

The Penn Program on

# **Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism**

## Graduate Workshop

“The University at the New Frontier: The Expansion of Higher Education and the Origins of the Student Movements of 1968 in France, Germany and Italy.”

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College Hall 209  
University of Pennsylvania**

<http://www.sas.upenn.edu/dcc/>

'The strength of a modern economy is derived from its industrial vigour, and industrial vigour in turn relies upon technology, or the application of a new scientific knowledge. And all are based upon the creative capacity of man and upon his education.' Alexander King, director of Office for Scientific and Technical Personnel of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, 1960.<sup>1</sup>

'We know that rats and many other animals, from an excessive density in a given space, manifest all the signs of disorder which in the human world we associate with neurosis. French students, in particular those of Paris, suffer from a neurosis of overpopulation, the concentration of too great a number in too small a space.' Raymond Aron, 1968.<sup>2</sup>

'A devouring monster, in which the elect are few.' French Student (born 1945) asked how the university is seen by the students, 1967.<sup>3</sup>

Rats and monsters: by the end of the 1960s, the images and metaphors with which professors described students and students depicted the university testify to the hostility which marked the university for both constituencies. Whether overpopulation or underproduction, the points of view concur on the problem of number: too many students in too small a space, too few survivors in a Darwinian university. The short time in which some universities exploded intensified the disorientation. Less malicious than Aron, the Dean of Nanterre's elegiac depiction of the university crowd placed the transformation in less than a year:

One evening of November 1966, I violently experienced the coming change, which had not yet revealed itself. I had left my office rather late, after 7pm. In the hall of the Faculty, exiting a large lecture theater came towards me a tight crowd of students, advancing in rows of six or seven. At five meters of their advancing front, I froze. They passed to my right and left. Not one reaction from anyone. I stood rooted to spot. It was a revelation for me: in that mass of two hundred students, no-one recognized the Dean any longer, or wanted to ignore him. The

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander King, 'A Foreword by the Director', in Office for Scientific and Technical Personnel, Organisation for European Economic Co-Operation, *Forecasting Manpower Needs for the Age of Science*, OEEC Publications, Paris, 1960, p.7.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Aron, *La révolution introuvable: réflexions sur la Révolution de Mai*, Fayard, Paris, 1968, p.54.

<sup>3</sup> BDIC. F delta 1961(1) – II(1) 'Enquête sur les étudiants du 1er cycle de Tours (1).

previous year, in 1965, we still new each other. Where had we arrived? ... There was no hostility, to tell the truth, in that crowd of students. No curiosity either. They simply went on their way. It was their indifference which struck me. On my return home, I depicted the scene to my wife, adding in the form of conclusion – That anonymous crowd frightened me.’<sup>4</sup>

Yet the crowded Sorbonne preceded Nanterre’s anonymous swarm, and before becoming Dean of Nanterre Pierre Grappin ranked as one of the few Sorbonne faculty members actively engaged with the issues provoked by the expanding student body, one who, far from being swamped by the oncoming crowd, took the stairs to the student association’s office to discuss the matter, ‘the only professor of the house, they told me, to have ever taken that path.’<sup>5</sup> The problem of overcrowding was not unique to the late sixties. One member of the Naples law faculty resorted to a loudspeaker to connect two lecture halls – in 1960.<sup>6</sup> Raymond Aron’s rodents attest to his powerful imagination and cannot suffice as an explanation for the student revolts. A far better point to begin is to question why only a few years earlier a brief consensus emerged that there existed not too many students, but too few.

‘The chief culprit for the overproduction of *Abituerienten* [students passing the university entrance exam] is placed in the dock’<sup>7</sup>; so wrote the philosopher and theologian Georg Picht in 1973. A decade earlier Picht’s articles in *Christ und Welt* dramatically directed public debate in the Federal Republic of Germany to the theme of educational planning, or, more precisely, the lack thereof. Rapidly transferred into book form, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe* [The German Educational Catastrophe] won Picht the inaugural Theodor Heuß Preis (founded by Hildegard Hamm-Brücher) and the PEN-Club elected him as a member. Picht was no novice to

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<sup>4</sup> Pierre Grappin, *L’Ile aux peupliers: de la Résistance à Mai 68: Souvenirs du Doyen de Nanterre*, avec la collaboration de Laurent Danchin, Presses Universitaires de Nancy, Nancy, 1993, p.241.

<sup>5</sup> Grappin, *L’Ile aux peupliers*, p.227.

<sup>6</sup> See Antonio Santoni Rugiu, *Chiarissimi e Magnifici: Il professore nell’università italiana (dal 1700 al 2000)*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1991, p.256.

<sup>7</sup> Georg Picht, ‘Vom Bildungsnotstand zum Notstand der Bildungspolitik’, *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 19(5), 1973, p.665.

the field of education. His father Werner was one of the earliest proponents of adult education<sup>8</sup> and Picht participated for a decade (from 1953 to 1963) in the Deutscher Ausschuß für das Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen [German Commission for Education] and the Beirat für Bildungsplanung Baden-Württemberg [Advisory Council for Educational Planning for Baden-Württemberg]. *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe* came at the end of this long engagement and testified to its failure.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to his committee work, the articles in *Christ und Welt* [*Christ and the World*] directed themselves first to the public and then to politicians: ‘The public must finally take note of the truth, and the politicians must set themselves to make those hard decisions demanded by national emergency of the first order.’<sup>10</sup> If Picht later faced indictment as the chief culprit for the excess of *Abiturienten*, the reason lay not in the novelty of his message, but its resonance.

A mere year before Picht’s article series of February 1964, Friedrich Edding advanced a very similar agenda, with no equivalent response, in his volume *Ökonomie des Bildungswesens* [*The Economy of Education*]. An economist at the Frankfurt Institute for International Pedagogical Research, Edding’s book collected a series of interventions between 1953 and 1962 (one an interview in *Christ und Welt*), and closed with his most recent appeal for a ‘New Deal through educational policy.’<sup>11</sup> Central to Edding’s case was the assumption, already articulated in 1958, that ‘the demand for staff on the upper levels of responsibility appears to be increasing particularly fast. It is mainly this general development of expert staffs where only recently one

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<sup>8</sup> See his *Das Schicksal der Volksbildung in Deutschland*, Zweite Auflage, Braunschweig, G. Westermann, 1950.

<sup>9</sup> Specifically Picht identified the lack of funds for the educational programs put forth by the education ministers: ‘Die Kultusminister tragen nicht die Schuld daran, daß ihr Schulbauprogramm nicht durchgeführt wurde. Wo die Schuld liegt, habe ich schon vor fünf Jahren in den Frankfurter Heften [Dezember 1958] gesagt: “Die Zukunft der ... Schule und damit die Zukunft unserer Gesellschaft wird von den Finanzministern entschieden...”’ Georg Picht, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*, Walter-Verlag, Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau, 1964, p.42.

<sup>10</sup> Georg Picht, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*, Walter-Verlag, Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau, 1964, pp.17-18.

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich Edding, *Ökonomie des Bildungswesens. Lehren und Lernen als Haushalt und als Investition*, Verlag Rombach, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1963, p.412. See also Ursula Kirkpatrick Springer, ‘West Germany’s Turn to *Bildungspolitik* in Educational Planning,’ *Comparative Education Review*, 9(1), Feb. 1965, pp.11-17.

highly educated personality could master the task, which makes the expansion of education on the higher levels inevitable.’<sup>12</sup> If not self-evident from the economy itself, the demand for education sprang from the desire not to be left out: ‘All the nations around us are moving towards a rapid increase of the quota of the academically educated. They find that they need and can absorb more and more highly qualified people. Why is it assumed here that we can neglect this, that we can remain stagnating in educational endeavors?’<sup>13</sup> Lastly, most ambiguously, education also answered to the demand for social equality:

Education does not only have the goal of bequeathing the intellectual heritage, but in modern society education at least as much has the goal to prepare for change, to set up equal opportunities socially and to prevent income groups solidify and thus further perpetuate themselves. Since these redistributive processes are so important, there is a great interest here of the authorities which deal with social relations in the whole Federal Republic. Here, therefore, Article 72 of the Basic Law is actually activated.<sup>14</sup>

The growing economic demand for education, the poor performance of Germany compared to other OECD nations and the relation of education to social equality provided the economic, patriotic and moral justifications for educational planning. These motivations jostled unequally for attention. Picht’s tocsin of 1964 combined all three elements, but in his tone and dire predictions, he settled for the language of national catastrophe: ‘The governments and parliaments must now act. Should they not do so, it is today certain who is responsible for the third great collapse of German history in this century.’<sup>15</sup>

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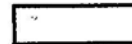







<sup>12</sup> Edding, Friedrich, *Internationale Tendenzen in der Entwicklung der Ausgaben für Schulen und Hochschulen*, Kieler Studien. Forschungsberichte des Instituts für Weltwirtschaft an der Universität Kiel, 47, als Manuskript gedruckt, Kiel, 1958., p.163.

<sup>13</sup> Edding, Friedrich, ‘Bildungsforschung als Grundlage der Bildungsplanung’, in *Bildungsplanung und Bildungsökonomie*, Schriften des Hochschulverbandes, Heft 16, Verlag Otto Schwartz & Co., Göttingen, 1964, p.57.

<sup>14</sup> Edding,, ‘Bildungsforschung als Grundlage der Bildungsplanung’, p.60. Cf. Edding, *Ökonomie des Bildungswesens*, p.404: ‘Ich habe ... für den gleichen Anspruch auf die besondere persönliche Bildungschance plädiert. Ich bin davon ausgegangen, daß Ungleichheit eine Schöpfungstatsache ist, die respektiert werden muß.’

<sup>15</sup> Georg Picht, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*, Walter-Verlag, Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau, 1964, p.87. The echoes of Freidrich Meinecke’s *Die deutsche Katastrophe* hardly seem accidental.

Zuwachs an Abiturienten  
 [OECD, Third Survey S. 1]

Jugoslawien	1959		38,1	
	1970		94,4	148 %
Norwegen	1959		4,9	
	1970		13,0	165 %
Frankreich	1959		59,1	
	1970		150,0	154 %
Belgien	1959		10,4	
	1970		20,8	100 %
Schweden	1959		10,5	
	1970		25,0	138 %
Italien	1959		55,6	
	1970		116,6	110 %
Dänemark	1959		3,8	
	1970		8,5	124 %
Niederlande	1959		10,0	
	1970		20,0	100 %
Bundesrep. Deutschland	1959		51,4	
	1970		53,3	4 %

The prospect ‘in 1970 that France will be the center of Europe,’<sup>16</sup> no doubt aimed to win to the cause of educational planning those for whom the word “plan” reeked of Communism.<sup>17</sup> *Christ und Welt* was not a journal noted for its radicalism. Giselher Wirsing, one-time Hauptsturmführer of the SS and its editor,<sup>18</sup> presented the German ‘catastrophe’ as the result of a false conservatism – ‘it concerns here a falsely understood conservatism, which can only be perceived as restorative.’<sup>19</sup> Picht himself wrote in the context of his religious engagement. He was the head of the Forschungsstätte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft from 1958 until his death in 1982. His September 1963 article in the *Lutherische Monatshefte* [*Lutheran Monthly*], ‘The Crisis of Cultural Politics and the Task of the Church,’ in which Picht stated that ‘the Educational question is thus the field on which will be decided if the Church recognizes its responsibility,’<sup>20</sup> provoked the invitation by Wirsing to write a series of articles, ‘to present the German educational catastrophe as it would appear to an observer who represented no interest in this field and was bound to no party.’<sup>21</sup> The result was Picht’s prophesy of economic disaster: ‘From the heretofore presented data it compellingly ensues that we must at least double the number of *Abiturienten* and the number of academics must also rise significantly if West Germany is not to go to the dogs in the course of the development of scientific civilization.’<sup>22</sup> If the prophesy of economic disaster was designed to appeal to reformers regardless of parties, the sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf, Picht’s companion on the Beirat für Bildungsplanung Baden-

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<sup>16</sup> Picht, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*, p.26.

<sup>17</sup> See the parliamentary debate in March 1964 as reported in Picht’s volume: ‘Lohmar [SPD]: Wir wissen alle ... daß der Herr Bundeskanzler auf das Stichwort “Planung” emotional zu reagieren pflegt. Leider tut er das auch, wenn es sich um Bildungsplanung handelt.’ (p.103)

<sup>18</sup> On Wirsing, see Norbert Frei and Johannes Schmitz, *Journalismus im Dritten Reich*, C.H. Beck, München, 1989, pp. 173-180.

<sup>19</sup> Giselher Wirsing, ‘Einführende Leitartikel aus “Christ und Welt”, in Picht, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*, p.12.

<sup>20</sup> Georg Picht, ‘Die Krise der Kulturpolitik und die Aufgabe der Kirche,’ *Lutherische Monatshefte*, 2(9), 1963, p.468.

<sup>21</sup> Picht, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*, p.6.

<sup>22</sup> Picht, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*, p.28.

Württemberg and future parliamentary representative for the FDP, preferred the moral argument. Picht's alarm began 'Educational catastrophe means economic emergency.'<sup>23</sup> By contrast, Dahrendorf emphasized that 'Educational policy is infinitely more than the maidservant of economic policy. Its most convincing justification reaches much further than the appeal to the pocket; it can ... only result from connection to the idea of a civil right to education.'<sup>24</sup> The framing of education in terms of rights rather than economics did not imply a goal of social equality, Dahrendorf made clear: 'However the plea for an active educational policy to secure civil rights is no plea for social equality. A free society is always a society that gives inequality large space...'<sup>25</sup> For Picht, education was the privileged field for the engagement of Protestant Churches; for Wirsing, the site of a choice of conservatism; for Ebbinghaus a crucial component of a modern economy and for Dahrendorf the locus where civil rights (if not social equality) could be fostered.<sup>26</sup> Despite the different rationales, each recognized that the school and university required a politics of planning and expansion. When the German universities did expand, the languages of catastrophe and of rights returned, but not in the meaning given to them by Dahrendorf and Picht. The mass university would not conform to the desires of the prophets of education.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Picht, *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*, p.17.

