting each other. The choice of the internal and external precipitating factors has been made according to the parameters of this study. The external factors account principally for the historical, economic, political, societal, and cultural aspects that have affected the 'hows and whys" of student protest. The aspects impacting the system of higher education internally, likewise, have a bearing on the means and manner of student dissent. These precipitating causes for protest were selected as a result of the significance

of their influence on student unrest in the '60's and were subdivided into the following areas:

Internal

- Degree of Participation of students, faculty and staff in university affairs
- Degree of Centralism/ Facility of change
- Degree of Elitism/ Access
- Faculty Traditions and Hierarchy
- Student Impact

External

- Historical events that have impacted the general population
- Contemporary Global Events
- Political Party Agendas
- Sociological Issues
- National Economic and Labor Market Situation
- Involvement of Media and Special Interests Group

These areas are often intertwined or overlapping making complete separation of items difficult. For example, political factors are often a result of historical, economic, or cultural influences. It should also be noted that educational reform is influenced as greatly, if not more so, by non-educational elements. While

student unrest spread from the major cities to the outlying towns, there were variations in form, length, nature, and intensity that individualized each episode. Moreover, student protest is seldom contained in the university environment, exclusively. Catalysts are often external and global; and even when educational issues are targets of student protest, wider social and political concerns extend beyond the campus. Thus, global events, and the prevailing mind-set of university students, often conflict, and subsequently, spark unrest.

Comparison of Catalysts: External Factors

Historical Imprints

History plays an interesting and often pivotal role in the creation of student unrest. In an effort to avoid mistakes made in the past, decisions, whether academic or political, that seem to be replicating the earlier events, tend to provoke a knee-jerk reaction. For example, the German University students, as well as German citizenry, who were all too aware of the horrors of the Nazi era, reacted violently against the Emergency Laws, the repressive curtailment of freedom of speech at various universities, and the excessive brutality of the police. The intensity of their response had more to do with historical events than the present day events.

If one were to pick a prime precipitating cause for the upsurge of student unrest in all three countries in the 1960's, one would need to reach back to the

aftermath of World War II. The resulting impact of the war on educational systems manifested itself in a variety of ways, equally as potentially impacting: student demographics, student ideology, political shifts, economic circumstances, educational access, and increased global awareness.

Prior to the war, universities in England catered to a small, elite group of only 38,000 students. The combination of demographic growth and increased academic aspirations created a student enrollment that the few existing British universities could absorb: the figures of university entrants had increased to 211,000 by 1968, over five times the 1944 figures. The dramatic increase in student enrollment was paralleled by both France and Germany, as education liberalized to include more of the population. The 1945 enrollment figures for France reached 150,000; while Germany, struggling to rebuild its higher education system following the Nazi regime, documented approximately 95,000 enrolled students. While many industrialized nations experienced the post-baby boom enrollment increase, France experienced an increase of 13.5%, twice that of the U.S (Cohen, 1978). By 1960, Germany, even with the slight delay in growth because of the war, had doubled its student enrollment as well, and neither nation was prepared to accommodate the influx of students. This fact precipitated the severe space, supply, and staffing shortage that fueled student protests in France and Germany. There simply were neither enough classroom facilities, nor housing

space to accommodate the multitude of students arriving at French and German universities.

Although increased enrollment caused evident staffing and space problems, England suffered the least of these three countries. Due, in part, to the new feelings and aspirations that emerged with the likelihood of an Allied victory, England shifted its concentration from near exclusive focus on secondary education to higher education before 1944. This signaled, in real terms, the recognition by the government that higher education would soon be the arena of opportunity for returning soldiers and coming-of-age secondary school graduates. This governmental nod translated itself into plans to restructure the CATs into universities (1956-1966). Furthermore, in 1966, thirty polytechnics were sanctioned, thus increasing educational options for post-secondary students. Both were established as much to ease the overflow of students as to increase England's technical abilities in the post-Sputnik era. By reason of the comparatively smaller class size (due to the system of tutorials), and the slowly changing perception of access to higher education (owing to the prior elitist policies), England was not faced with severe overcrowding, the issue that figured so predominately in French university student protests.

Physical space was, likewise, a substantial problem for university officials in Germany. German university authorities, still reeling from the effects of the National Socialist rule on academia, by necessity, focused their attention in the

educational sphere on rebuilding. Due to the havoc wreaked by WWII, the transformation of universities under the guidance of the Allies required as much structural as ideological renewal. As much as 60% of the university buildings and equipment in Germany were destroyed in the war (Pritchard, 1960), which, added to the student enrollment upsurge, the open policy of admission to all those who possessed the *Abitur*, and the leniency concerning the length of study, produced extreme overcrowding.

Additionally, although the division of Berlin following the commencement of the Cold War forced the creation of the Free University of Berlin, adequate space, supplies, and teaching staff were difficult to find. Although from 1960 to 1970, 12 new universities were created both to provide space, and to offer move innovative courses. However, in spite of these measures, similar to the situation in France, this congestion led to student dissatisfaction and protest.

Aside from the frustration linked to physical aspects of space shortage, this post –World War II baby boom affected the emotional stability of the academic community, as well. This phenomenon was evident, especially in Germany. Over the next decade, the over-extended classrooms created problems related to more than mere shortage of space. The hitherto close "community of scholars", apparent particularly in Germany, was no longer possible with this increased number of students. As the staff/ student ratio changed, this relationship was lost, and students perceived their professors as cold, aloof, and uninterested. This reading of

the student-professor relationship became one of the major causes for student dissent in France and Germany. As was quoted in Pritchard (1990, 80): "The ideal of a 'republic of learning' was…transgressed by the realities of an oligarchy of incumbents of senior teaching posts and the monocratic rule of directors of institutes."

As the community of scholars diminished, the camaraderie between professors and assistants waned, as well: the academic environment had indeed changed. Due to the increased enrollment and the hierarchical professorial system, a collaborative environment of the 50's was replaced by an individualistic one in the 60's. The rapport among peers was no longer as evident within the academic community (Hahn, 1998). This shift was not due as much to conscious ideological shifts as modifications to cope with the increased numbers of students. However, the change in the staff/ student relationship and in the academic environment loosened the once closely held ties that had created a genuine community, one working together for a common goal: acquisition of knowledge. As the bond was broken, the restraints that served to hinder unrest began to unravel. The German university students became outspoken; dissatisfaction was aired outside the university proper; and protest in various forms escalated.

In France, despite the Fouchet reforms, which were implemented to alleviate overcrowding (by creating the IUTs and by offering the 2-year university diploma), the number of students per classroom was, on average, three to four

times the intended number. Students resorted to sitting in the aisles of the *cours magistra*, or standing in the back of the lecture hall. This post-WW II unplanned and fundamentally unregulated rise in student enrollment in France clearly affected professor-student relationships, pedagogical methods, staffing problems, and supply shortages in addition to space concerns. In summary, the increased enrollment, which peaked in the mid-60's, appreciably boosted the stress upon university resources leading to continual escalation of student frustration and dissatisfaction with the higher educational system. The situation in France was much like that in Germany…only worse. The many problems of the French educational system, from the space and supply shortage, to the antiquated pedagogical methods and the rigid faculty system, to the out-of-date curricula and the unpopular examination system led to revolutionary rhetoric from the students, and then, as in England and Germany, to active and vocal protest.

Furthermore, as a result of the war, there were changes in the societal customs of many countries around the world, including England, France, and Germany. Parents had a different idea of child rearing in the post-war era. Prior to the war, societies were typically much less permissive. The extended family was the norm, and leaving to go to the university was rare: parental supervision continued until marriage. This evolution into greater permissiveness was evident in England, France, and Germany by the late 1940's and early 1950's (Altbach, 1976), and children, subsequently, became less respectful and more mobile. No

longer did college age students remain near home. No longer were students under the watchful eye of their parents. To the contrary, in England, France, and Germany, to a greater extent than ever before, students attended universities in cities outside their own locale. Both of these historically attributed aspects had an impact on the students of the 1960's. This lack of parental guidance fostered the sense of independence and freedom to do as they pleased. In turn, this sense of emancipation translated itself into sexual liberalism, open protest, and challenges to authority. The Carnegie Commission Report (1974, 123), under the guidance of Clark Kerr sought to investigate the problems within higher education in light of the student unrest on campuses in the 1960's. In that context it carried out extensive studies into the psychology of students at that time. The following reflects some of its findings:

> There is profound moral conflict which appears to permeate the younger generation. Idealism among the young is not a new phenomenon and precedents for the present clashes of conviction are not hard to find, but the generation of today finds in the apparently all-pervasive cynicism, self-interest, competitiveness, and exploitation, the total absence of compassion in the economic complex that surrounds them, ample justification for the revulsion and revolt into which they are forced.

