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ABSTRACT

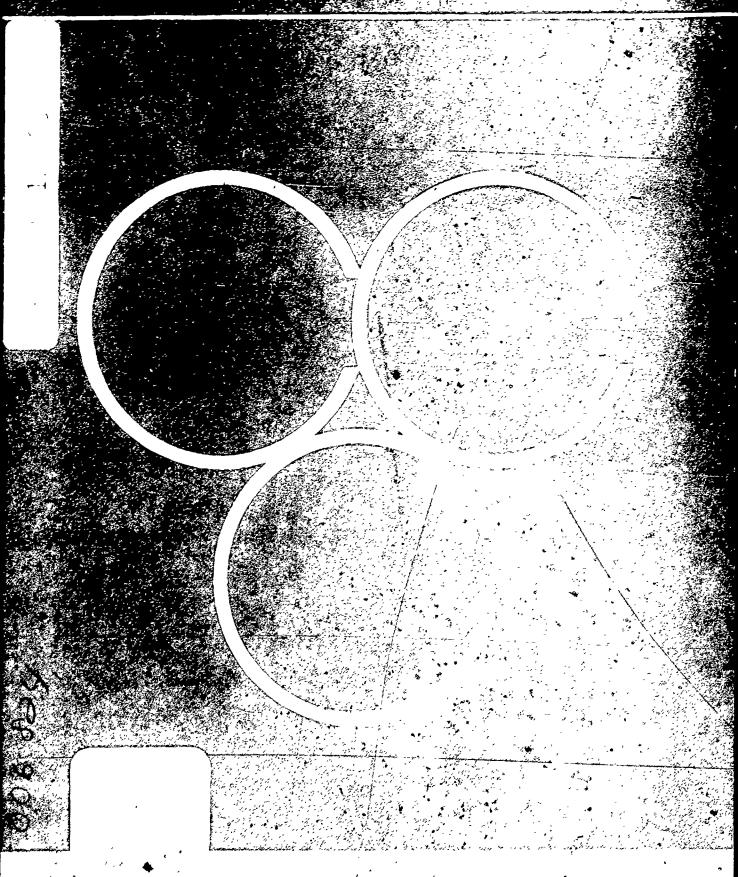
The status of student participation in Council for Cultural Cooperation (CCC) nations is examined, based on questionnaire replies from Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Iceland, Italy, Malta, the . Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. After a brief review of the situation from 1900 to 1945 and from 1945 to ... 1972, the current outlook is described. Consideration is given to legislation, student participation at different levels, subjects upon which students' representatives should be consulted, mode of election and powers, and the results of student participation. It is concluded that since 1968 a great change has taken place in the power structure of the institutions of higher education in most of the member countries. The goals of the student unrest in the late sixties have not been fully reached, although students have gained more influence than anticipated. The present situation shows that the absolution of the full professors has disappeared in most member countries and that the power structure is based upon a certain balance between different groups. Many of the student meaders of 1968 are now employed by the universities, and their new roles are speculative. Questionnaire samples are included. (LBH) 🕟

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COUNCI O EURO DE / 1975





Student participation

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN THE CCC MEMBER COUNTRIES IN 1 973

, BY

MR E GOLDSCHMIDT

COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION
COUNCIL OF EUROPE
STRASBOURG

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The Council for Cultural Co-operation was set up by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 1 January 1962 to draw up proposals for the cultural policy of the Council of Europe, to co-ordinate and give effect to the overall cultural programme of the organisation and to allocate the resources of the Cultural Fund. It is assisted by three permanent committees of senior officials. for higher education and research, for general and technical education and for out-of-school education. All the member governments of the Council of Europe, together with Greece; Finland, Spain and the Holy See are represented on these bodies (1).

In educational matters, the aim of the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC) is to help to create conditions in which the right educational opportunities are available to young Europeans whatever their background or level of academic accomplishment, and to facilitate their adjustment to changing political and social conditions. This entails in particular a greater rationalisation of the complex educational process. Attention is paid to all influences bearing on the acquisition of knowledge, from home television to advanced research, from the organisation of youth centres to the improvement of teacher training. The countries concerned will thereby be able to benefit from the experience of their neighbours in the planning and reform of structures, curricula and methods in all branches of education.

Since 1963 the CCC has been publishing, in English and French, a series of works of general interest entitled "Education in Europe", which record the results of expert studies and intergovernmental investigations conducted within the framework of its programme. A list of these publications will be found at the end of the volume.

Some of the volumes in this series have been published in French by Armand Colin of Paris and in English by Harraps of London.

These works are being supplemented by a series of "companion volumes" of a more specialised nature to which the present study belongs.