<sup>24</sup> Dahrendorf, Ralf, *Bildung ist Bürgerrecht: Plädoyer für eine aktive Bildungspolitik*, 1965, Christian Wegner Verlag, Hamburg, 1968, pp.22-23. See also p.18: 'Rein als solche ist die Konkurrenz der Nationen um den höchsten Abiturientenausstoß wenig überzeugend ...' (p.18) See also Dahrendorf's letter in Hochschulgesamtplan Baden Württemberg, Neckar Verlag, Villingen, 1967.

<sup>25</sup> Dahrendorf, *Bildung ist Bürgerrecht*, p.26. The sentence is qualified '– solange und insoweit diese nicht den unentbehrlichen gemeinsamen Grundstatus aller Bürger verletzt.'

<sup>26</sup> The FDP politician Hildegard Hamm-Brucher (whose *Auf Kosten unserer Kinder? Wer tut was für unsere Schulen – Reise durch die pädagogischen Provinzen der Bundesrepublik und Berlin*, Nannen Verlag, Bramsche/Osnabrück, 1965 painted a dismal picture of the German education system), and the Basel-based Gottfried Bombach should also be mentioned.

<sup>27</sup> Picht, for one, remained defiant: 'Man konnte schon damals [1964] voraussagen, daß die rückständige Struktur unseres Bildungswesens dramatische gesellschaftliche Konflikte produzieren würde. Die Radikalisierung eines Teiles der Jugend war vorherzuberechnen.' in 'Vom Bildungsnotstand zum Notstand der Bildungspolitik', p.666.



If education surged to prominence in the early 1960s as the privileged instrument of social and political reform, France was *par excellence* the nation state which appeared to have taken a possibly insurmountable lead over its European competitors. France threatened to dominate the continent within a decade, Picht had warned, lest urgent measures were introduced to prevent such a catastrophe. French politicians, furthermore, evinced little of the squeamishness Germans exhibited at the idea of planning. Paris also hosted the offices of the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, which, since the formation of its Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel (of the then Organization for European Economic Cooperation) in 1958 had played an important role in promoting research and policy development concerning the nexus of education and economics. The researchers of the OECD argued, unsurprisingly, that the coming world required more people like themselves. At its first meeting in 1960, the Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel defined its task as ‘to promote and exchange research and statistical data on the broad subject of the economics of education, i.e., the relationship between education and economic growth, the educational needs of the 1960’s and the formulation of policies for increasing the supply of scientific, technical and other qualified manpower.’<sup>28</sup> The promotion of research, prediction of educational needs and development of policy based thereon envisioned an increasingly seamless interaction between research and policy, between scientists and politicians. Two assumptions underpinned the OECD program. First, a growing ability to predict through research educational requirements and, second, the capacity and need of the modern economy to produce and employ ever greater numbers of educated personnel. The 1960s offered a brave new world. As Philip H. Coombs, US Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs stated in his address to the

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<sup>28</sup> Henning Friis, ‘Preface’, to Seymour E.Harris, ed., *Economic Aspects of Higher Education*, OECD Publications, Paris, 1964, p.7.

OECD sponsored Policy Conference On Economic Growth and Investment in Education, held in Washington in October, 1961: 'mankind is entering a new and bolder environment where poverty need no longer exist and where education is the vital prerequisite of clear thinking by democratically governed peoples.'<sup>29</sup> Education also played the central field of competition in the Cold War: 'It is also surely obvious that in the peaceful competition which we hope will characterise the development of this world throughout the coming century the prize of progress will fall to the countries and social systems which succeed in developing their human resources.'<sup>30</sup> Even at the international level, the optimism associated with economic planning and higher education was coupled with the prospect of potential defeat.<sup>31</sup> The OECD played a lead role in funding conferences, research and predictions of educational needs in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Friedrich Edding contributed to the Washington conference his predictions on European educational requirements for the coming decade). An international cohort of enlightened bureaucrats eagerly took up the technocratic triumphalist narrative of the 1960s. Yet the optimism was always tinged with the fear of defeat in the survival of the most educated, even in France. While the Germans anticipated with discomfort the French dominance of Europe, their French equivalents warned that inaction in education threatened to reduce the nation to the rank of 'an intellectually underdeveloped country.'<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Philip H. Coombs, 'Preface,' *Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education*, Washington 16<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> October 1961, Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1962, p.5.

<sup>30</sup> Coombs, 'Preface,' *Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education*, p.5. See Coombs again, when Program Director of the Ford Foundation's Education Division: 'The combination of greatly increased demand for education and restrictions upon supply has produced in Western nations a serious educational deficit. If allowed to persist, this could eventually spell disaster for free societies. It must therefore be the central purpose of educational planning to erase this educational deficit.' Coombs, Philip H., 'Educational Planning in the Light of Economic Requirements', in Office for Scientific and Technical Personnel, Organisation for European Economic Co-Operation, *Forecasting Manpower Needs for the Age of Science*, OEEC Publications, Paris, 1960, p.30.

<sup>31</sup> 'The lessons of the last decade of technical assistance surely indicate that the vital bottleneck is the shortage of trained people.' Coombs, *Policy Conference on Economic Growth*, p.6.

<sup>32</sup> Louis Cros, "*L'explosion*" scolaire, Publication du Comité Universitaire d'Information Pédagogique, Paris, 1961, p.44.

Raymond Poignant, a member of the Conseil d'Etat [Council of State], and General Rapporteur to the Commission for Scholarly, University and Sporting Equipment of the Commissariat of the Plan, articulated the most sophisticated argument for the further expansion of the French higher education system. Poignant, who co-authored one of the main reports to the 1961 Washington conference on educational policy, advanced a multi-causal rationale for expansion which insisted on demographic factors, social demand and state policy in addition to the increasingly axiomatic OECD insistence on economics. Nevertheless, as Poignant outlined at an OECD training course for human resource strategists in Italy in 1962, 'In view of France's rapid economic growth, it is now experiencing a shortage of semi-skilled and skilled manpower. As the supervisory personnel needed according to current standards are either non-existent or in short supply, the concept of "economic needs" is now posed in absolute terms in France, and is likely to remain so until 1975.'<sup>33</sup> No limits to growth could be conceived:

'A study of developments in national education systems reveals a constant trend towards more and more secondary and higher education. It seems that in the long run, and despite the very great differences among countries, all the systems of education we know today are moving towards the same notional "point of maturity" at which a maximum of education will be given to a maximum of young people, the only limit being their ability to profit from a course of secondary or higher study.'<sup>34</sup>

The assumption that 'an unlimited proportion of people with a secondary or higher education can be employed by the economy,'<sup>35</sup> surprises only for the absence of fear which usually tainted the optimistic faith of the time. The economist Jean Fourastié, Poignant's colleague in the

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<sup>33</sup> Raymond Poignant, 'Establishing Educational Targets in France', in OECD The Mediterranean Regional Project, *Planning Education for Economic and Social Development*, Lectures presented at the training course for human resource strategists organised by the directorate for scientific affairs at the Villa Falconieri, Frascati, Italy, 3<sup>rd</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> September 1962, p.216. See also Raymond Poignant, 'Les Problèmes posés par la planification dans l'enseignement', in Institut Pédagogique National, *Planification et enseignement*, Cycles de Conférences de l'Institut Pédagogique National 1962-1963, 1963, pp.7-17.

<sup>34</sup> Poignant, 'Establishing Educational Targets in France', p.205

<sup>35</sup> Poignant, 'Establishing Educational Targets in France', p.209.

Commissariat du Plan as President of the Commission for Labor, and a man who later coined the phrase “les trentes glorieuses” [the thirty glorious years] to describe France’s postwar economic boom, expressed better than Poignant the appropriate sense of urgency:

What is needed so that the French economy fully utilizes the most recent production techniques and that French enterprises are all ultra-modern, we will surely not have. What is needed are engineers, physical sciences, but also social sciences, human sciences, psychologists, accountants...in much larger numbers than we have and than we will have. *The strangulating bottleneck of human progress, even in a country like ours, is the lack of qualified citizens.* In other terms, we are a relatively backward country in relation to what we could be, because our citizens are not sufficiently educated.<sup>36</sup>

Fourastié held premier place in the cottage industry of futurology, providing pithy predictions of the civilization of tomorrow, regularly updated, as the 1947 *La civilisation de 1960* required reediting in 1953 as *La civilisation de 1975*, then in 1974 as *La civilisation de 1995* and in 1982 as *La civilisation de 2001*, but it was Louis Cros, the founder of the University Committee for Pedagogical Information, and creator of the National Pedagogical Institute in 1956 who furnished the most complete expression of the technocratic ideology. With the understatement characteristic of the prophets of education (‘The problem is immense. It has to do with the creation of the school of a new civilization’),<sup>37</sup> Cros explained that technological progress had dissolved any tension between the economy and social reformer’s goal of extending all education to the greatest number:

for the first time in history, *idealist aspirations and practical necessities in matters of education have ceased to contradict each other.* ... the demands of prosperity and of economic equilibrium now stand alongside the reasons of justice and social equality to make necessary, as well as desirable, the most advanced education for the greatest possible number of children.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Jean Fourastié, ‘Les données économiques du problème de la planification’, in *Planification et enseignement*, p.46. The italics are from the original. See also Jean Fourastié, ‘Les exigences nouvelles du progrès économique et technique’, in Closon, Francis-Louis, ed., *L’Éducation Nationale*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1965, pp.43-53.

<sup>37</sup> Cros, “*L’explosion*” scolaire, p.41.

<sup>38</sup> Cros, “*L’explosion*” scolaire, pp.43-44. Italics in the original.

Much has been written about the utopianism of students in 1968, but they were hardly unique. Cros' "school of the atomic age" would indeed be explosive, but not in the way he expected.

The major novelty of the early 1960s was not faith in technological progress but the attempt to document empirically the precise requirements of the economy (and as a consequence to develop policy "scientifically"), as well as the public consensus such efforts accrued. As long ago as 1956, at the International Symposium on the Problems of Automation held at Milan, Jean Fourastié had explored the relation between new technology and employment and vaunted the power of *'techniques of prediction'* which 'allow full employment to be realized within a nation.'<sup>39</sup> At the same conference, Gino Martinoli precociously drew a direct link between technological change and its educational preconditions: that economic progress 'is subordinated to the availability of technicians, or better and in the broadest sense, men who know how to contribute to this progress in an active manner'<sup>40</sup> Born Gino Levi (having changed his name because of the Italian racial laws), brother of Natalia Ginzburg and former manager of Olivetti, Martinoli's short paper prompted his appointment as head of a commission instituted between the Ministry of Education and the Association for the Industrial Development of the South (SVIMEZ).<sup>41</sup> The result, *Mutamenti della struttura professionale e ruolo della scuola: previsioni per il prossimo quindicennio* [Changes in Professional Structures and the Role of Education: Predictions for the Next 15 Years], in Martinoli's own words 'obtained consensus and provoked notable interest.'<sup>42</sup> Translated immediately into English (as *Trained Manpower Requirements for the Economic Development of Italy: Targets for 1975*), the report served as a model for other

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<sup>39</sup> Jean Fourastié 'Les répercussions économiques de l'automation et le problème de l'emploi', in *Convegno Internazionale sui Problemi dell'Automatismo*, Volume 3, Pergamon Press, London, 1959, p.2054. See also his intervention 'Conditions et conséquences sociales du progrès technique', pp.2278-2281.

<sup>40</sup> See Gino Martinoli, 'L'automazione e la necessità di una adeguata preparazione culturale in Italia', in *Convegno Internazionale sui Problemi dell'Automatismo* pp.2308-2321.

<sup>41</sup> See Carlo D'Amicis and Mirella Fulvi, eds, *Conversando con Gino Martinoli*, Fondazione Adriano Olivetti, Città di Castello, 1991, p.98.

<sup>42</sup> D'Amicis and Fulvi, eds, *Conversando con Gino Martinoli*, p.98.

predictions, as Raymond Poignant himself noted.<sup>43</sup> Martinoli himself was no stranger to the OECD project, present at the 1959 Hague conference on *Forecasting Manpower Needs for the Age of Science*. Thus in Italy, too, a nation where in 1958 39.4% of university graduates expected to remain unemployed,<sup>44</sup> and where, as Martinoli himself had noted ‘we are still talking of the battle against illiteracy,’<sup>45</sup> an audience suddenly appeared for the thesis of university expansion. The contours of the argument conformed to the international model. Technological progress demanded more educated personnel,<sup>46</sup> higher education required expansion to fulfil this need, and such expansion felicitously served the goal of social equality (‘In modern societies social mobility realizes itself above all through scholastic institutions’)<sup>47</sup> Last, but not least, Italy appeared to the Italians, no less than Germany to the Germans and France to the French as precipitously poised in the education stakes. The current institutions, Martinoli warned in 1965 ‘can provide at most for 50-60% of the needs for qualified, technical personal, of higher personnel, middle management, scientific researchers, managers, of teachers’<sup>48</sup> needed within the decade: *L’economia italiana ha bisogno di laureati*, [The Italian economy needs graduates] as one report put the thesis in its greatest simplicity.<sup>49</sup> Yet for all the resonance of these appeals, Martinoli himself retrospectively conceded that ‘the result of those works and of the

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<sup>43</sup> See *Planning Education for Economic and Social Development*. Martinoli was no stranger to the OECD conferences on the issue, present at the November 1959 Hague conference which became *Forecasting Manpower Needs for the Age of Science*, OEEC Publications, Paris, 1960.

<sup>44</sup> See Marzio Barbagli, *Disoccupazione Intellettuale e Sistema Scolastico in Italia, 1859-1973*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1974, p.324.

<sup>45</sup> ‘Statement by Mr. Gino Martinoli (Italy)’, in *Annals of Collective Economy*, 34(2/3), Apr/Sept 1963, p.291.

<sup>46</sup> ‘nel 1975 si rivelerà necessaria la disponibilità di oltre 1,2 milioni di dirigenti e quadri superiori, di circa 4,5 milioni di tecnici / ed addetti al coordinamento (quadri intermedi), di oltre 11 milioni di capi subalterni e personale qualificato, mentre la esigenza di personale fornito di una preparazione generica si ridurrà a circa 4,3 milioni di unità.’ Associazione per lo sviluppo dell’industria nel Mezzogiorno, *Mutamenti della struttura professionale e ruolo della scuola: previsioni per il prossimo quindicennio*, Giuffrè, Roma, 1961, pp.47-49

<sup>47</sup> SVIMEZ, *Mutamenti della struttura professionale*, p.59.