The utopian ideals, political ideologies, and ethical transformations seen within this generation, and formulated in the aftermath of WW II, provided a rallying point for the mobilization and militarization of the student protesters.

History left its imprint on these countries politically, as well. As mentioned earlier, the urgent need to obliterate any vestige of Nazi rule manifested itself in

the national political shift to the left: from the national government to the German citizenry, an across-the-board cleansing of the past occurred.

In its stead, a leftist ideology, focused on humanist values, was instilled in the children of those who survived the war. Students of the Sixties in all three nations, adhering to leftist policies, were concerned with inequalities: inequalities of power, of race, of participation, of distribution of wealth. In short, students held convictions that rejected both Western capitalism and Soviet communism as forms of government that no longer represented the interests of the masses.

Following the war, political control shifted in England as it did in France and Germany. The election ousted the Tory government and elected the Labour Party to power in the greatest victory since the Liberal landslide of 1906. The majority of the British citizens, as well as the politicians themselves were astounded at the result, which signaled in no uncertain terms a break with the past. Although the Tories had managed to squeak through Parliament the seminal Educational Act of 1944, which provided for tuition fees and maintenance grants to be paid to students attending institutions of higher and advanced further education courses, it was not enough to swing the election in their favor. Following the war, the people of England registered their dissatisfaction with actions in foreign policy and domestic reform with a change in government and a change in national consciousness. This swing was to last from 1945 to 1951, when the pendulum shifted again to Tory rule. Similar to the shift in political leanings in

Germany and France, that in England also seemed to herald the possibility for the reconstruction of society along more democratic and equitable lines. This ideology was embodied by the Labour Party, who had alternately gained and lost the trust of the university students. The distancing of the students from Labour Party policies freed the students to espouse the more radical ideology of the New Left, and to voice their discontent through protest.

Reaction to the war within the political sector also influenced the principles of education in France. Educational and moral shortcomings during the war were named by De Gaulle as an area explicitly to be targeted for reform (it was DeGaulle's belief that the moral lapses displayed by some French in the war were as a result of elitist education). As the political equation in France shifted from the Vichy government to the Gaullist government, as in England, the Ministry of Education became de-professionalized. In DeGaulle's opinion, much of the lack of moral fiber was due to the elitist element in the higher educational system. He commented:

> The defeat and the tyranny would not have been what whey have been but for the faintheartedness, the default or the treason of the controlling groups in the navy and the army, in politics and finance, in industry and commerce. Those who could claim to have come from the summit of our educational system are those whose conduct has been most scandalous. *(*Halls 1976, 42)

DeGaulle was pointedly referring to the elite *grandes écoles* and its graduates, and his distrust of technocrats was born out in the fact that "few graduates of the breeding ground of technocracy, The *Ecole Nationale*

d'Administration" were engaged in this Ministry (*ibid.)*. Thus, with the political change, the powers within this Ministry shifted and a new brand of civil servant was introduced into the Ministry of Education, essentially affecting educational policies of that period.

Additionally, the conviction that the university is the instrument of the State to promote national identity, civic responsibility, and loyalty to the government, although advanced originally by Napoleon in his remodeling of the universities in 1806, was also stressed by DeGaulle. The need to redirect education in moral and nationalistic ways, in part, was a result of Petain and his Vichy government during WW II, and continued to be underscored by DeGaulle and the Gaullist party.

Regardless of nation, whether England, France, or Germany, the policies and political bent of the ruling political party shaped the mission of the institutions of higher education in each country. Clarifying this statement, Kogan and Hanney (2000, 22) point out:

> As major public institutions, universities can be considered either as subsystems of the State or as independent institutions that nevertheless are strongly affected by the nature of the State. Thus, national policies and politics created by the prevailing major political party decidedly impact systems of higher education regardless of country. National policies regarding higher education result from the current ideologies driven by economic, social, and democratic factors and influence the ensuing enacted policies.

Thus, the success or failure of educational change rested in each of these countries on the interaction between university system and State, an aspect that is closely linked to degree of centralization.

Consequently, the historical imprints on all three nations were substantial, and served to mold the character of the 60's generation of students. It is clear that these students were different ideologically than either their parents, or even their older brothers and sisters. In short, the effect of WW II and the reconstruction in its aftermath, created a shift in educational access, institutional structures, pedagogical methods, staffing procedures, and parental child rearing along very similar lines in England, France and Germany. These historical alterations formed the foundation for the subsequent stimuli that fueled student protest.

Sociological and Cultural Issues

In the France of the 1960's, and to a large extent even today, the targeted ideal of French education is intellectualism of each citizen. Intellectual prowess is inherent in the French concept of culture, and excellence of the mind is an indispensable facet of the French character. Thinking skills are regarded as being of paramount importance to every human.

Not only do the French believe that they live in a preferred land and speak a preferred language, they consider their past as unmatched when compared with those of other Western nations. Interestingly, man, *in toto,* is of less importance to

the French than is the intellect. The inherent importance placed upon mastery of a core of general knowledge is evident in the nucleus of obligatory subjects (deemed crucial during the 1960's): classics, literature, philosophy, and language. The ability to reason is indispensable to this essence of central knowledge. In fact, a French person's academic credentials play a more important and profound role than in either England or Germany. In France, unlike either Germany or England, one's future hangs in the balance according to the university (or, more importantly, *grande école*) that one attended. As might be suspected, this preoccupation with excellent schooling involves the parents as much as the students. This one factor serves to explain the acceptance of the student's rallying cry by members of society outside academe proper. Neither England, nor Germany could muster enough public support to make the massive outcry felt by these nations' governments in the way that the French did: the student protest mushroomed to a crisis involving over ten million French citizens (Archer 1972).

In valuing the liberal arts and classics, the French citizenry of the 1960's typically looked down their noses at vocational or practical education. This came to be a mindset at odds with the increasing labor market necessities of technical and practical knowledge in the 1960's. And, as university students contemplated graduation, suitability to the current job market was a real concern. As mentioned earlier, "relevance" of courses and careers to the labor market was an important demand, and one that the student protesters felt imperative to attain.

In contrast, the German intellectual ethos runs divergent to that of the French. The German idea of *Kultur* is an individualized concept whereby each person has a duty to achieve an apex of intellectual perfection. Unlike the French sentiment of the rights of the brotherhood of man, the German ideal is a nationalist, elitist, individualistic concept of the acquisition of knowledge. Although the pinnacle of intellectual perfection is difficult, if not impossible, to attain, time is of no importance: complete understanding is the key. This goal can be seen in the near lack of time restriction placed on university students for completion of their studies. German intellectual development and learning was based on Man's need to grow intellectually, thus rejecting voluntary immaturity. The German definition of immaturity is the powerlessness of an individual to draw on one's intelligence without the assistance of another. The pursuit of knowledge was important for the individual as an individual, and not as a citizen of a nation. This feature of German culture places length of study as a secondary factor to knowledge gained. As a consequence, an academic bottleneck has been the end result. As new students entered each year, with few seniors graduating, the overcrowding increased exponentially. As explained earlier, this congestion in higher education fed student dissatisfaction, and in time, stimulated student protest.

Intellectual attainment of human perfection has not been a dominant concept in English culture. For centuries, education in England, as in France and

Germany, had been a domain for the elite. As such, education of the common man was thought to be satisfied by secondary schooling. The advantage of a higher intellectual undertaking was not of the profound importance to the Englishman as to the Frenchman or the German. In fact, social status, rather than intellectual prominence was the yardstick for measuring human worth in England. Indeed, even within the upper classes, the domain of knowledge was often considered a negligible asset. Upper class gentlemen were often given a "Gentleman's Pass," enabling them to pass a course rather than being given their deserved failing mark. The ability to function well in society took precedence over performing well in academic circles in England. Thus, educational matters in England were not of the deep-rooted importance to the English public as was the case in France. National pride in a sophisticated intellect simply did not carry the social importance that it did in the two continental European countries. The disparity of significance might be seen in the degree of citizen involvement in the student protests. On a continuum, citizen involvement in France was at the high end, with Germany in the middle and England at the low end. This critical factor would play a vital role in the weight given to the protests, and the immediacy of measures of reform (France) the carefully crafted measures of reform (Germany), or the lack of national legislation (England) that resulted.

Linked to the comments above, there is another concept that is culturally quite different in England, France, and Germany. This involves the role of the

State. In France, from the French Revolution, the word *citoyen* has held special significance that recognizes the imperative of responsibility of democratic citizenship. In contrast, as a reaction to Frederick the Great's interpretation of educational obligation (to produce educated *subjects*, not *citizens*), Humboldt created an educational system that was free from national influence. While national uniformity is the phrase that best describes the French higher educational system, absence of federal harmony characterizes the German system. The concept of German academic freedom was initiated within a state-funded educational system that demanded limited national participation- except in matters of financial support and university entrance examinations.