Gèneral Editor:

The Director of Education and of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, Council of Europe, Strasbourg (France)

The opinions expressed in these studies are not to be regarded as reflecting the policy of individual governments or of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Applications for reproduction and translation should be addressed to the General Editor.

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Student participation in the Operation of Institutions of Tertiary Education in the CCC Member Countries in 1973

This study is based upon the replies to the questionnaire (doc. CCC/ESR (72) Misc. 14 rev.) of 19 January 1973 (Appendix I) sent out to CCC member governments. The following countries have replied. Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

History

1. The situation from 1900-1945

During the first half of the 20th century students at the single institutions of higher education in many countries organised themselves into student associations or unions. These organisations often reflected the organisational structure of the particular institution. For each faculty there might be a students' council elected by and among the students enrolled at the faculty. These students' councils formed, together with a central committee elected either directly by and among the whole student body of the institution or indirectly by the faculty students' councils, the students' association or union.

These councils and unions acted as the spokesmen of the students towards the different authorities of the institutions. Gradually these students' organisations obtained official recognition in the constitutions of the single institution as the recognised students' representation and they were granted office space and equipment. They were furthermore entitled to send spokesmen or observers to the senate- or faculty-meetings when questions of direct interest to the students were on the agenda, ie revision of study programmes or examination rules, administration of study grants etc (1).

The student union took up or took over a number of student welfare activities: students labour exchange, guidance, lodgings-exchange, and in some cases the student organisations even took over the establishment and running of dormitories and canteens with subsidies from public funds (eg the Norwegian Student-samskipnaden).

Furthermore, the student organisations worked for improvements in social and educational conditions for students in general, but they never at that time demanded seats in the decision-making bodies of the institutions of higher education.

2. The situation from 1945-72

The demand for participation grew out of the development following the 2nd World War and the subsequent explosive increase in enfolments. This was particularly the case in the USA when the GI study programme brought hundreds of thousands of veterans into the colleges and universities and the number of students grew from 1.7 million in 1946 to 2.7 million in 1950. The increase continued thanks to the post-war prosperity but the capacity lagged behind the enrolment. The period of the cold war and Mc Carthyism in the early fifties did not, however, provide any climate for student protests. The "Sputnik Year" of 1957 became a turning point with regard to public interest in higher education and research. Federal and state funds granted to universities were raised quickly and increased every year. The number of students was, however, still growing and reached 4.5 million in 1964. The race between capacity and enrolment continued, but the students of the sixties did not belong to "The Quiet Generation" of the fifties. They questioned the values of "The Affluent Society" and economic growth as a goal in itself. At the large campuses they felt frustrated, restrained by rigid rules of order issued by the college or university

⁽¹⁾ In this picture Norway represents an exception. Since 1908 the students' councils at the University of Oslo have had a legal right to appoint 2 representatives to each faculty board and since 1956 the students have had the right to appoint 2 representatives to the senate. Similar arrangements have been found at other Norwegian institutions of higher education for many years.



authorities "in loco parentis", they felt that too few personal relations - if any at all - existed between students and professors and they felt like members in the computer systems which had been introduced at many campuses to manage the registration for courses and examinations, the paying of fees, library service etc. In addition to that came the negroes' struggle for civil rights and the protests against the Vietnam War, which appealed to the idealism of students.

All these tensions exploded during the autumn term 1964 at Berkeley University and an avalanche of student unrest hurtled over North America and Europe.

The Berkeley student leader Mario Savio expressed the background of the unrest in terms which became well-known in Europe during the following years.

"The most important concept one must know to be able to understand the students' movement is Marx's concept of alienation. The students are frustrated. They can't find room in a society where alienation exists, where their work will have no meaning. Students revolt against the university machinery. That is the motive power behind the students' movement."

The explosion in student enrolment did not start in Europe until the end of the fifties, But in many countries the gap between capacity and the number of students quickly became even worse than it had been in the USA, and the economic and industrial development which had begun later than in the USA, expanded at an even faster rate, creating new political, social and environmental problems. The soil was ready to receive the seed of Barkeley.

From 1965 and during the rest of the sixties most European countries witnessed student occupation of university buildings, demonstrations claiming students' participation in the management of universities, research for the people, introduction of Marxist research theories etc and encounters between police and student demonstrators. The culmination took place in spring 1968 in the Federal Republic of Germany and in France.

While negotiations reinsofar as only negotiations took place - up till spring 1968 had taken place between students' leaders and the university authorities, many governments and parliaments now took action, trying to calm down the student revolt and to bring the situation under control by introducing student representatives in the decision-making bodies of the universities by law. The first example in this respect is the French "Loi d'orientation de l'enseignement supérieur" of 12 November 1968 and seven other countries which have answered the questionnaire have since passed similar laws either as amendments to existing laws or as the first laws in a field with which the legislation had not previously interfered.