<sup>48</sup> Gino Martinoli, ‘Evoluzione tecnologica e aspirazioni umane in Italia nell’ultimo ventennio’, *Economia e storia*, 12, 1965, pp.383-4.

<sup>49</sup> Comitato Nazionale per la Produttività, *L’economia italiana ha bisogno di laureati*, Edizioni Scientifiche S.P.E.I., Roma, 1961.

innumerable others which followed them was that very little has changed in the institutions and the situation of the Italian educational system in the last thirty years.’<sup>50</sup> His own contributions to the field culminated in his 1967 manifesto *L’università come impresa*. [The University as a Business]<sup>51</sup> Destined for a short life-span, the book nonetheless was one, as Norberto Bobbio would testify, ‘in which many of us saw ourselves reflected.’<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the greatest success of the flurry of reformist manifestos of the late 1950s and early 1960s was not their research, nor any actual policy achievements, but their expression of the political desires for social reform of enlightened intellectuals.

Culture, indissolubly linked to technological progress and economic development, demanded a politics, and conversely the political struggle was cultural. The OECD explicitly located its project of educational development in the shift of the Cold War competition to the cultural field. Martinoli, too, insisted that whatever the public demand for further education, it was a ‘vital exigency in order that we can survive in the competition in which all the nations of the world are engaged; a competition in which the most efficient arms are undoubtedly those of culture.’<sup>53</sup> So, too, the Trentino Christian Democrat politician Bruno Kessler presenting his program of office in 1961, envisioned alongside a plan of urban development, the construction of a Trentino Institute of Culture.<sup>54</sup> The following year, deploring that ‘in Italy it is noted that public and private entities which on the basis of sociological knowledge intervene to encourage or favor the processes of growth are scarce, if not inexistant,’<sup>55</sup> he proposed an Istituto

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<sup>50</sup> D’Amicis and Fulvi, *Conversando con Gino Martinoli*, 1991.

<sup>51</sup> Gino Martinoli, *L’Università come impresa*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1967.

<sup>52</sup> AMR B.14 f.1 (Fondo Calì)

<sup>53</sup> Martinoli, ‘Evoluzione tecnologica,’ p.381.

<sup>54</sup> Vincenzo Calì, ‘Università e Ricerca tra movimenti e istituzioni: il caso trentino’, in Gemelli, Giuliana, Ramunni, Girolamo, and Gallotta, Vito, eds, *Isole Senza Archipelago: Imprenditori scientifici, reti e istituzioni tra Otto e Novecento*, Palomar, 2003, p.152.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Kessler, contro “le barriere culturali” annuncia la “nuova frontiera”’, in special issue of *Didascalie: rivista della scuola trentina*, ‘La lunga marcia del Trentino per la sua Università’, IX, n.1, gennaio 2000, p.34.

Universitario di Scienze Sociali [University Institute of Social Sciences] which would confer a degree in sociology and have the task to ‘form teachers and researchers in social sciences and to prepare staff for private enterprise (in sectors important for social growth), and for public offices, particularly in local firms who can deal with social questions’<sup>56</sup> Convinced that the creation of what would later become the first Faculty of Sociology in Italy was to ‘have made an act of social reform’<sup>57</sup> Kessler embodied the optimism of the early Kennedy era: the university was Trento’s ‘new frontier.’

The Istituto Universitario di Scienze Sociali was thus conceived as an instrument of cultural and social modernization. The ‘new frontier’ was invoked ‘against cultural barriers.’ The very idea of social sciences, when previous suggestions for a university in Trento centered around a possible offshoot of the Università Cattolica at Milan specializing in forest sciences,<sup>58</sup> already implied a broader horizon than hitherto thought possible. Other, less noble, considerations also played a role, as Kessler confessed some twenty years later: ‘Although obviously in those years I was careful not to say so explicitly, the University project also had the function of counterbalancing the diminished importance which Trento would have had with the full autonomy given to the Province of Bolzano.’<sup>59</sup> Yet if local rivalries played their part in founding the institution, the national and international context determined its nature. The most important influence in the creation of an Institute of Social Sciences was Beniamino Andreatta,

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<sup>56</sup> ‘Kessler, contro “le barriere culturali” annuncia la “nuova frontiera”’, p.34.

<sup>57</sup> AMR B.14 f.2 (Fondo Calì)

<sup>58</sup> See Bruno Kessler, ‘Alle origini dell’Università’, *60 anni di Vita Trentina: 1926-1986, supplemento al n.50, 1986 di “Vita Trentina*, a cura dei redattori di Vita Trentina, Trento, 1986, p.39.

<sup>59</sup> Kessler, ‘Alle origini dell’Università’, p.39. The foundation of a university at Trento was all the more urgent for the threat that one might be established at Bolzano: ‘Tale urgenza nasce, da un lato, da dichiarazioni rilasciate dal ministro Mario Scelba in ordine all’istituzione di un’università a Bolzano, cosa che avrebbe reso irta di difficoltà se non impossibile la realizzazione dell’iniziativa trentina; dall’altro lato dal diffondersi di notizie più o meno fondate, ma insistenti che iniziativa analoga a quella trentina sta per nascere o a Pisa, o a Siena, o a Perugia.’ Alberto Franceschini, ‘La nuova frontiera: la nascita dell’Università i Trento’, in Special issue of *Didascalie: rivista della scuola trentina*, ‘La lunga marcia del Trentino per la sua Università’, IX, n.1, gennaio 2000, p.33.



‘the cultural soul of Kessler’<sup>60</sup> as Paolo Prodi named him. Andreatta, a native of Trento based in Bologna, where he founded the Institute of Economic Sciences and later the Faculty of Political Sciences, formed part of the group of intellectuals based around the publishing house Il Mulino and became in the 1960s economic advisor to Aldo Moro. Influenced on the one hand by Anglo-American scholarship (he both studied at Cambridge and returned as visiting professor in the 1950s) and on the other by the Catholic social reformer based around Giuseppe Dossetti and the journal *Cronache sociali*, Andreatta himself authored development plans for the Emilia-Romagna.<sup>61</sup> For Andreatta, the Istituto Universitario at Trento served the processes of social modernization, ‘the insertion of Italian culture and institutions (and with them those of Trento) in the most advanced areas of the Western world. A reformist welfare state, on Keynesian bases, which would translate into social, cultural and existential growth.’<sup>62</sup> A precocious precursor to the entry of the socialists into coalition with the Christian Democrats under the guidance of Aldo Moro in December 1963, the university at Trento embodied the optimistic hopes for reform associated with the opening to the center-left. If the legislative balance at the national level proved negligible, the university at Trento exceeded expectations.

Further north, the Freie Universität of Berlin already counted more than a decade of existence by the 1960s, yet not unlike Trento, Berlin was in the process of repositioning itself in relation to a newly autonomous near neighbour. The erection of the Berlin Wall in August of

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<sup>60</sup> *Facoltà Occupata. Certo eravamo arroganti, certo eravamo giovani... ma avevamo ragione. Sociologia, 1962-2002*, a cura della A. Manzoni & C., supplemento al quotidiano *Trentino*, 2002, p.10.

<sup>61</sup> See in particular Comitato Regionale Emilia Romagna di Democrazia Cristiana, *Sviluppo economico e pianificazione territoriale*, Contributi alla programmazione regionale 2, Eizione Cinque Lune, Roma, 1968. See also Comitato Regionale Emilia Romagna della Democrazia Cristiana, *Piano di sviluppo dell’Emilia-Romagna*, Contributi alla programmazione regionale, 1, Edizione Cinque Lune, Roma 1968: ‘Rifiutando una impostazione puramente produttivistica dello sviluppo, il programma dovrà assegnare la priorità ad alcuni consumi civili fondamentali, primo fra i quali quello della scuola. L’incremento dell’istruzione costituisce infatti una componente essenziale della crescita civile delle popolazioni emiliano-romagnole e nello stesso tempo un fattore condizionante dello stesso progresso economico.’ (p.24)

<sup>62</sup> Paolo Prodi, as quoted in *Facoltà Occupata*. p.10.

1961 marked a transformation of the Freie Universität, which in the 1950s drew up to a third of its students from the German Democratic Republic (and minimal numbers from the Federal Republic outside West Berlin),<sup>63</sup> or as the university itself put it, ‘from the very beginning freedom-loving students from the Soviet Occupation Zone were attracted to the Free University.’<sup>64</sup> Indeed, the effect of the Wall in drying up an important source of skilled labor in the Federal Republic accounted in part for the apparent plausibility of Picht’s alarmist warnings of a *Bildungskatastrophe*. Less than a year later, the Berlin Senate outlined the preconditions for the ‘further development of Berlin as a central site for education, science and art.’<sup>65</sup> On the understanding that ‘the economy requires a training site for middle management,’<sup>66</sup> the Senate insisted that the universities of Berlin must ‘be built up preferably in the shortest time span.’<sup>67</sup> In particular, the ‘expansion above the previous development goal requires a new, significant increase of the grant to the Freie Universität.’<sup>68</sup> More broadly, the 1960s, and especially the vogue for planning, promised not merely a politics of culture but a ‘*Verwissenschaftlichung der Politik*.’ [scientification of politics] At the Karlsruhe Party Conference in 1964, the SPD announced the names of 36 Professors whom it would henceforth consult.<sup>69</sup> By 1967 in synchrony with the Grand Coalition, the office of the Chancellor expanded to include a small staff for ‘planning,’ which in the Social-Liberal Coalition became an entire department. While scientific commissions or advisors hardly represented a political novelty,

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<sup>63</sup> James F. Tent, *The Free University of Berlin: A Political History*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988, p.258.

<sup>64</sup> Friedrich Zipfel, ‘The Faculty of Humanities’ in Kotowski, Georg, hrg., *Die Freie Universität Berlin*, Länderdienstverlag, Berlin, 1965, p.53.

<sup>65</sup> *Der Tagesspiegel*, 25 Mai, 1962, p.11.

<sup>66</sup> *Der Tagesspiegel*, 25 Mai, 1962, p.11.

<sup>67</sup> *Der Tagesspiegel*, 25 Mai, 1962, p.12.

<sup>68</sup> *Der Tagesspiegel*, 25 Mai, 1962, p.12.

<sup>69</sup> Not all of whom agreed. See Wilfried Rudloff, ‘Verwissenschaftlichung der Politik? Wissenschaftliche Politikberatung in den sechziger Jahren’, in Peter Collin and Thomas Horstmann, hrg., *Das Wissen des Staates: Geschichte, Theorie und Praxis*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, 2004, p.216.

still scientific bodies and experts' opinions moved into political practice on a broad front, in which the disciplines directly related to the keyword "society"—political science and sociology—were promoted to leading sciences. Conducive for all this ... an optimistic opinion climate, in which belief in modernity and progress was widespread and the future society politically malleable under this lodestar..<sup>70</sup>

In this context of modernization and optimism, of a Social-Liberal political consensus promising a *Verwissenschaftlichung der Politik* and a politics of science, the Freie Universität of Berlin could claim a special place. Berlin boasted Willy Brandt as mayor, the Freie Universität a reputation as progressive due to the 'Berlin Model' in which students were represented at all levels of university government, and, alongside Frankfurt, one of the main centers of the subject that most reflected the sixties: sociology.

In France, too, the politics of planning demanded scientists of society. Claude Gruson, head of the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), a center of Keynesian planning in France, appealed in 1964 to an assembly of sociologists: 'Economist and civil servant, I come before you sociologists as a supplicant. The civil servants responsible for economic planning today have need of sociologists. They feel closely the need for sociological research. The success of this new form of management of State and societies is linked to the manner in which the diverse specialists of the human sciences can collaborate in it: there is no planning which is solely economic.'<sup>71</sup> In similar terms to Bruno Kessler's concerns about the 'cultural barriers' to growth, Gruson worried that however scientific the planning, the masses might not respond rationally: 'Decisions could be taken, correctly divined by economists. They

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<sup>70</sup> Hans Günter Hockerts, 'Planung als Reformprinzip: Einführung', in Frese, Matthias; Pauls, Julia; und Treppe, Karl, *Demokratisierung und gesellschaftlicher Aufbruch: Die sechziger Jahre als Wendezeit der Bundesrepublik*, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2003, p.249.

<sup>71</sup> Claude Gruson, 'Planification économique et recherches sociologiques', *Revue française de sociologie*, V(4), 1964, p.435. Most of the sociologists were wary of the appeal made to them.

could be applied efficiently, without risk of any major economic incoherence at the nation or international level. But do these decisions correspond to the deep will of the collective? Will they be compatible with a stable psycho-sociological equilibrium?’<sup>72</sup> Perhaps the simplest exponent of scientific politics was Michel Crozier:

If change is to take place in a rational way, those who have to make decisions must understand both the real facts of the situation and the psychology of the actors who are affected by it and who will participate in it, but this is not possible, given the general mechanism of subordination and noncommunication; those who make decisions do not have sufficient knowledge of the problem to be resolved, while those who have a more direct experience have a very incomplete view themselves and no means of communicating it.<sup>73</sup>

Crozier took up his first university position (having previously worked at the National Center for Scientific Research) in 1967 at the University of Nanterre. At that moment at Nanterre, noted one of its professors, ‘the specialists of human and social sciences (philosophy, psychology, sociology, ethnology, demography, linguistics) represented ... a third of the professors and lecturers – a proportion never before reached in a Faculty of Letters.’<sup>74</sup> Created to release pressure on the already overcrowded Sorbonne, Nanterre embraced a more modern liberal image under Pierre Grappin. In contrast to the norm, the Faculty Council did not restrict its membership to professors. A department of sociology ‘the creation of which was debated, even advised against, but nonetheless maintained.’<sup>75</sup> At Nanterre, announced the Dean, ‘the human sciences,

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<sup>72</sup> Gruson, ‘Planification économique et recherches sociologiques’, pp.441-2.

<sup>73</sup> Michel Crozier, ‘The Cultural Revolution: Notes on the Changes in the Intellectual Climate of France’, *Daedalus*, 93(1), Winter 1964, p.517. The judgement of Bourdieu was cutting: ‘when Michel Crozier welcomes, in the autonomization of the social sciences, “the emergence of a new conception of rationality” or “the more and more far-reaching appropriation of action by scientific intelligence,” is he not proposing, in spite of himself, a philosophy of history which is ultimately nothing but a neo-positivism that seeks its guarantee in American sociology and civilization?’ Pierre Bourdieu, and Jean-Claude Passeron, ‘Sociology and Philosophy in France Since 1945: Death and Resurrection of a Philosophy Without a Subject’, *Social Research*, 34(1), Spring 1967, pp.163-4.