Contrastingly, in England, universities are considered to be "almost wholly independent institutions but deferring to public policies which largely constitute the conditions under which the bulk of their resources are secured" (Kogan and Hanney 2000, 22). The State role in England was fulfilled by the creation of the University Grants Committee (UGC) acting as a buffer between government and university. Using the continuum analogy, once again France was at one extreme (high State control over education), with Germany and England changing places: England with limited State control over higher education, and Germany with nearly none. The role of the State, evidently, figures prominently in the ability to find and effect solutions to problems in a timely matter. The consequences of a France having a centralized government; Germany having an

extremely decentralized government; and England having a moderately decentralized government profoundly affected the evolution of the protest movement in each of these three nations.

Labor Market Concerns

In 1968, the labor market concerns and economic affairs in these nations were quite similar. For over a decade, all three had been enjoying a period of affluence and full employment. By the late 1950's, this period of economic prosperity saw a trebling of the gross national product in West Germany and France, and a doubling of the GNP in England. Wages doubled and unemployment was at an all time low. In the early Sixties, the students had been raised with few financial concerns, and unease was directed at societal inadequacies and inequalities. However, by the mid'60's, as the baby boomers enrolled in universities in unexpected numbers, it became evident that there would not be enough jobs to accommodate them at graduation. English, French, and German students began to place considerable importance on the relevance of their courses, their degree, and their ability to secure a position in their field following graduation. Increasingly jobs became harder to find, and students became more incensed at the time and effort that went into studies that no longer applied to the current labor market. There were few courses that had incorporated the technological advances and demands of industry. In addition, increasing urbanization and changing employment patterns had begun to put further stress on

the job market. As U.S. economists emphasized the value of education for improving and increasing national economy, fewer adolescents remained in rural work. In Germany, the waning numbers of agricultural workers (between 1950 and 1965 from 24.6 to 10.5 farm workers) made education an increasing and vital national priority (Hahn 1998). Education was the means of remaining competitive globally, and governments of all three countries were stressing the importance of education for economic growth. As a result, with many university graduates and few available positions, by 1971, in England, unemployment had reached 1 million. (Shaw 1989): the French and German labor markets were experiencing like difficulties. The economic situation weighed heavily on university students' minds in 1968, making "relevance" a key demand.

Governmental and University Influence

As has been mentioned, the actions and policies of the political party in power were a leading source of student discontent. Furthermore, the response the government made, or conversely didn't make, to global events was an additional source of protest. Students of this era were greatly concerned about the changes which had been happening in their world: technical changes (and the intended use of these new technologies); military ambition (the war in Vietnam); individual, industrial and governmental greed; and bureaucratic power. Concern for the welfare, the dignity, and the chance of happiness for the less fortunate further accentuated the gap between student ideals, and, to their way of thinking, society's

standards. As can be seen, the reaction of the university authorities and government officials is also a prime factor in the intensification, length, and form of protest. During the 1960's, both educators and politicians alike were caught by surprise by the spontaneity and infectious nature of the movement. Not only were they unprepared to deal with the situation, but being in uncharted water so to speak, they invariably overacted or under-reacted; thus, provoking further student antagonism. Typically, decision-making processes in academe do not move quickly, and the ultimate speed at which government and university officials are able to address the problems, lies, in part, simply, on the degree of centralization or decentralization of higher education system. France, with its extreme degree of centralization was blocked from making necessary, timely decisions at the university level. The delay nearly cost DeGaulle his presidency. In contrast, the ability of the university authorities in both England and West Germany to make expedient decisions mitigated the student response, and also the involvement of the general public. This prime factor led to the progressive augmentation of numbers of protesters, and intensification of passion in France that was lacking in the other two nations.

Internal Catalysts

Degree of Centralization

The degree of centralization and its impact on governmental action or inaction has been discussed at length. This one factor can be identified as a major precipitating factor for student unrest in France. It is the centralized system with rigid systemization and uniformity that prevents the propitiation of frustrations and demands by direct negotiation at a local level. This causes an escalation of pent up frustrations, as there is no outlet at either the university or city level. Therefore, the resolution of demands in the centralized system must work its way up the chain of command to the Ministry of Education: change in this type of system is slow and dependent upon the political contacts and elite relationships (Archer 1979). This process takes a long time, as it progresses slowly from the first presentation of the demand to the final legislation, and the factor of time impacts the ability to alleviate the intensity of the unrest. Without direct and immediate results, cessation of protest is infrequent and erratic in nature. In a time of crisis, as in France, this lack of resolution can be potentially devastating politically.

As has been noted, there was no centralization of the higher educational system in Germany: there was a poignant horror of a dominant central control of education following WW II. Accordingly, each individual state held the responsibility for its universities. This made it easy to resolve conflicts, but difficult to achieve a nationally coherent system. Any systematic coordination

between the federal government and the States was "either left to chance or else deliberately (some would say benignly) neglected, until certain developments such as gross overcrowding revealed the increasing need for liaison between the various agents of change" (Pritchard 1990, 75). In order to offer equitable opportunities throughout the nation, some cohesion was imperative. In the 1960's, although national academic uniformity was lacking, ability to make on-the-spot decisions regarding the students was possible, and aided in capping the demonstrations before they erupted to the extent of France. The difficulties emerged in the early 1970's as the 11 states tried to form a consensus as to the method and extent of higher educational reform: an agreement, ultimately, took approximately eight years.

England, like Germany, had a decentralized higher education system. Hence, university authorities were able to make critical decisions in a timely manner. The extent of decentralization in England was not of the extreme nature as it was in Germany, and had reform legislation been deemed necessary, it could have been realized without the difficulties that Germany, or France, experienced. The limited decentralized nature of the higher educational system gave the system some cohesion (lacking in Germany, yet less rigidity (as in the French system). Thus, the intensity of student flare-ups had more to do with the unfortunate, and even disastrous, decisions than with inability to render them.

Faculty Hierarchy and Traditions

Internal factors, such as lack of participation in university affairs, frustration with antiquated facilities, supplies, and even professors played an enormous role in motivating student unrest. In particular, French and West German students felt keenly the sorry state of education, and as a result, the German students at Hamburg coined a slogan which was taken up by students throughout Germany and expressed the crux of their frustration:

> Unter den Talaren
> Der Muff von 1000 Jahren.
>
> Under the robes
> The dust of 1000 years.

This slogan, of course referred to the centuries old hierarchical chair system with professors ensconced for life, and caring little for his students, his method of pedagogy, the evolution of his own studies, or progress.

In Germany, the vertical nature of the German Faculty chair system, placed the *Ordinarien* at the pinnacle of academic, and financial power. The full professors enjoyed the freedom to choose their successors, dispense research and pedagogical resources, teach as they desired, and be assured of a lifetime position. Students felt that this extensive power was repressive, biased, and oppositional to the concept of *Lernfreiheit* and *Lehrfreiheit.* The students felt that the system encouraged lack of professional development for full professors, and especially their assistants, tolerated pedagogical methods and lectures that were out dated,

and promoted the unfair domination of a corrupt and mostly undeserving authoritarian group over students. Both German students and assistants chafed under the rigid system of mandarin power, and when combined with the prevailing Marxist ideology, formulated demands that restored intellectual integrity and equality to the institutions of higher education.

As in Germany, French professors are civil servants, and commanded great power. Although not as extensive as in Germany, a full professor in France enjoys prestige and power to extents unheard of in the United States. Again, the vertical nature of the faculty system, made for few opportunities of advancement for assistants, lack of change in teaching content, and positions of power that allowed enormous freedom, academically and financially.

This was not the case in England, and although Dons have enormous prestige, their power base is curtailed by in-house regulations. The feeling that university professors wielded great authority in England had its base in the fact that recriminations for student protest were often strong and swift. Students of the 1960's reacted against any authority by the Establishment, and in addition, took issue with the lack of input they, as a viable voice within the academic community, had over official decisions. Faculty hierarchy, however, was not a factor in student discontent in England.

Participation of Faculty, Students and Staff in University Affairs

As has been mentioned throughout this study, participation was a key issue in providing the impetus for protest, and the formulation of demands. In all three countries, the lack of staff and student participation in university affairs offered a significant focus for dissatisfaction. Students felt that, in relation to the amount of faculty participation on committees vital to the workings of the university, student and staff had no real contribution to the decision-making process. This one aspect was arguably the major cause for dissent in all three countries.

Student Impact

The student impact was a key factor as well. How student politics were viewed by the university authorities, as well as society, went a long way in determining how seriously the protest, or threat of revolt, would be taken. If student activism is accepted as a valid part of the larger political system by the public, student activism characteristically has a greater impact. In this area, past events play a crucial role in the determination of how student activism is viewed. Also, conventions regarding student protest determine to a large extent the response of society at large.