<sup>74</sup> Epistémon, *Ces idées qui ont ébranlé la France. Nanterre, novembre 1967-juin 1968*, Fayard, Paris, 1968, p.22.

<sup>75</sup> Grappin, *L’Ile aux peupliers*, p.239.

from linguistics to the different sociologies to human geography, are today our field of discovery.’<sup>76</sup>

The expansion of the universities and the advance of sociology took place together. In France, the reform of January 1959 which extended compulsory education to the age of 16 was preceded by less than a year by the creation of the *license* in sociology. By another decree of July 1958, the Faculty of Letters became the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences. The intellectuals who proposed the ever greater expansion of the university also understood that transformation as one away from a humanist culture towards the social sciences. Jean Fourastié, emphasizing that the economy required not merely technical personnel, insisted that any humanist education be tempered by science:

On the contrary, the need is and will be great for persons competent in economics, sociology, psychology, human relations, administrative sciences, in arts ... But on condition that these humanists do not faint in front of a fraction, a logarithm, an exponential or statistical calculus. The Republic, Renault, Citroën, Saint-Gobain et Péciney need philosophers - and will need even more in 1975 than today – but philosophers who listened as seriously to their mathematics, physics, chemistry and natural science professors as to their professor of philosophy.’<sup>77</sup>

Bruno Kessler in Trento, put forth the same idea: ‘We contradicted Italian academic culture that time. In fact we said: “it is useless that we create graduates capable of talking and talking and talking and incapable of measuring phenomena”’<sup>78</sup> Such sentiments attracted widespread support in the early 1960s. C.P. Snow’s 1959 lecture *The Two Cultures* articulated the thesis for the English in a particularly simple form.<sup>79</sup> In a common claim to exceptionalism, Gino Martinoli

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<sup>76</sup> Grappin, Pierre, ‘La Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l’Université de Paris à Nanterre’, extrait des *Annales de l’Université de Paris*, Année 1966, n.1, p.7.

<sup>77</sup> Fourastié, ‘Les exigences nouvelles du progrès économique et technique’, pp.48-9.

<sup>78</sup> Kessler, ‘Alle origini dell’Università’, p.39.

<sup>79</sup> Snow was a great proponent of expansion of the universities in Britain and a supporter of the Robbins Report.

argued that the division of ‘two cultures’ applied to Italy even more than England.<sup>80</sup> Tied not only to the increased numbers in higher education and close to the heart of the most fervent supporters of that expansion, sociology also distinguished itself for its academic staff. As Alain Touraine noted, because sociology was not taught in the lycée system and because of the novelty of the degree, of the teachers of sociology at Nanterre ‘a single one of them had always taught first as an assistant then as professor in the Faculty of Letters.’<sup>81</sup> Sociology was new and its teachers youthful. Poised between the philosophical tradition from which it had slowly won autonomy (sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu were all trained in philosophy departments) and the promise of applied enlightenment in the French administration and economy, sociology and sociologists were particularly susceptible to the tensions inherent to the university’s transformation in the 1960s.

The intellectual, institutional and political pressures which exerted themselves on sociology found expression within the discipline itself. In Germany, sociology appeared divided between the Köln School’s empirically oriented, Parsons-influenced structural functionalism and the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. As one student noted, ‘Whoever wanted to be politically progressive had to opt heavily for the latter and brandmark the first as positivist, politically conformist and restorative. ... The peculiarity of the Berlin situation was that both schools were represented here, together with a third ... [that of] Otto Stammer, who imparted to us the classics such as Weber, Michels, Mannheim, Marx and Pareto and whose political sociology did not fit into this schema.’<sup>82</sup> The *Positivismusstreit* [positivism debate] of the early

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<sup>80</sup> See Martinoli, *L’università come impresa*. See also where he calls for ‘una revisione radicale della filosofia di base della nostra concezione della cultura. Non separazione e priorità alcuna di natura neo-idealistica fra materie letterarie e scienze esatte, ma maggior comprensione e comunicazione fra le “due culture” ...’ Martinoli, ‘Evoluzione tecnologica’, p.390.

<sup>81</sup> Alain Touraine, *Le mouvement de mai ou le communisme utopique*, Seuil, Paris, 1968, pp.106-7.

<sup>82</sup> Peter Weingart, ‘Wider Dogmen und Legende – Soziologie als Wissenschaftskritik’, ‘Anfangsbedingungen der Frauen-forschung in der Berliner Soziologie’, in Bude, Heinz; Kohli, Martin, hrsg., *Radikalisierte Aufklärung:*

1960s, which pitted first Theodor Adorno and Friedrich Hayek then Jürgen Habermas and Hans Albert against each other, provided one forum for the differing degrees of distrust in empirical sociology. The creation of the *Diplom* in sociology – first in Frankfurt in 1955, then in Berlin in 1956 - was another. No consensus prevailed over what the study of sociology entailed and what professions it might lead to. If the discipline diverged towards the poles of critical theory and empirical research, the pressures for the creation of the degree and of sociologists divided between the demand for teachers and administrators. The introduction of Sozialkunde in German high schools created one domain for sociologists. From 1956 positions for sociologists were available in the Pädagogischen Hochschulen. But teaching was not the vocation most commonly identified as the destination of sociologists. In the student guide to the FU Berlin, Otto Stammer outlined the possibilities as follows:

The need for sociologically trained and qualified junior employees is above all noticeable in the public authorities, state and municipal administration, in which important planning measures of corporate, social and cultural politics will be undertaken and who often cannot be sufficiently informed through their statistical offices or the representatives of civil society; here sociological thought and empirical social research can provide great help. That applies also the social and cultural administration, as for city planning and youth offices. Sociologists trained in economics and business will be needed in the great industrial firms and particularly in personnel management, on whom is incumbent the care for human relations and the correct organization of working groups.<sup>83</sup>

The presupposition of a panorama of jobs available in social administration coincided with the faith in planning so characteristic of the beginning of the 1960s. Helmut Schelsky, one of the

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*Studentenbewegung und Soziologie in Berlin 1965 bis 1970*, Juventa Verlag, Weinheim und München, 1989, p.113. For an overview of postwar German sociology, see M. Rainer Lepsius, 'Die Entwicklung der Soziologie nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, 1945-1967', in Lüschen, Günther, hrsg., *Deutsche Soziologie seit 1945*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1979, pp.25-70.

<sup>83</sup> Otto Stammer, *Studienführer der Freien Universität Berlin*, 1962 as quoted by Hans-Joachim Lieber, 'Autobiographische Reflexionen zum Thema: Soziologie im Beruf', in Bolte, Karl Martin, und Neidhardt, Friedhelm, hrsg., *Soziologie als Beruf. Erinnerungen westdeutscher Hochschulprofessoren der Nachkriegsgeneration*, NOMOS Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, 1998, p.54.

most prominent German sociologists, proclaimed the fusion of politics and science, a 'fusion of state and modern technology' in 1961: 'in place of the people's political will steps the law of things.'<sup>84</sup> In a 'scientific civilization,' politics itself evaporated: 'The better the technology and science, the less leeway for political decision.'<sup>85</sup> Students who chose sociology did not have to share Schelsky's technocratic vision (he had famously heralded the arrival of a 'level middle-class society.')

Nonetheless, the novelty of the discipline, the variety of its intellectual poles, and the vagueness of the degree's professional outcomes allowed sociology to appear as many things to many people. For students, 'To arrive at sociology there were a variety of different motives in the fifties and sixties. Roughly speaking many new students at the end of the fifties and beginning of the sixties saw sociology as the science of emancipation, that is as the science that could *also* help one feel out or to understand one's own societal standpoint.'<sup>86</sup> As the sixties began, sociology, like the university, appeared to be the privileged path to social emancipation and reform. These hopes could be indulged easily enough at the beginning of the decade, briefly free from the fear of refutation. But as the sixties progressed, the discipline of sociology became more defined and the nature of the new university clearer, there would also be a reckoning of expectations.

Great aspirations also attended the promise of sociology in Trento: 'many arrived at Trento for the fascinating and suggestive thing that called itself sociology.'<sup>87</sup> Yet once again, a diversity of views existed on what sociology meant and what function it would serve. One student survey suggested that the majority of those who enrolled in the Istituto Universitario di Scienze Sociali did so 'on the basis of the idea of a social doctor.... there was a perception that

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<sup>84</sup> Helmut Schelsky, 'Der Mensch in der wissenschaftliche Zivilisation', *Auf der Suche nach Wirklichkeit*, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Düsseldorf-Köln, 1965, p.453.

<sup>85</sup> Schelsky, 'Der Mensch in der wissenschaftliche Zivilisation', p.458.

<sup>86</sup> Jürgen Horlemann, 'Zwischen Soziologie und Politik: Rekonstruktion eines Werdegangs', in *Radikalisierte Aufklärung*: p.215.

<sup>87</sup> Ricci, Aldo, *I giovani non sono piante*, Milano, 1978, p.47.



society was sick.’<sup>88</sup> The first director of the institute, the mathematician Mario Volpato, envisioned the formation for society not of a medical but a managerial class:

The problem that emerged was that of a sociological approach to bring together the abstract and specialised language typical of the university with the more pragmatic language born of the concrete problems of the business world. In these discussions Professor Marcello Boldrini who replaced Mattei at the head of ENI after his death was an active participant as well as and Professor Rosa, the noted Jesuit of the group of S.Fedele di Milano. Thus the idea of sociology was born as a course of study for the formation of a managerial class capable of being a bridge between university research and the needs of civil society. And on the basis of this presupposition was born the Istituto Trentino di Cultura, thereafter the Faculty of Sociology of Trento of which I was rector.<sup>89</sup>

For the Christian Democratic politicians and intellectuals responsible for the founding of the university, another goal grounded the choice of sociology:

The teachers of sociology belonged, almost exclusively, to lay groups, groups that tended to make these studies their privileged preserve. In this context emerged an entire politics of university competitions, which saw as winners of university chairs: in the first competition, Ferrarotti (lay, left) Pizzorno (Marxist), Sartori (lay, right-wing) and in the second competition in 1965 Leonardi (neutral), Pagani (Marxist), Alberoni (Catholic). ... As can be seen, the problem of the more decisive insertion of Catholics in the field of social sciences, above all at the academic level, could not be avoided, unless one wanted to lose definitively all possibility of influence in a sector very delicate for its relations with the world of political culture.’<sup>90</sup>

If the creation of a *laurea* in sociology was designed to furnish a cohort of Catholic intellectuals who could shape Italian political culture, the first obstacle to that goal came from the political world itself. The Istituto Universitario di Scienze Sociali, speedily founded in 1962, enrolled 226

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<sup>88</sup> Ricci, *I giovani non sono piante*, p.48.

<sup>89</sup> Lino Scalco, *Mario Volpato: Maestro e pioniere tra ricerca, politica ed innovazione*, CLEUP, Padova, 2002, p.580.

<sup>90</sup> Fondo Libera Università di Trento, b.1, fascicolo ‘Avvio Università, 1962-63: Promemoria colloqui riunioni’. Document entitled ‘Appunti Riservati’ from 15<sup>th</sup> November 1965. The institute was ‘definita libera, laica ed aconfessionale e, questo - soprattutto - allo scopo di garantire una adeguata presenza anche dei cattolici in questo settore del mondo culturale.’

students in its first academic year, rising to 622 in 1965-6. Those students arrived with the legal recognition of a *laurea* in sociology merely promised and when in May 1965 the Italian Senate approved a draft recognizing the Istituto Universitario at Trento, the title of the *laurea* was no longer sociology.<sup>91</sup>

*Scienze politiche e sociali ad indirizzo sociologico* [Political Science with sociological direction] ran the new title of the Trento *laurea*. A number of factors entered into the modified title: firstly, the resistance of faculties of political science to a rival degree;<sup>92</sup> secondly, the tendency of the Socialist Party, partners in coalition with Christian Democracy, to barter recognition of the *laurea* in sociology with a recognition of a Faculty of Economics and Commerce in Siena,<sup>93</sup> and thirdly, the problem of how a new degree would be integrated into a more wide-ranging reform of the university planned for the near future.<sup>94</sup> The university administration responded with resignation, rationalized as realism, tinged with the fear of losing any distinction to the degree offered at Trento:<sup>95</sup> ‘Obviously in conducting this battle, we must be realists. There is no need to go chasing butterflies.’<sup>96</sup> If the majority of the faculty and administrators of the Istituto Universitario tended to adjust readily, if not always enthusiastically, to the *fait accompli*, the student response was inverse:

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<sup>91</sup> The first draft of the law was presented December 1962, but lapsed due to the dissolution of parliament. The vote of 18 May 1965 was supported by the DC, PSI, PLI and PSDI and opposed by the PCI and PSIUP.

<sup>92</sup> See LUT b.1, ‘Avvio Università’. Letter from Prof. Miglio to the Giulio Bianchi di Lavagna Commissario del Governo per la Regione Trentino Alto Adige. 4<sup>th</sup> May 1965: ‘il comitato dei presidi delle Facoltà di Scienze politiche, esplicitamente interrogato in proposito dal Ministro della P.I., ha espresso all’unanimità parere negativo circa il disegno legislativo di erezione a Trento di un Istituto Universitario a statuto speciale.’

<sup>93</sup> See LUT b.1, ‘Avvio Università’. ‘APPUNTI RISERVATI’: So Gui (Ministro di P.I.): ‘Io sono sempre pronto a barattare Trento con Siena, ma soltanto a condizione che si parta dal disegno di legge predisposto dal Governo e non da quello di Codignola e compagni.’

<sup>94</sup> No systematic reform ever occurred.

<sup>95</sup> Although it is worthwhile noting that in contrast to 1965, in January of 1963, thought was given to the possibility of Trento linking itself to a US university and awarding an American degree, ‘il quale potrebbe avere anche sul mercato italiano più valore dello stesso titolo riconosciuto dal nostro Stato.’ LUT b.1, ‘Avvio Università’. ‘Colloquio: on.Piccoli, dott. Dalvit, avv. Kessler, dott. Santoni’ Domenica 27 gennaio 1963, ore 12, p.3.