Although there were light variations in the view of university officials and the public as far as importance of the student voice, in none of these countries, prior to 1968, did students command the degree of respect that indicated their viewpoints were taken seriously: to the contrary, for the most part, students were

still considered incapable of making significant decisions concerning their academic career.

Elitism

The degree of centralization has already been touched on but, the degree of elitism does need explanation. As mentioned earlier, students in the 1960's were concerned about those less fortunate than themselves, and ability to rise, through education, was an important issue. Access to universities, in all three countries was limited to a very small percentage of the college-age population. Most had no chance to enter the university because they lacked the *bac*, the *Abitur,* or the A-levels which would, at least in France and Germany, grant them the right to enter universities. The concern for all segments of society grew to be a major theme of the student protesters; and, for the sake of the disadvantaged, student protesters championed the cause of equality.

Impact of the Media

The role of the media, as has been seen, influenced the intensification of dissent according to their coverage. In England, the press was mostly neutral, and played a limited role in influencing public opinion. However, in Germany, the press was principally unsympathetic to the student cause and reported events in a manner negative to the student movement. And, as was discussed earlier, the press in France fanned the flame of student protest in newspapers, radio, and television,

creating vast public sympathy to the cause. Therefore, depending on the role that mass media has chosen for itself, student activism can take flight or be squelched.

Comparison of Demands

Although the protests in England, France, and Germany encompassed not only dissatisfaction with their higher educational systems but also discontent with regard to the underlying beliefs of their societies, the ensuing student demands were restricted to educational reform. The demands will be examined under the categories of participation, autonomy, and relevance.

The general discontent with society that students in all three countries exhibited was very real and was undoubtedly a prime factor in escalating their discontent to the level of protest and ensuing ultimata. However, in examining the major demands of the university students in each country, call for societal change was not mentioned. Rather, demands focused on the areas of the student world that they felt they could reasonably influence: that of the university proper. Regardless of the number of demands, the content was focused on three primary areas: participation (England, Germany, and France); autonomy (France and Germany); and relevance (England, Germany, and France).

The list of demands from the French students was long, and included virtually all the long-held frustrations with the system. Under the demands for more participation, the following were listed: more student/ staff participation on

decision-making committees, a co-management of administrative functions; and a reformulation of professor-student relationships to include more interaction and more respect for student opinions. Similarly, university students in both Germany and England pushed for more say-so in the matters that directly affected their student career, and argued that they were mature enough to make considered decisions. While, particularly in France, some students wanted to be included on all major decision-making university committees, most students were accepting of the inevitability of some restrictions. Committees dealing with faculty appointments, or other issues not directly affecting the students, were deemed inappropriate for student participation.

In England, this demand of participation was the leading ultimatum and all bargaining and protesting effort went into this reform. Because the focus of the students was intensely targeted at this one reform, the very single mindedness signified its importance to the protesters. A single demand gained the attention of the authorities; and the possibility of inaction or denial on this one request was slight (Altbach 1979). In the case of the demands of the French students, as the list was quite long, acceding to all ultimata would be difficult. In England, there was only one request to consider, and its dismissal would possibly bring on more unrest. The German demands for more participation were included within the corpus of reorganization of the mission and structure of the German universities. As in France, participation was a key issue, but one that took its place alongside

many other important concerns. However, even though this demand was embedded within many, its significance to the students was evident to the officials in both France and Germany. This was one demand whose results were realized in all three countries.

Restructuring of the higher educational system was the all-encompassing demand of French and German university students. In France, this meant the abolishment of the Napoleonic structure, and the creation of, in Clark Kerr's words, a multiversity with greater financial, administrative, and pedagogical independence. This change would allow for curricular redesign, a shake-up of the hierarchical faculty structure, greater flexibility, adaptability and manageability, and more innovation and experimentation (Archer 1972). Structurally, the redesign would break up the unwieldy University of Paris system, and thus, weaken the extreme centralization of the system.

In Germany, students no longer having confidence in the humanist canon of the gymnasium and the university, gave way to a complete curricular reform movement. Interest in the sciences, social sciences, and vocational courses grew out of the desire for "greater individualism, greater choice and a life-long process of learning" (Hahn 1998, 120). Students proposed an abolishment of admissions restrictions, a leveling of higher educational institutions (no elitism), a restructuring of the faculty chair system, an expansion of innovative and experimental course, and the creation of new institutions (comprehensive

universities). Although implementation of the demands took eight years, and although the process had many major constitutional changes to effect before reform legislation could begin, most of the student proposals were accepted: comprehensive universities were the result.

The question of autonomy was not an issue in England, and protest did not focus on this issue. However, protest in England did target relevance as a secondary issue. The nexus between course work and labor market were targeted as the number of unemployed graduates continued to rise during the mid to late 1960's. Likewise, students in France and Germany felt keenly the necessity for technical, practical, "20th century courses", rather than the traditional 19th century focus of university coursework. Relevance was the key word, and students in each of these nations demanded a curricular change to reflect the change in labor market needs.

Success was varied in realizing the demand for relevance. In all three countries to various extents, curricular changes were implemented targeting current labor market requirements. The motivation to change was evident in resulting vocationally-focused and technically oriented courses and degrees: all three countries added such courses.

Comparison of Resulting Legislation

Two questions come to mind when examining the legislation which followed the student revolt of the 1960's: 1) How immediate was the enacting of legislation for educational reform, following the protests? And, 2) Taking into account the governmental policies in place, and the proposed educational plans prior to the student protests, how likely is it that the subsequent reforms would have happened in the same time frame without the protests?

There is an arguable correlation between the urgency of enacting measures of reform, and the pervasiveness of the student protest. Faced with a national crisis, the *Loi d'Orientation* is widely considered to be a piece of legislation written in panic. Adopted within four months, this measure of reform was written under the pressure of time and political exigency, and seemed to satisfy no group completely. The volatile political situation in France made action imperative; appeasement was vital. After a long stream of compromises (which critically diluted the proposed legislation), the law was enacted. However, it did not achieve the far reaching results that were intended. Because of the urgency in passing this reform measure, much was left unfinished, with the intention of filling it in at a later date. This law was to be a framework for the reorganization of the system, and a stop gap measure to forestall additional protests.

As mentioned earlier, reforms ostensibly addressing the key concerns of the students had been considered for decades prior to 1968. The Fouchet reform

was a belated attempt to rectify some of the most serious concerns. The rigidity due to the centralization of the French higher educational system; the obsolescence of its teaching methods, teaching facilities, and supplementary supplies; the catch-22 of the traditional examination processes; and, the on-going difficulty in open admission policies were all well known, and often acknowledged by politicians and educators alike. The difficulty lay in changing traditions held for centuries: no one was willing to take the cut-throat measures necessary to effect substantive reforms. As, proposals for reform of the system had been discussed with few substantial results, it is doubtful that measures of reform would have been enacted in France within the same time fame without the impetus of student revolt.

Germany's enactment of its Framework Act of 1976 took place after required amendment to the Basic Law, so, in the case of Germany, in direct opposition to that of France, reform was enacted after many years, not months. The eight-year delay had its basis in the inability of the Federal government to interfere in matters (such as higher education) granted exclusively to the states. In order to provide a coordinated effort of reform, back in part by Federal financial aid, the Basic Law had to be amended to allow this coordination. In reality, there were many who were in no hurry to effect these changes; therefore, discussion and final agreement moved quite slowly. The SDS and BAK members' proposal to form comprehensive universities was, for the most part, enacted *in toto.* Although the timeframe for legislation of the Framework Act was considerably longer than

for the French Law, and although reform measures involving expansion of vocational institutions had already been discussed, it is the opinion of this researcher that legislation would have taken an equivalent amount of time, if not more. The student unrest in Germany shattered the smugness of the politicians and educators with regard to the necessity of reform. The protest punctuated the need in a very public manner that could not be ignored. Nonetheless, time was not the critical factor that it was in France, and reform, although it must take place, could do so without urgency.

England enacted no laws as a result of student protest. The first major Act for higher education did not occur until 1978, and could not be said to be linked to student protest. As in the case of France and Germany, the activism pointed out the urgent desire for change on the part of the students. In contrast to protest in France and Germany, the unrest was comparatively restrained. Some universities had to close for a time; negotiations had to assume different dimensions than before; but there were no incidents that impacted society at large. As a result, the government was involved only insofar as the CVCP handled the negotiations with the students through the auspices of the NUS president, Jack Straw. When an accord was reached permitting student participation on committees that dealt exclusively with student-related academic concerns, the major eruptions of student protest were at an end. This accord, while not having the same weight as a legislative measure, confirmed the recognition of the integral role that students were to play in

university affairs. As in the case of the other two countries, this agreement came about because of widespread pressure on the part of the students. Without the weight of student protest, the exigency for reevaluation of the student role and demand for participation would, most probably, not have occurred.

Table 20. Issues Pertaining to Protest in England, France, and Germany in the 60´s

Subject	**England**	**France**	**Germany**
System of Higher Education	decentralized	centralized	decentralized
Political Affiliation of Student Groups	left	left	left
Catalysts	External and Internal	Primarily Internal	Primarily External
Primary Speech Catalysts	Appointment of Walter Adams at LSE	Arrest of students on March 22, 1968	Kuby speech denied
	Police Intervention in protests at LSE	Closing Nanterre incident	Shah of Iran
Major Student Groups Involved	YSL, RSA, NUS	UNEF, JCR, CLER	SDS
Specific Issues/Participation/Demand	Participation/Freedom of Speech	Participation/Restructuring of Higher Educational System	Faculty Universities for masses
Outside Involvement	Labor unions: no; Citizens: no; Media: No; Govt: Peripheral	Labor unions: Yes; Citizens: Yes; Media: Yes; Govt.: Yes	Labor unions: no; Citizens: no; Media: Yes; Govt.: Yes

Subject	England	France	Germany
Prime External Catalysts	Nuclear disarmament	Vietnam War	Vietnam War
Prime Internal Catalysts	lack of participation/admission policies	Outmoded facilities/relevance/system	University organization/professorial
Leaders	David Adelstein, Tariq Ali, Jack Straw	Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Alain Gismar	Rudi Dutschke, A. Baader
Red Flags	police intervention/LSE gates closed	police intervention/Nanterre closed	Police intervention/Dutschke dead
Escalation by media	no	yes	no
Clear plan of action by leaders	no	no	no
Immediacy of reforms	1 mo.	4 mo.	8 yrs.
Likelihood of similar reforms without protests in same timeframe	no	no	no
Likelihood of similar reforms without protests in time	yes	yes	yes
Prior discussion of reform relating to higher education	yes	yes	yes

Analysis of Protest in England, France and Germany

Defining Characteristics of Protest

England, France, and Germany experienced student protest according to the interaction between students, university, and society, and the weight given to

the internal and external catalysts. Often, the characteristics of protest mirrored the amalgam of country-specific catalysts.

Student protest in England was largely contained within the university sphere, was comparatively limited in scope and intensity, and was relatively non-impacting on government and society. One might encapsulate the characteristics with the words focused, limited, ideologically based, and non-legislative. Triggered by issues of racism, global events, and freedom of speech/ participation issues, the student movement in England was a "mini" movement when compared to its European counterparts. Protest in England was largely symbolic and dramatic, with more fanfare than ferocity.

Unlike the French, the British have no historical precedent for sustained mass revolt; therefore, unrest was essentially cerebral in nature, and comparatively short in duration. Protest was limited exclusively to the academic community, primarily students, and did not involve other segments of British society. Neither the general public nor industry was caught up in the movement, as was the case in France, and to some extent, in Germany. Nor did political parties weigh in significantly, either with support or opposition to the student movement. English students demonstrated about global issues; however, they limited their demands to the one specific area that was within their sphere of influence-the right to participate in university decisions that affected their own student careers.

The ideology of British students of the New Left triggered this inclusive discontent with their society. They focused their attention on the lack of fairness for all segments of society, regardless of race, class, or economic status; on the concern with money over ethical considerations on the part of the Establishment; and on their disappointment with the Labour government and Harold Wilson's policies. Specifically, the students took issue with LSE's hiring of Walter Adams as Director, whom they considered to have a racial bias; and additionally, they took issue with speakers invited by university officials (scientists involved in production of nuclear and chemical weapons, in particular).

The political context was vital to the origins of English university student protest in the 60's, and was linked to these three overarching issues: a disengagement with authority, a search for community, and a concern for the relationship between the university and the tentacles of capitalist industry (Crouch 1979). As the English students protested a political issue which was counter to their New Left ideology, they flouted authority, which, in turn, resulted in punishment. It might be argued that the English student movement originated from protesting issues of university punishment arising from political protest.

Student protest in France can be characterized as spontaneous, intense, visceral, and societally all-encompassing. Global issues were paid lip service; however, grievances were focused squarely on the inadequacies of the French higher educational system. While Leftist political leanings formed the foundation

for the basis of student concerns, this ideology was translated into personal issues of ethics and equality concerning university issues. As in England, the decisions, or in the case of France, often the lack of decision, fueled the student cause. As student leaders were disciplined for speaking out against the perceived inadequacies of the French higher educational system the distrust of and anger at authority erupted. However, unlike England, dissent by French citizens had a historical precedent, and consequently was an act accepted, even condoned, by the French public. Indeed, non-academic segments of society joined in enthusiastically with university students to protest. This was an act seen neither in England nor Germany. In fact, while some of the protest by the French citizenry was to show sympathy for the students and their cause, many were caught up in their own agenda for protest: dissatisfaction with the DeGaulle government and its authoritarianism, low wages, and indignation at police intervention. In contrast to the rebellion in England, the dissent in France was more culturally based and was focused nearly exclusively on university related issues, which were summed up in three words: participation, relevance, and autonomy.

It must be noted, however, that protest over educational issues in France, by virtue of the higher educational system, has a political context. Distinct from that in England or Germany, the French higher educational system is a national system under control of an education ministry located in the country's capital. The centralized aspect of this system dictates that demands for reform are unavoidably

political demands. Decisions leading to change simply could not take place at the institutional level: decisions leading to change at the national level were exponentially more difficult, and required involvement from many segments of society. This involvement in the French protest by citizens, workers, secondary students and other interest groups sets this era of protest apart from that in England or Germany. The intensity and pervasiveness forced the swift legislative action seen in neither of the other two countries.

While German protest was equally as intense as in France, the focus was intrinsically ideologically-based, as in England. Global issues formed the crux of the cause for student dissent. Alienation and disillusionment with greater social ethics formed the foundation of the protest, and became the outward expression of their discontent. This generation of German students which had grown up in the affluent environment of the 50's, turned away from the "obsession with economic growth and consumerism …and no longer unquestioningly accepted traditional German secondary values such as diligence, order, punctiliousness" (Hahn, 1998, 119). The German student movement can be characterized as being explosively violent, event focused, and anti-authoritarian. Global events initiated the extra-campus, student-led demonstrations; however, the key issue underlying the protests was the unjust spread of omnipotent authority, whether by the Shah fr Iran, the United States, or the Ordinarien within the university. The student

movement in Germany was dedicated to changing the balance of authority within their society and, especially within their own campus.

Protest in England, France and Germany can be said to exhibit country-specific qualities tied to cultural input. However, there were many similarities, as well. The following section addresses these similarities and differences further.

Similarities and Differences of the Protest

There were a great number of general similarities of protest in these three nations. The distinctiveness of protest in these countries can be attributed to the societal, economic, political, and historical factors that combined to initiate the unrest. To understand the similarities, one must look at the environments in which protest originated. Following World War II, the general fabric of society had changed: parents were more permissive, students were more mobile and more independent, and disillusionment was pervasive among the students. In addition, all three nations had experienced political shifts, economic growth, and an awareness of the necessity for change. These ideological and environmental similarities produced the similarity between the university students of the 1960's. Their general *anomie* permitted the outward aggressive expression of discontent in ways that would have been unthinkable to their parents. As might be expected, these societal similarities translated into similarity with regard to protest. Protest of this era was initiated by university students within a largely, hitherto unnoticed, group: sociology students. In each of these countries, students were questioning

their own ethics and how these ethics corresponded to the actions of their society and government. Students of the 1960's were more critical of events, issues, and authority, as has been said before. This attitude, however, gave students the freedom to look at people and events far apart from their secure, often very traditional, world through a different lens. Revolutionaries such as Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Leon Trotsky became heroes. Fighting passionately for a common cause was a romantic notion that was quite appealing and equally widespread. Thus, protest in these nations, regardless of the individual catalysts, had the same ideological goal: restructuring society through revolutionary means for the common good. Paradoxically, in spite of the general similarities in ideology, there was a like similarity in lack of vision. Neither the leaders nor the protesting students in any of these countries had a long-term program of reform. The protests encompassed a grand ideal; the means of achieving this goal were relatively inconsequential. Aside from a general affirmation of the need to restructure (overthrow) society, no plans had been detailed.

Until the 1960's, protest had been essentially confined to campus disturbances. The university was thought to be separate from the mainstream of national life, and like oil and water, town and gown issues did not mix. However, during this era, a blurring of boundaries took place as seldom before causing an important change. As protest erupted from the confines of the campus, citizens and the media became aware of the student unrest as never before. With the daily

reporting of events through newspapers and television, the politicization of higher education evolved. Prior to the 1960's, educational concerns were typically dealt with by the university authorities and governmental officials. Following the protests, citizens of all these nations became aware of educational concerns and shortcomings. While the level of citizen involvement was dissimilar, the extensive nature of the knowledge was not. Indeed, the success or failure of a period of student activism rests to some extent on society's involvement. If the unrest is confined to the university campus, typically, it is a brief flare that is quickly extinguished.