<sup>96</sup> LUT b.1, ‘Avvio Università’. The author is presumably Kessler (compare similar statements to *L’Adige*.)

At 4pm the student assembly met. It was a particularly tense assembly, for the state of mind of the participants who felt themselves ignored, defrauded and deceived, and for the clear division which immediately manifested itself. On one side stood those who, although bitter and frustrated, held that the compromise had to be accepted given that in the circumstances, there was no alternative and a refusal of the degree would seriously endanger a future recognition with serious consequences for the students who would not have any recognition of the studies they had completed.<sup>97</sup>

If the founders of the Istituto Universitario di Scienze Sociali assumed that the modified *laurea* would nonetheless still function to create expert administrators and carve out a space for a Catholic sociology, for most of the students the change in name signified a complete contradiction with how sociology had been understood hitherto. Those students most inclined to accept the modified *laurea* rephrased their dissatisfaction in terms of the job market:<sup>98</sup>

‘Tomorrow, when an expert in sociology is requested, you will find yourself on the same market as hundreds of other graduates in Law and Political Science, more or less with the same chances. ... ALL THE SPECIALIZED EXAMS THAT YOU HAVE COMPLETED WILL COUNT FOR NOTHING TO QUALIFY YOU FOR THE JOB MARKET.’<sup>99</sup> The faculty of political science embodied reaction: ‘founded by the Fascist regime to form its own bureaucrats and ideologists,’<sup>100</sup> its ‘curriculum ... one of the most rickety there is in the Italian university system.’<sup>101</sup> Pointedly, the students expressed their revulsion for the *laurea* in political science in the language of modernity and progress so frequently invoked at the beginning of the decade:

The University of Trento takes its place as an element of rupture and overcoming of an academic culture that has dominated and continues to dominate Italy, that

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<sup>97</sup> Bruno Tellia, ‘L’avventura del ‘62’, in ‘La lunga marcia del Trentino per la sua Università’, *Didascalie: rivista della scuola trentina*, IX, n.1, gennaio 2000, p.66.

<sup>98</sup> This is the Unione Goliardica Italiana (lay social-communist association).

<sup>99</sup> AMR B.4 f.3 (Fondo Movimento Studentesco Riccardo Scartezzi) ‘Caro collega, --- [signed] U.G.I (Unione Goliardica Italiana), C.D.U.(Comunità Democratica Universitaria)’ Dated 21<sup>st</sup> December 1965.

<sup>100</sup> Ricci, *I giovani non sono piante*, p.44

<sup>101</sup> Rossana Rossanda, *L’anno degli studenti*, De Donato, Bari, 1968, p.47.

has seriously mortgaged the social sciences ... Our Institute has the ambition to place itself at the vanguard of the process of renovation of the Italian University, succeeding in its intent in some aspects, for example the modernity and novelty of the studies, and its experimental methodological character. ...<sup>102</sup>

For the students, progress and modernity also implied democracy. 'Synonymous with its modernity and validity is the incontestable fact that students from all high schools can enter the Faculty of Social Sciences of Trento ... In fact, that acceptance gives proof of the overcoming of an elitist vision of culture as essentially erudite.'<sup>103</sup> The students at Trento had learnt all too well from the ideological matrix of educational expansion, social sciences, social progress and technocracy. At the beginning of 1966, six months after the Senate's approval of a draft for the *laurea in Scienze politiche ad indirizzo sociologico*, the assertions of modernity and progress took a more political form. The students embarked upon the occupation of the university.

The occupation of the Istituto Universitario began on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January, voted by all four student associations, which henceforth referred to itself as the Student Movement of Trento. 'A type of union action, outside of the political crystalizations,' the occupation aimed at public opinion:

The students of the Trento Faculty have therefore occupied their university in order to make public their painful situation, in order that the democratic denunciation of their misrecognition stimulates the centers of power, until now "neutral," to take an active, positive, role in this problem.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> AMR B.4 f.3 (Fondo Movimento Studentesco Riccardo Scartezzini) 'SOCIETA' ATTUALE E CONOSCENZA SOCIOLOGICA'

<sup>103</sup> AMR B.4 f.6 (Fondo Movimento Studentesco Riccardo Scartezzini) 'Un terremoto all'Università' Opinioni page of *Alto Adige*, 27 gennaio 1966. p.3

<sup>104</sup> AMR B.4 f.1 (Fondo Movimento Studentesco Riccardo Scartezzini) 'PERCHÉ FACCIAMO L'OCCUPAZIONE'. Note that by the end of the occupation, 'Un tipo di azione rivendicativa e sindacale': 'Si deve inoltre rendere atto al M.S. di Trento di aver usato in modo completamente nuovo lo strumento dell'occupazione. Essa infatti non è stata usata per l'ottenimento di rivendicazioni meramente sindacalistiche bensì come supporto a un discorso culturalmente avanzato.'

If the demands of the students - 'an institutionalization of the Social Sciences in Italy, a break with the old schemes which permeate national culture, of a scientific adjustment of the country to the broader European context' - barely differed in rhetoric from those once put by the founders of the faculty, the response of the administration to the occupation was decidedly ambivalent. The Commissarial College, the governing body of the Istituto Universitario, declaring itself largely satisfied with a *laurea* in *Scienze politiche ad indirizzo sociologico*, stated that it 'had no objections to those who wish to make last steps towards the Government and Parliament, in order to carry off the title of the laure originally proposed by the promoters.'<sup>105</sup> This less than enthusiastic endorsement was followed by an 'exhortation to the students, in their own interests, to return to order and assume the task of adjusting to the solution which the Parliament will adopt,'<sup>106</sup> and a mandate to the President, should the demonstrations 'reveal themselves damaging to the prestige of the Institute, to take the necessary steps.'<sup>107</sup> In public statements to the press, the Faculty and administrators of the university, while insisting that they agreed substantively with the students, stressed the danger of a 'political instrumentalization,'<sup>108</sup> the need for 'a realistic vision of things'<sup>109</sup> and appeared most concerned to hold exams on schedule. Yet by early February all the political parties at the local level had agreed to back the *laurea* in sociology and the proposed law was blocked in the Camera. The occupation of the faculty was suspended on February 10, and the teaching staff of the Istituto, adjusting to the new reality, released their first unequivocal statement in favor of the *laurea* in sociology at the end of March,

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<sup>105</sup> AMR Archivio Marco Boato, Busta Trento Sociologia Anno 1963-1968. f. 'TN 1966. Sociologia 1966.' 'COMUNICATO STAMPA' of Colleggio Commissariale presided over by Prof. Marcello Boldrini. 20<sup>th</sup> January 1966.

<sup>106</sup> AMR Archivio Boato, Busta Trento Sociologia. f. 'TN 1966' 'COMUNICATO STAMPA'.

<sup>107</sup> AMR Archivio Boato, Busta Trento Sociologia. f. 'TN 1966' 'COMUNICATO STAMPA'.

<sup>108</sup> AMR B.5 f.5 (Fondo Movimento Studentesco Gabriella Ferri) *Alto Adige*, 1966, 'Un'occupazione "attiva"' p.4.

<sup>109</sup> AMR B.5 f.5 *Alto Adige*, 1966, 'Un'occupazione "attiva"' p.4.

and the sociology degree was finally recognized in June of 1966. Trento would produce the first graduates in sociology in Italy. The students celebrated victory:

The institutionalization of the laurea in sociology in our Nation signifies without doubt one of the most important cultural conquests of the post-war era. A society such as ours can no longer permit itself the luxury of resolving complex problems which pose themselves urgently in the manner of a dilettante. There is the need instead of a whole new class of prepared and qualified. This new figure of the professional sociologist must come from the Faculty of Trento ...<sup>110</sup>

But while the title of the degree was now known, its content remained vague. The law recognizing the *laurea* in sociology demanded the Istituto Universitario submit to the Minister of Education a statute and curriculum within six months. The struggle over the *laurea* had produced the Student Movement of Trento, armed with a political instrument, the occupation, an ideology about what sociology should be, and an awareness of the resistance of the administrators of its own university. If those differences appeared initially mainly over methods of achieving goals and the politics of protest, the rhetorical unanimity had nonetheless been broken. A gulf separated the founders' project of creating a 'managerial class capable of being a bridge between university research and the needs of civil society.'<sup>111</sup> and the student vision of a 'new class of prepared and qualified intellectuals.'<sup>112</sup>

The history of postwar sociology in Italy began inauspiciously with the Einaudi translation of Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*, edited by Franco Ferrarotti, the sole faculty member who openly backed the first occupation of the Istituto Universitario di Trento in support of a *laurea* in sociology. Benedetto Croce's review in *Corriere della Sera*

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<sup>110</sup> AMR B.5 f.5 (Fondo Movimento Studentesco Gabriella Ferri) *Alto Adige*, 1966, 'Una conquista culturale per la società moderna' p.4.

<sup>111</sup> Scalco, *Mario Volpato*, p.580.

<sup>112</sup> AMR B.5 f.5 *Alto Adige*, 1966, 'Una conquista culturale per la società moderna' p.4.

accused Italian sociologists of “the most complete obtuseness in capturing the historical character of facts”.<sup>113</sup> The judgement of Gramsci provided little solace: ‘The so-called sociological laws which are assumed as causes have no causal weight; they are always tautologies, paralogsms.’<sup>114</sup> The hegemony of Crocean idealism was one key target of the applied enlightenment of proponents of university reform and expansion. Thus Gino Martinoli in his manifesto *L’università come impresa* wrote:

One fears that the Italian school system in general tends to furnish theories and general, abstract pre-prepared schemes to students, in the conviction that young people will on their own easily be able to insert in a logical and coherent manner into that framework all the facts and phenomena that present themselves to them thereafter. Such a set-up renders neither easy nor natural the use of theories to resolve practical problems ... It seems that at all levels of the Italian school system, the aristotelian tendency, essentially deductive, prevails over rational and objective research, and that the exercise of inductive arguments, of going from the observable facts to theories and laws, has only minor importance next to logical-deductive reasoning in teaching..<sup>115</sup>

Once again, the students at Trento employed the same vocabulary. In 1965, Intesa, the Catholic student association at Trento, had defined its task as ensuring that ‘the most important discourses ... do not remain at the level of abstract deductive formulations, and instead are adequately “historicized” and filled inductively with all of the political import that they have.’<sup>116</sup>

The first director of the Istituto Universitario, Mario Volpato, also conformed to the familiar distinction between philosophical and scientific cultures, two conceptions of sociology:

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<sup>113</sup> *Corriere della Sera*, 15 gennaio 1949. See Giorgio Sola, *Profilo storico della sociologia italiana*, Edizioni Cultrali Internazionali Genova, Genova, 1992, p.111. Ferrarotti replied in *Rivista di filosofia* and Croce again in *Il Mondo* in January of 1950.

<sup>114</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Materialismo storico e la filosofia di B. Croce*, Torino, Einaudi, 1948, p. 128 as quoted in Massironi, Gianni, ‘Americanate’, Balbo, Laura; Chiaretti, Giuliana e Massironi, Gianni, *L’Inferma Scienza: Tre saggi sulla istituzionalizzazione della sociologia in Italia*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1975, p.19.

<sup>115</sup> Martinoli, *L’Università come impresa*, p.27.

<sup>116</sup> Underlines in original. The author is Marco Boato. AMR B.4 f.1 (Fondo Movimento Studentesco Riccardo Scartezzini) ‘gruppo DEMOCRATICO INTESA UNIVERSITARIA TRENTINA Un rinnovato Movimento Universtiario per lo sviluppo dlel’Università e della società italiana. (Contributo per il Congresso Nazionale di Trieste, elaborato dal Segretario ed approvato dall’Assemblea del GDIUT.-) Trento, 1965.’

a first conception (sustained by philosophers and moralists) in which the socio-cultural disciplines are entrusted with the role of a general and theoretical formation which allows the intellect seeking to comprehend reality to follow a labor of synthesis within a framework of grand systems of social ideas ... a second conception (sustained by the pragmatists) in which the sociologist is entrusted with a technical formation, similar to that of the engineering disciplines.<sup>117</sup>

Yet the general agreement reigned superficially. The political and social content of the social sciences remained up for grabs. Martinoli's critique of the abstract culture of Italian academia formed part of a social project which envisioned an expanded university population and liberalization of access. Volpato's opposition of philosophers or moralists and pragmatists served a much narrower project of producing a new technocratic class and the draft curriculum he produced for Trento showed it. The students had already fought for and won the *laurea* in sociology based on a politics of the social sciences, conceived as a function of modernization (not least for Trento's acceptance of students from both classical and technical high schools). Merely eight months later, in the conflict over the course of study at Trento, the politics of modernity would not be framed merely in intellectual terms but as an autonomous demand for democracy: 'A modern university must be able to develop systematically "science" and "democracy," complementarily, posing itself thus as a dynamic center of civil society, a real and authentic organ of public intelligence in the nation and not only of its dominant strata.'<sup>118</sup>

The second occupation of the Istituto Universitario di Trento began on October 21 1966. Whereas the January occupation had academic goals, albeit framed within a broad political understanding of the import of the social sciences for the modernization of Italy, the second

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<sup>117</sup> Mario Volpato, *Alcune scelte per un corso di laurea in sociologia*, Istituto Universitario di Scienze Sociali Trento, Trento, 1964, p.11.

<sup>118</sup> AMR B.2 f.1 (Fondo Movimento Studentesco G. Palma) 'DOCUMENTO DEL MOVIMENTO STUDENTESCO DELLA FACOLTA' DI SOCIOLOGIA DI TRENTO Osservazioni circa lo Statuto e il Piano di Studi nella diversa elaborazione della Direzione e della Commissione studentesca'



occupation emerged from and sought concessions in both academic study and political representation. The recognition of the *laurea* in sociology had left the constitution (*statuto*) of the university and its curriculum open, requiring submission and approval to the Minister of Education within six months. The students, flush from the successful struggle to denominate the degree as sociology, demanded a special commission composed equally of students, professors and the *assistenti* (assistant lecturers), for elaboration of both the constitution and curriculum. Furthermore, the students sought to extend the democratic ethos to the constitution of the university itself and to ensure that the social sciences not be slighted in the curriculum as they had been in the conflict over the title of the degree. Rejected in their proposal for a specially constituted commission to study the matter, the students also learned in October 1966 of a draft curriculum that equally disregarded their desires. The sub-committee responsible for the draft headed by the mathematician Mario Volpato, head of the Istituto and a man whom, as one professor later recalled

in the crescendo of contestation, having entered the lecture hall for the daily lesson, went to the board with chalk and for a quarter of an hour filled the black space with white symbols, formulae, algebraic expressions, and whatever else was meant to represent, or rather be, the demonstration of technical neutrality and of the objectivity of science. Turning to the students: “Demonstrate to me – he asked – how this blackboard of technical-scientific language can be right or left, cannot but be neutral and impartial to every social, political and ethical action.”<sup>119</sup>

Marcello Boldrini, Professor of Statistics at the University of Rome, President of the International Institute of Statistics, and President of ENI (the National Oil and Gas Company) and the Jesuit Padre Rosa completed the subcommittee, and along with Volpato, for whom ‘the

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<sup>119</sup> Filippo Barbano, ‘La sociologia di Trento. Il mio coinvolgimento,’ in Cambi, Fabrizio; Quagliani, Diego; Rutigliano, Enzo, *L’Università a Trento, 1962-2002*, Università degli studi di Trento, Trento, 2004, p.147.

mathematician *par excellence* is man free of every prejudice,<sup>120</sup> created a curriculum for the sociology degree with a prominent space for mathematics and statistics. The students were not the only critics of the draft. Franco Ferrarotti warned of the danger of the ‘cult of measuring, quantitatively precise, but substantially incapable of capturing the historical significance of social phenomena.’<sup>121</sup> For the students, the draft ‘permits the formation of professional sociologists in a merely technical-bureaucratic sense’<sup>122</sup> Just as the quantitative increase of numbers in the university demanded ‘an adequate qualitative adjustment, in the sense of the gradual passage from an elitist conception to a more democratic conception of the university,’ so quantitative techniques needed to be accompanied by qualitative content (“Methods and techniques of social research,” “History of sociological thought,” “History of social research”), and the quantity of choices available accompanied by the quality of choice in which ‘the student themselves can exercise the principle of academic liberty, constructing the curriculum from a vast range of choices, according to their own (and not someone else’s) professional-scientific interests.’<sup>123</sup>

The liberty to plan one’s program of study was one element of the autonomy which for the students was a crucial characteristic of the sociologist. Rather than political or economic demands controlling academia and the definition of sociology, the social scientist, embodying the independence of their degree could carry that autonomy into society. Only with the liberty and breath of the students’ conceptualization of the degree in sociology could be ‘avoided serious phenomena (such as for example the preconditioning of careers) which today invalidate the autonomy of the university from the Establishment, and in the long term will damage the

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<sup>120</sup> Volpato, *Alcune scelte*, p.18

<sup>121</sup> LUT, b.2. Letter from Franco Ferrarotti to Mario Volpato, p.3.

<sup>122</sup> AMR B.2 f.1 (Palma) ‘Osservazioni circa lo Statuto’

<sup>123</sup> AMR B.2 f.1 (Palma) ‘Osservazioni circa lo Statuto’

professionalism itself of the sociologists.’<sup>124</sup> By contrast, the administrators of the university promoted the instrumental function of the Istituto. In the debates between students and faculty over the constitution and curriculum, Beniamino Andreatta proposed a school of administration in addition to sociology: ‘The Italian market cannot support an annual absorption of 300 sociological specialists. Therefore a proposal to structure the teaching for the preparation of business or public personnel fusing with a school of administration.’<sup>125</sup> For the students, such an idea placed far too much emphasis on the ‘demand side and strictly subordinates it to the supply side.’<sup>126</sup> The occupation came to an end when Trento was flooded in November of 1966. But the struggle over the nature of sociology forged an informal alliance between a progressive fraction of the faculty and a majority of the students – 67.8% of the students voted for the occupation, 28,4% against with 3,8% abstentions (and voting against the occupation did not signify outright opposition to its objectives). The mathematical and statistical emphasis of the first draft of the curriculum disappeared and for the first time in the history of an Italian university a student would sit (with an advisory vote) on the Administrative Council. The students also emerged with a fully formulated conception of the role of sociology as a ‘critical science’ (not a ‘technical operation’), and ‘a vision of the university as an autonomous factor of democratic, cultural and civil growth in the social context, a community governing itself through the full and equal participation of all of its components.’<sup>127</sup> Not only sociology and the social sciences, but the university as a whole had a particular role to play in the modernization and democratization of society. Sociology itself was understood not as the administration of society but its radical calling into question: ‘Sociological research in its proper sense always poses a “political”

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<sup>124</sup> AMR B.2 f.1 (Palma) ‘Osservazioni circa lo Statuto’

<sup>125</sup> AMR (Boato), Busta Trento Sociologia Anno 1963-1968. f. ‘Trento 1966-67 2° occupazione. Statuto e piano di studi. Boato Documentazione.’ ‘RIUNIONE DEL POMERIGGIO’

<sup>126</sup> AMR (Boato), Trento Sociologia 1963-1968. f. ‘Trento 1966-67 ‘RIUNIONE DEL POMERIGGIO’

<sup>127</sup> V. Capecchi, T. Ajmone, R. D’Arrigo, R., P. Manganoni, ‘Dall’avarizia alla politica’, *Bozze 1978*, I, n.3, pp.41-66. [Rassegna Stampa Università di Trento, volumi 49-50, pp.44-5.

problem and is thus always and necessarily in direct relationship with a determined social reality. As soon as research ceases to be an academic exercise with an end in itself, and poses a “true” problem, it calls into question the whole of a society, with its values, its ordering, its customs and institutions.’<sup>128</sup> The political struggle at Trento was just beginning.

A similar evolution of the sociological degree, without the same level of conflict, occurred at the Freie Universität. To receive the *Diplom* in sociology required both the successful participation in an empirical sociological piece of work across the course of two semesters as well as the passing of an exam on the foundations of statistical methodology.<sup>129</sup> As a consequence, Hans-Joachim Lieber (rector of the Free University in 1967) noted, ‘A good portion of the students who strived for the sociological degree had to try three or four times to receive the big statistical examination certificate, because as a rule they had either no or an insufficient mathematical knowledge.’<sup>130</sup> In 1970, the requirement for both an empirical piece of work and the statistical competence was dropped in favor of successful fulfillment of one or the other. As the statistical and empirical side of sociology had been downplayed, Lieber noted, ‘that the majority of the sociologists did not go into social practice in the narrow sense, but rather stayed as assistants or tutors at the universities and highschools,’ an ‘aberration,’ given the intended professions for the *Diplom*.<sup>131</sup> As in Trento, so at the Freie Universität, the evolution of sociology did not conform to the intentions of its planners. One survey noted that over 40% of graduates of sociology in Germany since the Second World War remained employed in the

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<sup>128</sup> Capecchie et al. ‘Dall’avarizia alla politica’, pp.44-5.

<sup>129</sup> ‘die erfolgreiche Teilnahme an einer Vorlesung oder Übung über die Grundlagen der statistischen Methode durch Vorlage eines Klausurscheines.’ Hans-Joachim Lieber, ‘Der Diplomsoziologe und das Berufsbild des Deutschen Soziologen: Erwartungen und Wirklichkeit am Beispiel der Freien Universität Berlin’, in Lüschen, Günther, hrsg., *Deutsche Soziologie seit 1945*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1979, p.260.

<sup>130</sup> Hans-Joachim Lieber, ‘Der Diplomsoziologe und das Berufsbild des Deutschen Soziologen: Erwartungen und Wirklichkeit am Beispiel der Freien Universität Berlin’, in *Deutsche Soziologie seit 1945*, p.260.

<sup>131</sup> Lieber, Hans-Joachim, ‘Autobiographische Reflexionen zum Thema: Soziologie im Beruf’, in Bolte, Karl Martin, und Neidhardt, Friedhelm, hrsg., *Soziologie als Beruf. Erinnerungen westdeutscher Hochschulprofessoren der Nachkriegsgeneration*, NOMOS Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, 1998, p.55.

universities.<sup>132</sup> When surveyed, students in sociology at the Freie Universität saw their professional goals most frequently ‘in the field of the press or mass communications, of education and welfare systems or in scientific research and teaching.’<sup>133</sup> Conceived to be the intellectual adjuncts to social planning and administration, sociologists instead emerged as teachers, journalists, writers and critics. Yet if the professional outlook of sociologists altered, the ambition to be the agents of social and political change was retained.

The organizers of the various sociology degrees were not alone in their mistaken predictions. The advocates of almost unlimited university expansion invariably stressed the economic requirements for education and the demand for technically skilled, scientific personnel. Raymond Poinant predicted the relative increase in the students of science and engineering:<sup>134</sup>

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BY FACULTIES			
Faculties	1949	1959	1970
Law and economic sciences	30	18	16
Arts and human sciences	26	28	25.5
Science and engineering	18	34	43
Medicine and Pharmacy	26	20	15.5

<sup>132</sup> Renate Mayntz, hrsg., *Soziologen im Studium: Eine Untersuchung zur Entwicklung fachspezifischer Einstellungen bei Studenten*, Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 1970, p.78.

<sup>133</sup> Renate Mayntz, hrsg., *Soziologen im Studium: Eine Untersuchung zur Entwicklung fachspezifischer Einstellungen bei Studenten*, Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 1970, p.92. Compare Horst Reimann und Klaus Kiefer, *Soziologie als Beruf: Eine Untersuchung über Herkunft, Studiensituation und Berufsbild von Soziologie-Studenten 2., überarbeitete und ergänzte Auflage*, J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1969. Especially Tabelle 40, p.111.

<sup>134</sup> Table from Poinant, ‘Establishing Educational Targets in France’, p.218.

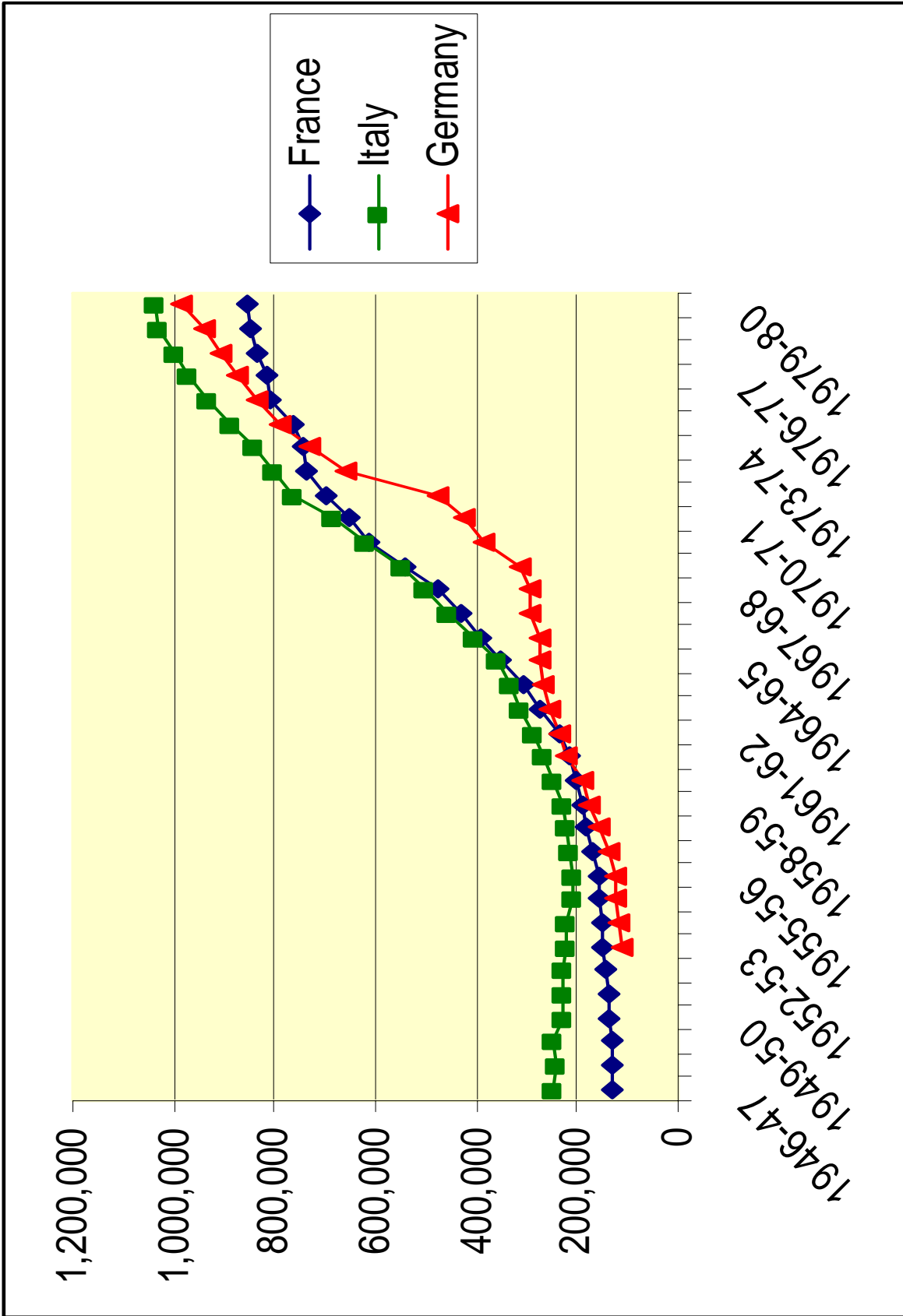
In fact, as a comparison of the prediction with the outcome shows, the relative weight of the science and engineering faculties declined in the 1960s, and never reached the commanding heights predicted.

Faculties	1970 (Poignant Prediction)	1970	1979
Law and economic sciences	16	21	22
Arts and human sciences	25.5	34	30.5
Science and engineering	43	19	15
Medicine and Pharmacy	15.5	21	22.5
IUTs	-	3	6
Others	-	-	4

The prediction of the ongoing expansion of higher education proved correct, although Germany's real take-off lagged slightly behind that of France and Italy (see table and graph).