Interestingly, the medieval concept of university as a community set apart from the bourgeoisie created a sense of unity within the student bodies of these three nations that increased emotion and participation quite rapidly. This aspect, additionally, enabled the spread of protest from campus to campus, as often merely a show of solidarity, as a display of real discontent.

An additional similarity in the nature of protest in England, France, and Germany is the initiating locale. In all three nations, the seeds of protest began in some of the largest, most artistic, most intellectually stimulating cities in the world. The London School of Economics, the University of Paris, and the Free University of Berlin had world recognizance. Although it might be argued that in France, the initiating incident took place in Nanterre, in the suburbs of Paris, Nanterre, nonetheless was a branch of the University of Paris. Within a short

period of time, around two weeks, protest had spread to the main campus of the Sorbonne. The fact that protest erupted in major universities in major cities ensured that the unrest, as it grew, garnered national attention from the national media. This exposure helped the rapid spread of knowledge in a way not possible, had protest taken place in a small rural college.

The protests did differ in several ways, nonetheless. In England, the general leftist political leaning formed a foundation for the mind set of the English students, and gave a global focus to many of their demonstrations; however, the list of English demands was breathtakingly short when compared to those in France and Germany. English students, while expressing their ideological sympathies against racism, nuclear armament, the Vietnam War, restriction of freedom of speech on these issues, articulated their demands succinctly: more student participation, more freedom of speech.

The French scenario was at the other end of the continuum. French students protested primarily against the inadequacies of the higher educational system, including the constrictive centralization of authority. Demands were diverse and comprehensive, ranging from the possible to the absurd, and covering every conceivable aspect of university life from curricula, to faculty hierarchy, to integrated dorms with permitted sexual relations to cafeteria food, and to student participation.

Demands of the German students with the backing of the junior faculty, focused on overhaul of the university system with equality for all segments of society as a foundation. The thrust of the German student movement was to democratize the university, and in the process, to abolish the hierarchical autocratic structure of the *Ordinarien,* and to increase student participation with a spirit of collaboration in the learning process. This restructuring was intended to allow for more innovative, individual, and interdisciplinary learning to occur. German demands were the most carefully reasoned and articulated; in fact, the SDS/BAK proposal formed the foundation for the subsequent legislative plan.

Moreover, as has been mentioned previously there were significant differences in the degree of outside involvement from groups other than university student unions. In France, involvement was widespread throughout diverse segments of society. University students, citizens, workers, professors, media, high school students, all took to the streets across the nation in protest. It was the universality of protest that nearly spelled the demise of the DeGaulle government. For the month of May, the entire nation came to a near stand still. Protest affected university, industry, travel, government and touched on virtually every segment of life in France. Without the support, the French government would not have had the exigency to show signs of immediate reform.

Student Leadership

It would seem that the leaders of the student movement in England, France, and Germany would have had a definite goal to achieve, a specific rationale behind their actions, a clear power base, and obvious leadership abilities. If the student movement in the nations took university authorities and government officials by surprise, it was also a source of wonder for the student leaders, who largely as a result of unplanned events, assumed the mantle of leadership. In England, David Adelstein was the president of the student association at LSE (the YSL), and therefore, in some respects, could be said to be a leader. On the other hand, the significance of the initial protest, being the letter of dissent for Walter Adams' appointment as director, was not understood until much later. Certainly, it was intended to show student dissatisfaction, a bold gesture with no ulterior motive other than to register student discontent. The whirlwind of activities that followed, culminating with the expulsion of Adelstein and Tariq Ali from LSE, was to advance the cause for protest to heights that had not been imagined. In short, they were thrown into the leadership role, unprepared.

In France, Daniel Cohn-Bendit (Danny the Red) was also thrust into the leadership role unexpectedly, with no plan, no further thought than confronting Monsieur Misoffe with the complaint that contemporary student interaction between sexes had not been addressed in his White Paper. As in England, this admittedly charismatic student from Germany attending Nanterre, had no thought

of grand protest or student revolution. Indeed, he was swiftly placed on a pedestal by admiring followers, while he admitted that he often did not know what course of action to take next.

Rudi Dutschke, the leader of the SDS, found himself in the same position as the leaders in France and England. He had organized protests in the wake of the successful protests in France without a clear idea of what was to come. The leader of SDS simply was jumping on the bandwagon of protest without a clear idea of why, or of what was involved. It is clear that the ideological leanings dovetailed with the causes for protest; however the concentration of the protests was a surprise to everyone concerned. Admittedly, the charisma of these leaders drew loyal followers, who set them up as icons (and refused to enter into any negotiation with university officials without the leader at the forefront), sparked passion in their cohorts. It is not clear, though, whether this aura would have been as great without the inadvertent aid of the university authorities. As the university administrators followed the traditional reprimands and punishments, they created heroes. The more the officials resorted to previous measures of chastisement, the farther up the pedestal the leaders were placed by their supporters. Undoubtedly intelligent, obviously passionate about their ideology, and clearly capable, these leaders, nonetheless, did not intend to lead a continually expanding student movement. For the most part, their success was inadvertent, and was aided in part by the unfortunate decisions of those in authority.

Effects of Protests on the University and Government

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the student protests impacted the governments and institutions in culturally specific ways, and with differing degrees of effects. In the case of England, there was no appreciable change in any governmental action or procedure. There was, of course, recognition of the incidents of student protest, and sporadic discussion in the houses of Parliament, but the level of concern was relatively mild when compared to that of France and Germany. Regarding the impact on university authorities, there was a significant shift in the assessment of the maturity of the student population. As the dictum of *in loco parentis* was relinquished, university officials began to recognize the fact that students of the Sixties did have valuable and valid points of view. It was acknowledged that there was a new-found realization that there was a difference between students of past eras, and students of the 1960's: this recognition continues today.

As has been noted, the changes to the systems of higher education following student protest in Germany and France were profound. By no means the sole impetus for reform, student protest served to light the fire of immediacy under traditionally slowly reacting institutions. As in England, governmental officials and university authorities alike were forced to concede that the position of students in society had changed from prior generations, and thus, were forced to acknowledge the students pleas for reform. It cannot be determined if these

changes would not have come about without student unrest; however, there can be no doubt that protest did play an important role in opening the collective consciousness of government and university officials to this segment of society-university students.

In Germany, the students' and academic assistants' intellectual critique of the higher educational system led to the proposals that outlined a system of reform that was comprehensive, addressing the organizational, structural, and financial relationships of the university. Grounded in the belief that higher education is a instrument of bringing emancipation and critical thinking to society, it focused on the ideals of interdisciplinarity, opportunity of access, and unity of research and teaching. These analyses and proposals offered by the SDS and the BAK greatly influenced the path to educational development taken by the government officials in Germany. Hitherto, reform in Germany had focused on expansion through creation of new universities, an attempt to deal with the growth in enrollment, curricular and internal structural issues were not seriously addressed until the aftermath of the student protests in 1968.

As has been repeatedly stated, the government of France was profoundly affected by the consequences of the May Revolt. The coalition of students, workers, and citizens forced the attention of the government, at the highest levels, on the demands from students and workers. Immediacy of action was imperative, and the results of rapidly enacted legislation, while succeeding as a stop gap

measure for the revolt, have proven to have been neither the all-encompassing, innovative reform of higher education that had been envisioned, nor a cure-all for the problems of the past. The effect of the May Revolt, on the French government and their subsequent actions, was undeniable.

Educational Policies Under Attack

The selection process for admittance to the university, yearly final examination procedures, difficulty of transfer to another field, lack of technological and interdisciplinary courses and were the educational policies that were the cause of protest by students in England, France, and Germany. This question has been covered in detail in earlier sections of this chapter, and will be summarized here. Students of the 1960's questioned, criticized, and rebelled against authority. As their world was the university, their focus became educational policies, and decisions of those in authority. In each country, students were unsatisfied with admission procedures, as they felt the measures were biased toward some segments of society, and excluded others; the students protested the lack of interdisciplinary courses as well as courses directly applicable to the current labor market; they felt that the decisions of who could speak and who could not speak infringed upon their freedom of speech and reinforced their discontent with authority; additionally, and perhaps most importantly, they contested the lack of participation and input into the decisions that affected their lives and their futures. The issues in each of the countries were similar due to the

character of the students of the 60's: their attitudes reflected a similar dissatisfaction with educational policies in all three countries.