### Number of university students in France, Germany and Italy

Year	France	Italy	Germany
1946-47	129,025	248,083	
1947-48	128,754	243,891	
1948-49	129,035	245,040	
1949-50	136,744	228,321	
1950-51	139,593	231,412	
1951-52	142,096	226,543	
1952-53	147,844	223,522	113,954
1953-54	151,115	218,917	115,664
1954-55	155,803	211,564	121,010
1955-56	157,489	210,228	126,932
1956-57	170,023	212,412	139,555
1957-58	180,634	220,175	153,923
1958-59	192,128	231,090	173,320
1959-60	202,062	247,717	189,239
1960-61	214,672	268,181	219,958
1961-62	232,610	287,975	237,105
1962-63	270,788	312,344	252,471
1963-64	308,189	334,681	264,787
1964-65	348,935	360,407	271,800
1965-66	393,659	404,938	275,369
1966-67	433,248	456,476	290,276
1967-68	477,904	500,215	295,102
1968-69	540,010	549,783	313,693
1969-70	615,326	616,898	386,244
1970-71	651,368	681,731	421,976
1971-72	697,791	759,872	478,356
1972-73	735,235	802,603	660,798
1973-74	742,074	840,497	728,478
1974-75	760,590	886,894	788,792
1975-76	806,268	935,795	837,079
1976-77	816,281	971,759	871,909
1977-78	832,118	996,162	905,645
1978-79	849,998	1,032,559	938,141
1979-80	853,190	1,035,876	981,808





However, the expansion of the universities did not occur equally or evenly across the faculties.

The arts faculties exploded fastest in the 1960s. In Italy, between 1960 and 1970 the number of students in arts faculties multiplied fourfold, sixfold from the mid fifties. In France, arts students increased fivefold in the same period.

**France: Expansion of faculties where AY 1955-56 = 100.**

Year	Law	Sciences	Letters	Medecine	Pharmacy
1955-56	100	100	100	100	100
1960-61	93	178	150	106	115
1965-66	207	309	311	159	174
1970-71	397	298	527	379	280

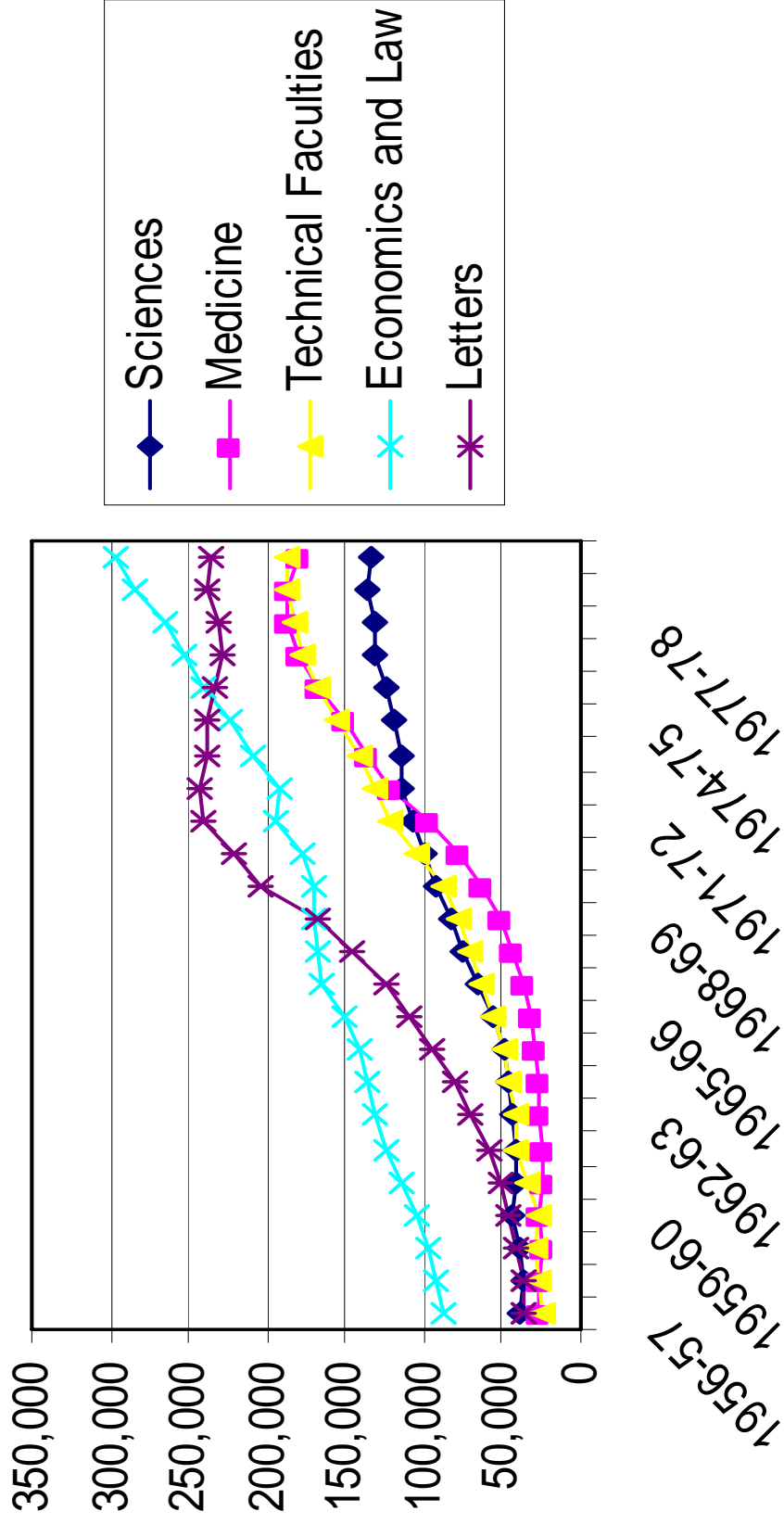
**Italy: Expansion of faculties where AY 1956-57 = 100.**

Year	Law and Economics	Sciences	Technical*	Letters	Medicine
1956-57	100	100	100	100	100
1960-61	133	107	138	144	95
1965-66	175	144	228	303	120
1970-71	206	259	416	609	300

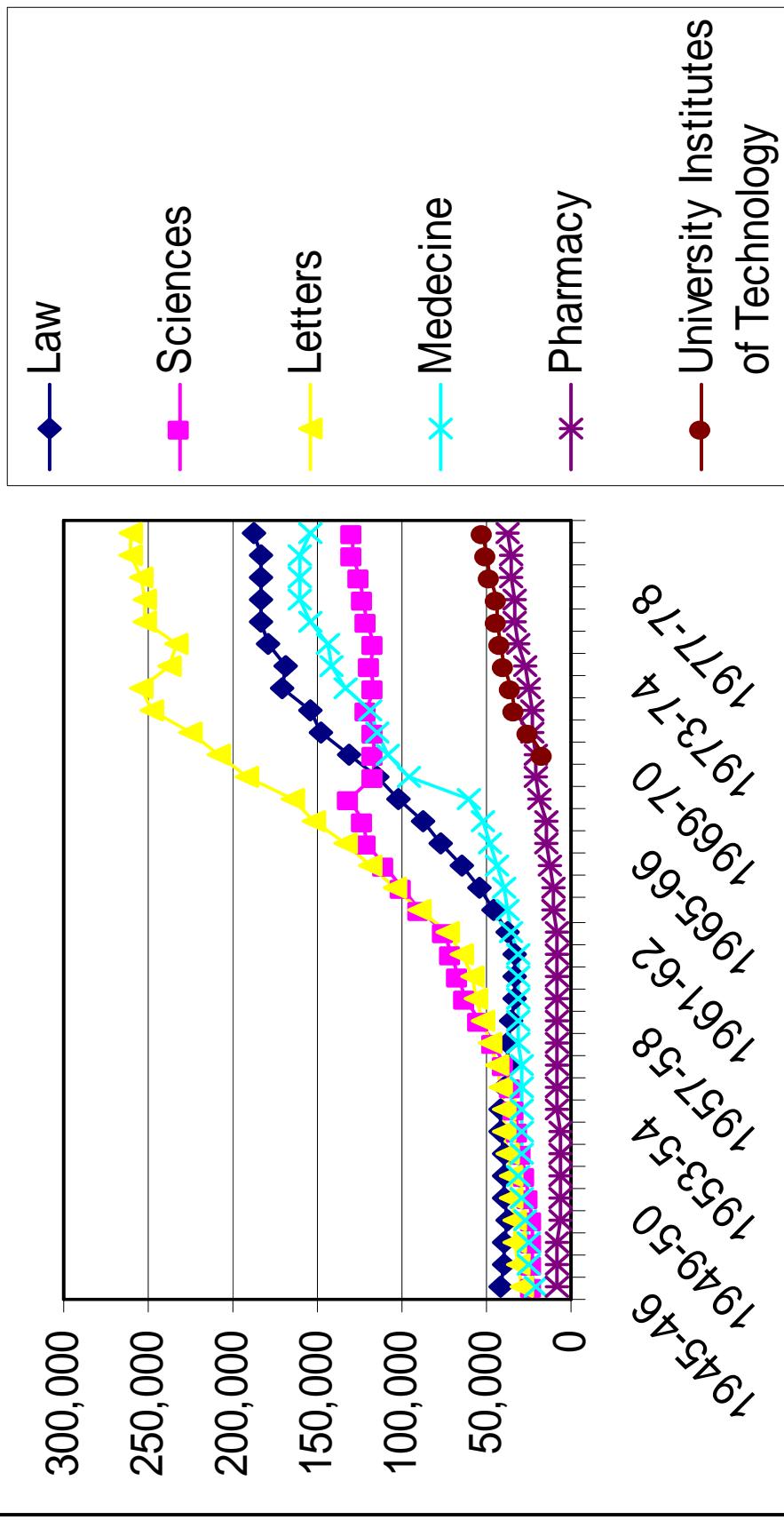
\*Technical Faculties = engineering, architecture, veterinary medicine, agrarian sciences.

The students at Trento instinctively understood the nature of the university expansion far better than its promoters when they stressed not the demands of the job market but the pressure of supply, not the acquiring of technical competence, but the development of critical abilities to be exercised in all social spheres. In 1966, Beniamino Andreatta had spoken of the inability of the Italian economy to absorb 300 sociologists each year. By 1975, Italian universities produced over 700 sociologists annually.