CHAPTER VII

Summary and Conclusions

> *The universities of the world have entered a time of disquieting turmoil that has no end in sight. As the difficulties of the universities mounted across the globe during the last quarter of the twentieth century, higher education lost whatever steady state it might have once possessed.* (Burton Clark, *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities,* 1998)
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> *Of the variety of explanations advanced to account for the present disharmony between students, university, and society, most fail to take the comparative perspective into account.* (Margaret Scotford Archer, 1972)

Clark Kerr (1986, xv) posits that the "1960's and early 1970's were the greatest period of attempted reform of institutions of higher education in the Western world in eight hundred years." With this far-reaching statement in mind, this work examined the catalysts that provoked this era of attempted reform, the agents behind the demand for change, and the legislative acts realized as a result of these protests. This study has examined the ubiquity, complexity, and multifaceted consequences of student unrest on university, students, and society through targeting this era and this issue: university reform in the 1960's and 1970's. The contextual boundaries of this analysis include student activism, the nations of England, France, and Germany, and the higher educational systems within these countries. Specifically, the all-encompassing purpose of this study has been to examine the causes for the disquieting turmoil and disharmony between students, university, and society in three European nations; to catalogue the resulting demands for reform of the higher educational systems; to investigate the legislative

reforms enacted following the episodes of student unrest; and, finally, to compare and analyze these issues in a cross-national framework.

The intent of this study was listed as follows in Chapter One: to determine the origins of the student-initiated demands for higher educational reform in England, France, and Germany in the 1960's; to identify the objectives of the student demands for university reform; to determine the extent to which these demands have been realized; and to compare and contrast the objectives and results of the student-initiated governmental and administrative reforms in these three countries. Each of the intentions listed in this section have been detailed in the preceding chapters; therefore, this chapter will summarize the methods involved, the major findings, and finally, the conclusions and implications.

Summary

Methodology

This inquiry fits the paradigm of comparative educational research, and meshes with the overarching purposes of the descriptive, analytical method. The broad issue targeted within this analysis is higher educational change in higher educational systems following the student protests of the 1960's. The framework of analysis, a case-study comparative analysis based on the descriptive/historical method, was selected on the basis of purpose, experience, time and money. The number of cases, as well as the selection of specific cases, was chosen on the basis

of best fit for this project. Typically, cross-national comparative case-studies select a fewer number of cases than variable-oriented comparative research. Three cases, England, France, and Germany, were selected to offer a wider range of comparison than is possible with only two cases, while keeping in mind the parameters of purpose, time, experience, and money. Although there were many potentially suitable countries that the author could have chosen as the cases for this study, these three national systems have similar structural and academic traditions, are parliamentary democracies, and are gerontocratic, industrialized nations with differing levels of centralization. Furthermore, familiarity with customs and language were two vital factors that weighted the decision to the above choice.

Data for this study were gathered by compiling historical information from newspapers, books, journal articles, legal documents, parliamentary records, and interviews. Collation of data was carried out by generating questions, rather than formulating hypotheses, and validity was substantiated through the process of triangulation. These questions lay within a framework of internal and external factors significantly impacting student protest, and included societal, historical, political, and economic aspects for study. These factors were subdivided as follows:

Internal Factors

- Degree of Participation of students, faculty, and staff in university affairs.
- Degree of Centralism/Facility of change

- Degree of Elitism/Access
- Faculty traditions and hierarchy
- Student Impact

External Factors

- Historical events that have impacted the general population
- Contemporary global events
- Political party agendas
- Sociological issues
- National economic and labor market situation
- Involvement of media and special interest groups

Thus, this method provided the means of attaining the overarching intent of this study: to determine the efficacy of student activism on educational reform of higher educational systems in England, France, and Germany in the 1960's by analyzing these factors in light of the student movement, international trends, and country-specific factors.

Catalysts for Reform

The aftermath of World War II led to a period of technological, political, and economic change throughout Europe. It was in this time of change that students of the 1950´s, who had been criticized for their political apathy,

metamorphosed into student activists. The foci of their protests were complex and included issues generated by factors external to the university environment as well as internal university dynamics. These included: generational conflict; the ills of society; global political issues; curricular concerns; outmoded facilities, pedagogical methods, and textbooks; stretched supplies and shortage of faculty and staff; lack of student participation; and restrictions on freedom of speech. While each country had unique political, historical, economic, societal, and cultural facets that created the structural and ideological differences in the higher educational systems of England, France, and Germany, there were striking similarities in the nature, character, and ideology of the university students in the 1960´s. This similarity was manifested as a result of the changes in the aftermath of the Second World War.

In the wake of the war, all three countries experienced a demographic growth and increased academic aspirations that profoundly affected the higher educational systems, and the students within. As the numbers of post WWII university entrants doubled, the universities which had remained unchanged in size, physical structure, staff, faculty, and teaching methods, since the pre-WWII days, experienced pervasive shortages and space difficulties. Moreover, the burgeoning enrollment affected the academic community not only physically, but also emotionally. The ties that created the long-held community of scholars

became loosened due to the increased numbers. The bond between professors and assistants diminished, and the atmosphere for unrest continued to evolve.

Parental permissiveness, economic prosperity, student mobility, and changing ideology altered the long-held societal customs that had kept students under the watchful eye of their parents, close to home and obedient to authority. As these societal and cultural ties were broken, students in all three nations left for institutions of higher education far from their own locale, spread their wings, challenged authority, and no longer felt constrained to adhere to rules established by an authority that they despised. The complacency and status quo of the 1950's evolved into an atmosphere of academic, sexual, and authoritarian emancipation in the 60's.

The combination of frustration due to outdated teaching methods and classrooms; governmental, institutional, and individual greed and inequality; staff, faculty, and supply shortages; and loosened academic community ties, combined to create an atmosphere of unrest that soon was translated into student protest.

However, these were not the only stimuli that caused the student movement to swell to the magnitude that it did in the latter 1960´s. Students in all three countries followed a leftist ideology and were intensely concerned about global and national inequalities: inequalities of power, of race, of participation, of distribution of wealth, of access to education, and of freedom of speech. Feelings of betrayal (especially in the case of the English students with Wilson´s Labour

Party government) and resentment at edicts and punishments meted out by government and university authorities were common sentiments during this era. Students felt strongly that they should have a hand in making the academic decisions that impacted their own lives. Clearly, one of the most important decisions on which the university students demanded participation was curricular reform. University courses did not mesh with labor market needs, and university graduates found themselves without the knowledge necessary to secure a decent position. In line with frustration at outdated curricula was the anger at the faculty hierarchical system that tenured professors for life, and demanded little from them. Professors in Germany and France, especially, enjoyed the freedom to choose their successors, teach as they desired, attend class or not as they chose, and dispense research and pedagogical resources on their own whim. Students felt this extensive power was repressive, biased, and oppositional to the concept of freedom to learn.

In short, it was the combination of factors, both internal and external, that lit the spark of student revolt. Yet, even so, the student protests when they erupted took all involved by surprise: discontent became magnified to unanticipated proportions, and protest was the result.

Measures of Reform

The results of the student demands, and speed in which legislation was enacted varied by country. In France, with the impending collapse of the Gaulllist government, the *Loi dÓrientation* was legislated with startling speed: it was

crafted and implemented within four months. The Orientation Law of November 1968 provided for a major restructuring of universities (dividing the unwieldy faculties in each city into two or more separate institutions: the University of Paris was reorganized into twelve universities). In addition, this Act made changes to the rigid faculty hierarchy (giving a more prominent role to junior faculty), as well as changes to the degree of student participation and manner of governance of each institution. Finally, there was a major change in the manner that students, staff, and faculty alike viewed their universities, and their respective roles within them.

In Germany, changes were less dramatic, and were under no time pressure to enact legislation immediately: indeed, legislation took eight years to accomplish. However, there were significant changes in degree of student participation in governance of the universities; in the declining power of senior faculty and the increasing recognition of the role of junior faculty; and in the groundwork that was laid for the major structural changes the resulted from the 1986 Framework Act, an Act that significantly affected the German higher education system by creating the comprehensive university system (*Gesamthochschule).* While the vocational sector (*Fachhochschule*) had already been on the rise prior to the student unrest, the mandated combination of the university and the *Fachochschulen* (polytechnics) was hastened due to the actions of the students.

In England, there was no dramatic change: no legislation resulted as a consequence of the student movement. However, university administrators and the CVCP (the liaison between government and university) made limited accommodation, which was sufficient to quell most student protest. Prior to the student unrest, new universities had been constructed, or were in the planning stage, and students in England did not experience the overcrowding that was so prevalent in France and Germany. Therefore, increased student participation was the objective of English student demands- an objective that was realized, although not to the extent that developed in France and Germany.