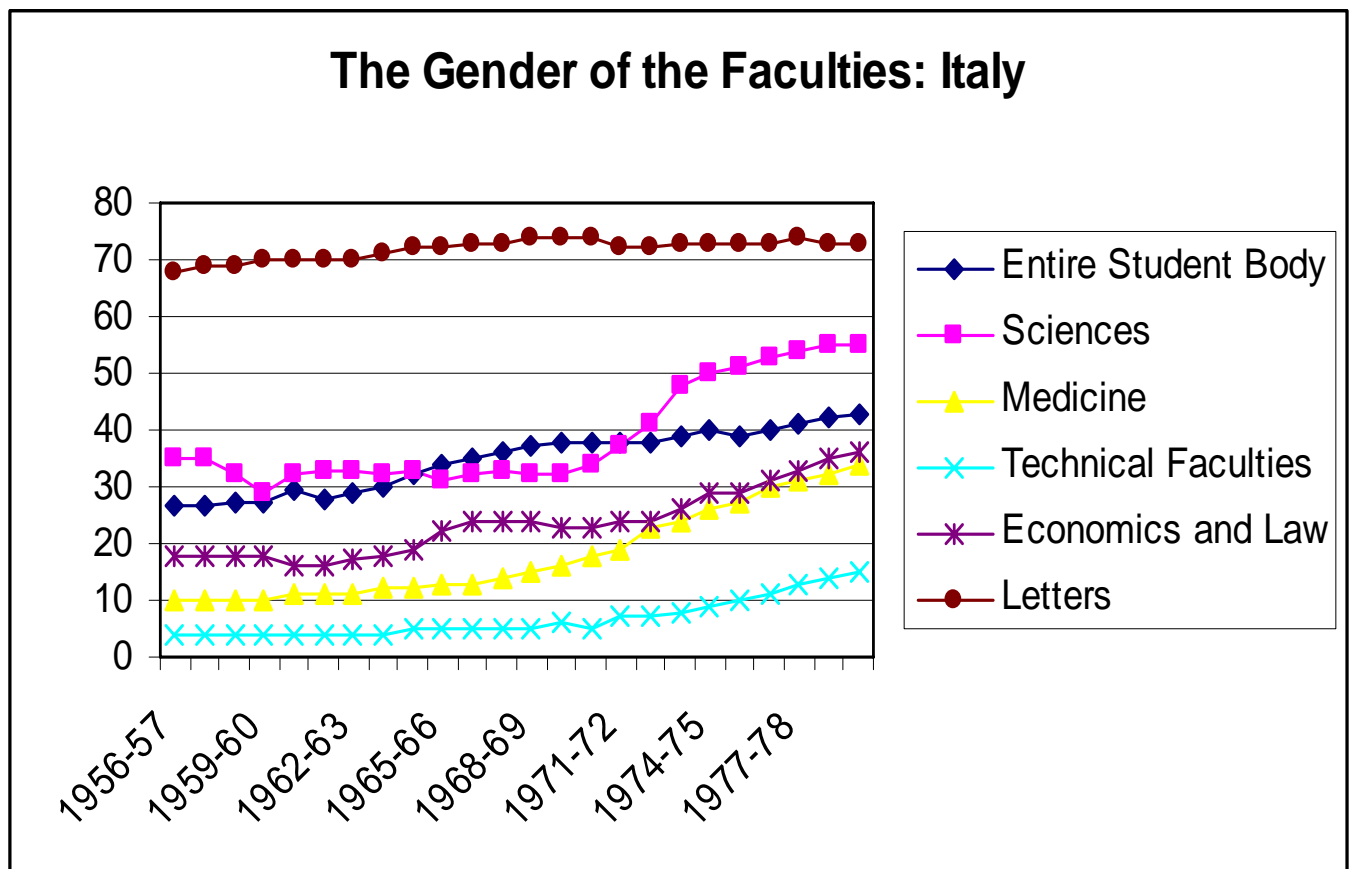
# The Expansion of the Faculties: Italy



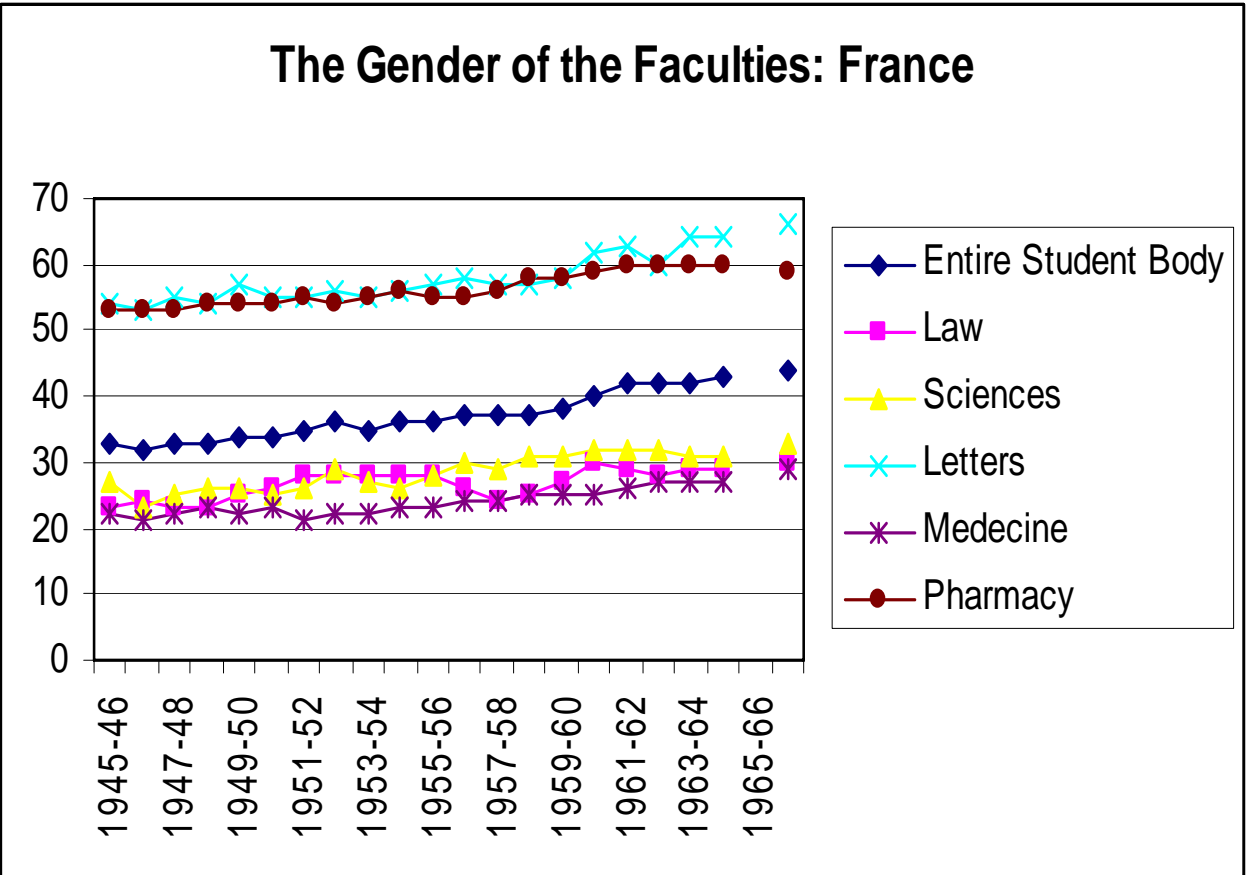
# The Expansion of the Faculties: France



Arts faculties incarnated the changing physiognomy of the university in a second way. Between the mid-fifties and the end of the 1960s, the percentage of female students increased from around 27% to 38% (in Italy) and from 36% to 44% (for France)<sup>135</sup> That increase is overwhelmingly constituted by the increase of the arts faculties. If the arts faculties are excluded, the percentage of women at Italian universities rises only from 18% to 20%, at French universities from only 28% to 32%. In 1970-71, 63% of all women in Italian higher education were arts students; in France 52% of all women were in the Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines. For the student body as a whole the respective figures were 32% and 35. Thus a significant proportion of the population explosion of the 1960s occurred in faculties (arts and



<sup>135</sup> French figure is for 1966-67 only.



letters) which, apart from teaching, did not lead directly to a profession, and in a population (women) previously excluded from higher education (and who remained excluded from more prestigious degrees such as Law and Medicine and even Engineering). A leitmotiv of the expansionary ambitions of intellectuals who promoted the university population boom was the social progress incumbent thereon. Such a promise was easy to make in the belief that the modern economy could absorb enormous numbers of technically skilled graduates. A social demand was also undoubtedly evident in the actual student population growth of the 1960s. But what the new educated population would do with arts degrees remained an open question and, as

had leaving open the definition of sociology at Trento, that vagueness created the space for conflict.

The arts faculties formed the base of the student movements of the late 1960s. So was Raymond Aron correct in diagnosing a rat-like student psychosis, the effect of a too great a population in too small a space? If there is any truth to Aron's argument, it lies not in the problem of physical space but the social boundaries of the university. The student movements invariably sprang into action not to protest overcrowded universities as such, but to combat the administrative response to expansion, which typically took the form of restrictions on entry to the university. As early as 1963 at the Freie Universität Berlin, the Law Faculty notified students who had been enrolled for longer than 9 semesters that further study would no longer be possible beyond the Winter Semester of 1963/4. By July of the following year, that deadline was rescinded in favor of immediate deregistration.<sup>136</sup> The General Student Board protested the one-off measure, but as the Law Faculty pointed out, in the three weeks following the decision only seven students had applied to extend their period of study.<sup>137</sup> In February of 1966, however, the Admittance Committee of the Law Faculty voted to impose henceforth a limit of nine semesters. In May of the same year, the Medicine Faculty also limited the length of time a student could remain registered. In June, the *Wissenschaftsrat* [Scientific Advisory Committee] in its "recommendations for a new organization of study at the universities" recommended the shortening and rationalization of all courses of study. That same month, in defence of the 'Zwangsexmatrikulation,' [force de-registration] the law professor Karl August Betterman declared that 'He who is not finished after nine semesters provokes the suspicion that something is not quite right with his study, and indeed in his individual domain, and not in the institutional

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<sup>136</sup> See Freie Universität Berlin, *Hochschule im Umbruch: Teil III: Auf dem Weg in den Dissens (1957-1964)*, Berlin, 1975, documents 326 and 345.

<sup>137</sup> FUB, *Hochschule im Umbruch*, document 348, p.174.

domain of the university.’<sup>138</sup> However, as the student association of the Freie Universität had pointed out, ‘according to the statistics of the Law Examination Office law students in Berlin study for an average of 9.5 semesters; therefore the maximum length of study will shortly lie underneath the actual average number of semesters. We must conclude from this, that in Berlin only an elite will complete their exam.’<sup>139</sup> What to the administrators and often to the Faculty of the university appeared a move of rationalisation, was to the students a form of social selection. To the students, overcrowding was a cause, not the result, of the length it took to complete their studies. The problem of university space had to be understood as the choice between two alternative approaches, ‘disciplinary measures at the end of study (*Zwangsezmatrifikation*)’ or ‘effective reform.’<sup>140</sup> Yet the vision of rats proved compelling. By 1968, the ‘recommendation’ of the *Wissenschaftsrat* for limitations on length of study had become an ‘emergency measure’: ‘*Numerus clausus*: an emergency measure. The introduction of the *numerus clausus* is an emergency measure. It cannot solve the problem of overcrowding, but expresses it sharply. Every admission limitation must shortly be reduced.’<sup>141</sup>

In France the population problem of the universities moved to center stage at the rentrée of 1967. The Dean of Nanterre had announced in *Le Monde* his support for selection before entry to university. The opinion of Raymond Aron was well known (‘I ask myself if, truly, the eternal principles of democracy require that all those who wish to learn English do a degree at the Sorbonne?’)<sup>142</sup> Meeting in June of 1967, the Faculty Council at Nanterre discussed Grappin’s

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<sup>138</sup> *Tagesspiegel* of 22.6.1966.

<sup>139</sup> APO-Archiv Berlin FU Allgemein Konvent 1966 18. Konvent ‘Anhang zum Tagesordnungspunkt 8e) der 4. (o.) Sitzung des 18. Konvents. Erklärung des Konvents zur Rücktritt der Studentenvertretung der Juristischen Fakultät’.

<sup>140</sup> APO-Archiv Berlin FU Allgemein Konvent 1966 18. Konvent ‘Anhang zum Tagesordnungspunkt’.

<sup>141</sup> FUB, *Hochschule im Umbruch*, document 852, p.291.

<sup>142</sup> BDIC. GF delta 85 ‘REVOLUTION DANS L’UNIVERSITE? LE COLLOQUE DE CAEN... (GEH info janvier 1967).

proposal to establish ‘a sorting at entry,’<sup>143</sup> whether by automatically accepting only students with a *mention* at the baccalauréat or by eliminating those who had failed an exam. The sheer increase in numbers had been aggravated by the Fouchet Reforms, which had shifted the emphasis from the *cours magistraux* (large lectures) to *travaux dirigés* or *travaux pratiques* (seminars), without providing a complementary increase in teaching staff. As Grappin pointed out ‘the main problem is in effect that of the *travaux pratiques*, which are obligatory, but which can only be so within the limits of the capacity of the Faculty.’<sup>144</sup> The problem appeared to faculty and administrators as a simple matter of resources. Paul Ricoeur merely thought that in the context of the ‘traditional attachment to the politics of the open door,’ ‘the reason why the control at entry has become necessary must be made completely clear.’<sup>145</sup> However, for the students, such measures appeared part of a systematic policy to limit entrance to the universities, and the rationalization by Faculty as ideology. The university reforms, failing to increase the material resources necessary for the increased numbers, introducing obligatory attendance at the *travaux pratiques*, limiting the possibility to take a year again (when in some subject up to 80% failed their exam), creating a new, shortened degree which could be achieved after two years and demanding an early and definitive choice of study functioned as ‘barrier after barrier which attempts to cut back our right to study.’<sup>146</sup> The response to overcrowding proved that greater numbers would not mean greater equality: ‘the Fouchet reform favors the children of the dominant classes who, by their social origin, possess the economic means and the cultural

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<sup>143</sup> ADHS 1208W/2 ‘UNIVERSITE DE PARIS. FACULTE DES LETTRES & SCIENCES HUMAINES DE NANTERRE. CONSEIL DE LA FACULTE ANNEE UNIVERSITAIRE 1966-67. 8ème Séance. NANTERRE, le 10 JUIN 1967’

<sup>144</sup> ADHS 1208W/2 ‘CONSEIL DE LA FACULTE ... le 10 JUIN 1967’

<sup>145</sup> ADHS 1208W/2 ‘CONSEIL DE LA FACULTE ... le 10 JUIN 1967’

<sup>146</sup> BDIC. F delta 813(1) Bulletin des Comités de Lutte Contre le Plan Fouchet. n.2.



inheritance necessary to overcome the barriers created. The selection by failure put in place by the reform is a selection by class.’<sup>147</sup>

Only a few years separated the optimistic pronouncements of enlightened technocrats like Louis Cros (‘*idealistic aspirations and practical necessities in education have ceased to contradict each other*’)<sup>148</sup> and the emergence of an overt struggle between university students and administrators in which the latter stressed practical necessity of curtailing access to higher education. In the case of Germany, some of the first attempts to jettison the surplus population occurred even before Georg Picht’s warning of a *Bildungskatastrophe*. Alain Peyrefitte, the new Minister of Education in France in 1967, expressed the contradictory visions of the university perfectly when he stated that ‘There are not enough students in France, but there are too many at university.’<sup>149</sup> The reformist modernizers uniformly insisted on a massive increase in funding to accompany the expansion of the universities. They were disappointed. But they also tended to posit the scientific needs of the economy as the prime mover of the mass university and scientific and technical personnel as its product. Here, too, they were mistaken. Government reforms, where they existed, most readily adopted the idea of the need for specialization of degrees and rationalization of the traditional university without endorsing unlimited access to and growth of higher education. Yet the size of the universities increased, whether wished for, planned, or not. Attempts to narrow the point of entry to the universities gave the impression that the extension of compulsory schooling to the age of 16 in France in 1959 and the introduction of a unified middle school in Italy in 1962 (extending compulsory education to 14) had simply shifted some of the work of social stratification from the secondary schools to the tertiary system. The reformist

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<sup>147</sup> BDIC F d. 813/3 PROGRAMME D’ORIENTATION ET PLAN DE TRAVAIL Présenté au conseil d’administration de l’Association fédérative des groupes d’étudiants de Nanterre le mardi 19 décembre 1967.

<sup>148</sup> Cros, “*L’explosion*” scolaire, p.43-44. Italics in the original.

<sup>149</sup> As quoted by Jean-Pierre Duteuil, 1965-66-67-68: *vers le mouvement du 22 mars*, Préface de Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Acratie, Paris, 1988, p.94.

utopias of the late 1950s and early 1960s were one attempt to understand, control and link the growth of higher education to a broader political vision of social progress, pitted against the small, anachronistic hierarchical and elitist university of tradition. Yet if democracy, social equality and economy could be reconciled easily in prognosis, the evolution of the university demonstrated that the contradictions had not at all disappeared. As the 1960s progressed and so did the size of the universities, the spectrum of reformers polarized towards its progressive, democratic and its technocratic ends. As much as overcrowding, or the perceived archaicisms of the university, the student movements came into being in response to the narrowing of the idea of university reform. The disenchantment with the reality of the university, of its expansion and the social sciences which had embodied the promise of a ‘modern’ university was well summed up by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Jean-Pierre Duteuil, Bertrand Gérard and Bertrand Granautier, four students at Nanterre:

For the “hopes” of French sociology Parsonian jargon and the cult of statistics (finally a scientific terrain!) are the key to all problems. The study of society has succeeded in this *tour de force* to depoliticize all teaching ... in other words to legalize the existing politics. And all this joined in a fruitful collaboration with ministers and technocrats seeking to create their executives, etc. ... Our professors willingly pass for “Leftists” compared to those nostalgic for the old times who flourish in other departments. Those professors leave with regret the ivory tower [*mandarinat*] of the university put in place by liberal capitalism, while the sociologists have seen where the “change” is headed: organisation, rationalization, the production of human merchandise on measure for the economic needs of organized capitalism.<sup>150</sup>

In the face of this intellectual, political and social failure, the students movements sought another answer to the question which formed the title of this tract: ‘why sociologists?’

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<sup>150</sup> Reproduced in Duteuil, 1965-66-67-68: *vers le mouvement du 22 mars*, p.190.