Major Findings

In the course of the research, this author discovered that several key issues impacted the volatile academic environment to exacerbate the level of student frustration to unmanageable levels. Not all issues instigated a comparable response from the students; not all student responses initiated action from authorities. Indeed, it was the peculiar combination of often innocuous internal and external factors, along with some luck, some erroneous decisions, and some haphazard planning which made this era of protest so powerful.

The major finding were as follows:

- Student activism was neither the sole, nor the prime, impetus of reform in the 1960´s.

- Student activism served a supplementary role, that of illustrating the exigency for immediate legislative action.
- The combination of the country-specific blending of internal and external events accounted for the variation in intensity, time-frame, duration, participation, and ultimate success of the student movement.
- The changes in customs, economy, political climate, and educational aspiration throughout Europe in the aftermath of World War II created a similarity in the character of the students of the 1960s, regardless of nation.
- Students became a viable social force.

The significance of historical imprints was that reactions to events were often based not only on the event itself, but on the response to the imprint of prior historical incidents, as well. Typically, this created an escalation of emotion far beyond that which would have been generated by the event, if taken by itself. In France, the deep-rooted sentiment of the imperative of an intellectual mind to be used in service to the nation of France, ensured that the issue of education was a nation-wide concern. This factor alone guaranteed that protest concerning issues of higher education was of import to the average French citizen, not just to the students or their parents. In England, the lack of sustained physical revolt and the preponderance of cerebral disputes, made widespread, violent protest, as seen primarily in France and less so in Germany, an unlikely happening in England.

There is little doubt that the baby boom following World War II, and the subsequent drastically increased university enrollment figures created a shortage situation that profoundly affected the system of higher education in all three countries. Simply put, the numbers of students that enrolled in universities in the 60's doubled or tripled the pre-war figures. The lack of foresight and long-rang planning led to the hasty accommodation measures that were, by and large, unsatisfactory. England, France, and Germany struggled with lack of space, lack of competent faculty, lack of supplies, and lack of staff throughout the 1960's. The remedies to the overcrowding, in the end, were "too little and too late". If the situation had not been as extreme, or if it had been anticipated and ameliorated, student frustration would most probably not have escalated with the rapidity and ferocity as occurred in this era.

As has been said before, students of the 1960's, who had been beneficiaries of a time of economic prosperity and parental permissiveness, were more mobile and less respectful than their counterparts in the 1950s. As students of the 1960s left home for a university outside their own locale, the lack of parental guidance led to a feeling of emancipation. This liberation translated into sexual freedom, leftist ideology, open protest, and challenges to authority. These students questioned and challenged the status quo; championed the underdog; rejected Western greed and capitalism; hero-worshiped radical revolutionaries; and yearned

to change their university and their society. This change in student character made student activism possible: disruptive protest was the vehicle for change.

University and government officials found themselves in uncharted territory, knowing neither what to do, nor what not to do, to quell the student unrest. Indeed, student protest escalated and ex-university interest groups (high school students and labor union workers) emerged as a result of a catastrophic misevaluation of both the situation and the solution. English, French, and German university administrators, caught completely by surprise at the sustained, often destructive incidents of unrest, attempted to suppress the protest in two ways: summoning the police and closing the university. Both decisions had the effect of pouring kerosene on a burning fire. The result was that the scale and the expansion of student activism was intensified.

The summoning of the police was regarded as an infringement on the sanctity of the university proper, an event that had not taken place since the Middle Ages. This unfortunate decision, made by officials in all three nations, was considered exceptionally inflammatory by students, faculty, staff, and some ordinary citizens. This appreciably increased the furor and the perception of injustice. As this was coupled with the university closings, irate students were forced to find other locales for meeting and planning. In Paris, this one act arguably changed the course of the French student protests as the actions shifted from the suburbs (Nanterre) to Paris (the Sorbonne). By moving the protest to the

capital, and from the campus enclosures to the streets, the student movement became quite public. For one of the first times in history, academic inadequacies, decisions, and concerns were aired on the television, in newspapers, and on the radio: few citizens were unaware of these events, which in times past would have remained firmly within the confines of the university.

While there were definite similarities in many aspects of the unrest in all three countries, it was perhaps the country-specific cultural traits that provided the key elements of distinctiveness. Much of this had to do with a facet clearly attributable to national goals and aspirations: the role of education in the public consciousness. This varied from country to country and might have impacted the degree of citizen and media involvement which occurred in England, France, and Germany. The targeted ideal of French education is the intellectualism of each citizen: thinking skills are regarded as being of paramount importance to each citizen, and thus, to the nation. Excellence of the mind yielded benefits throughout life, and one's future in France often hung in the balance according to the status of university (or preferably *grande école*) that one attended. This preoccupation with exceptional schooling involves the parents as much as the students in France: involvement with education is by and large a national affair. Thus, the degree of citizen involvement and empathy for students' protest resonated throughout the nation in ways that were felt neither in England, nor in Germany. Intellectualism in Germany was also of utmost importance; however, the importance rested with the

idea that excellence of the mind is an individualized concept and the duty of each human to try to achieve this pinnacle of intellectual perfection for himself/herself. The pursuit of knowledge was for the individual, not for the nation. On the other hand, intellectual prowess was not of the importance in England as it was in its European neighbors. In fact, human worth was measured on one's social position rather than one's academic ability. As such, the level of citizen involvement in England was virtually nil: student protest resided with the university students themselves. In Germany, the level of citizen involvement could be said to be in the middle of the continuum with France on the high involvement end and England on the low involvement end.

Degree of centralization was of supreme importance in the evolution and resolution of the student protests. As has been noted, it can be identified as a major precipitating factor for student unrest in France. The centralized system of higher education ensures that education is uniform throughout the nations; however, it is this very homogeny that prevents the timely propitiation of frustrations and demands at the local level. Because all decisions come from a central source, there is no opportunity to resolve problems at the university or city level. This, of course results in time delays, and pent up frustrations. Without direct and immediate results, cessation of protest is infrequent and erratic, and can be potentially politically devastating, as was the case in France. The German higher education system was at the other end of the continuum: a complete lack of centralized

control. Each state held the responsibility for resolving conflicts and making decisions concerning the individual universities. This made it easy to resolve educational conflicts in a timely manner, but impeded systematic coordination between the federal government and the states. The capacity to offer equitable educational opportunities throughout the nation was difficult to complete, and the facility to attain consensus as to the method and extent of educational reform was a time-intensive process: an agreement, ultimately, took eight years to accomplish. Like Germany, England had a decentralized system of higher education. Hence, educational officials were able to make decisions quickly and without a great deal of difficulty. Decentralization in England was not as acute as in Germany, and should legislation have been necessary, it could have been accomplished without the difficulties that Germany or France experienced.

In short, it was the combination of the above factors, laid one upon the other that created the circumstances leading to the student protest of the 1960's: it was the complex blending of many frustrations, poor decisions, world events, and cultural traditions that generated this era of protest rather than one key precipitating factor.

Conclusions and Implications

At the onset of this study, it was anticipated finding that student protest acutely affected higher educational reform in England, France, and Germany.

Subsequent research found that rather than being the prime or, indeed, the sole impetus for reform, an assumption difficult to prove conclusively, student protest, instead, served a supplementary role. Reforms in each of these three countries were being discussed, and in many cases had been for some time, in their respective legislative bodies. The idea of educational reform was not new; consensus on how to proceed was the sticking point in each case. Albeit, these measures were put on the discussion table with differing goals and unique timelines. Contrary to the belief that no comprehensive reform was being seriously considered, in fact throughout the 1960's various reforms were advanced. Student protest clearly highlighted the necessity for action in a way that prior discussion had failed to do. Because of the disruptive nature of the movement, governments and universities were forced to re-evaluate their higher educational systems, and the student role within it.

The implication of this finding is that student protest illustrated the importance, and the power, of forces within society: the recognition that the student sector was a viable group that should no longer be ignored was a noteworthy and impacting result. Therefore, implications of these findings can be listed, as follows:

- The phenomenon of student activism in the 1960s highlighted the power of forces within society: a fact which governments now acknowledge and note in making policy and legislative decisions.

- The phenomenon of student activism changed the perception of the student role within the family, university, and nation: students were viewed as thinking adults, who merited the right to participate in decisions that affected their academic career and their future employment.
- The phenomenon of student activism bought educational issues before the public, and from behind university walls: public pressure began to figure into educational decisions, which had formerly been the sole domain of university officials.
- The phenomenon of student activism brought the issue of academic accountability to light: from the late Sixties, tuition must bring results.

Thus, perhaps the most significant consequence of the student revolt lay in the far-reaching effect on separate sectors of each society: in government, university, and family alike, the perception of the student role, capability, and societal worth had changed, and the perception of the role of education, *in toto,* had shifted. Moreover, while the legislated reforms have proven, with time, to have had varying degrees of success, the recognition of the importance of forces within society, including students, has remained to this date.

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