In this connection it might be worthwhile mentioning that this new legislation also broke down the absolutism of the full professors in relation to the associate and assistant professors. The expansion of the teaching staff following the increasing student enrolment had mainly taken place through employment of associate and assistant professors. These groups of teachers could not be denied the right of participation, when it was obtained by the students. In a single case (Denmark) all full-time employed teachers were integrated into one teaching staff with regard to the right to vote and to be elected. In some cases also the participation of the technical and administrative personnel was introduced and even representatives of the outside world took their seats in the decision-making bodies.

As a direct result of the student unrest decision-making university bodies with a completely changed composition and power structure were formed in many European countries, and it seems worthwhile now - 6 years after the spring of 1968 - to make a survey of the different solutions chosen to meet the demand of student participation.

The situation in 1973

A comparative table which summarises the replies of the member countries to the questionnance can be found in Appendix I. The following paragraphs analyse the replies in more detail.

3.1 <u>Legislation</u>

The continental member countries comprising this study do all have some sort of legislation concerning institutions of higher education, while other models for the relations between the state and institutions of higher education are used in Cyprus, Ireland, Malta and the United Kingdom. Apart from Scotland, which has its own Universities of Scotland Act, there is no British law or regulation providing for or preventing student participation, however, the state is not without influence on this question. The universities in England, Wales and Ulster have their articles of government fixed in Royal Charters, they are free to propose amendments to their Charters, but any such amendments must receive the approval of the Privy Council before they may be put into effect. According to the Joint Statement from the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals and the National Union of Students, almost all universities have proposed amendments to their Charters providing for student participation on the governing bodies. The Privy Council has welcomed in principle the inclusion of students in these bodies on the condition that the number of students is limited, that the students are properly representative of the student body and that the students must withdraw from the decision-making bodies during discussion of items drawn from the "reserved areas" of business.

The main difference between the UK and the continental member states seems to be that the British universities are free to decide whether they want to provide for student participation or not, while the continental universities have to accept student participation by legislation. But both in the UK and in the single continental member states student participation is based upon certain principles.

Some principal differences in the character, however, exist in the legislation of the continental member states.

In Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the "Lander" of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the Netherlands and Sweden, general laws or regulations on the government of universities and possibly other institutions of higher education lay down among other things the principles for student participation.

In Finland, Norway, Switzerland and Turkey there is no such general legislation, but a special law for each university which may be due to the fact that the single university is established by law and that the principles of government were laid down in the same law according to the special circumstances of the particular university.

This difference is, however, not quite clear as in some countries - for instance Austria - there are combinations of both solutions. By an amendment of 1971 to the "Hochschul-Studiengesetz", advisory study committees (Studienkommissionen) including student members were introduced on an experimental basis (1), and by an amendment of 1972 to the Austrian "Hochschul-Organisations-gesetz" of 1955 student participation was introduced as a definite measure in the commissions, which may be established by the assembly of full professors as advisory or decision-making bodies. At the same time one finds special laws on different types of higher education - engineering, agriculture, economics etc - including provisions for student participation in decision-making study committees (Studienkommissionen).

The Dutch University Administration Act of 1970 introduced student participation on an experimental basis which will only be effective until 1976 (2). In Sweden one finds a combination of definite and experimental regulations. The 1969 amendment to the law on University Organisation gave the Preparatory Study Committees decision-making power. These bodies could therefore make decisions on behalf of the faculties in all questions concerning curricula and organisation. Student participation at the national level (the Board of the Office of the Chancellor and the Faculty Planning Councils of this office), in the university senates and the institute boards will be on an experimental basis until 1976. In Finland 4 bill on internal administration of the institutions of higher education has been brought into the parliament to replace the present permanent and temporary laws and regulations on the administration of the particular institutions (3). Cf Appendix A.

⁽³⁾ It has been proposed to extend the experimental period until 1980 in order to gain more experience,



⁽¹⁾ The advisory study committees have in 1974 become a permanent institution,

⁽²⁾ Rejected by the parliament in November 1973,

3.2 Student participation at different levels

Only in a few cases is student participation provided for by law at the national level. Only in the "Lander" Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland have the students a legal right to be represented in central planning, advisory or decision-making bodies. In the Netherlands one might say that the students have an indirect legal right to be represented at the national level, as each of the Dutch universities has the right to be represented in the Academic Council by three members: the Rector and two members appointed by the university council, and most universities have appointed a student as one of the latter.

Although student participation has not been provided for by law, it does not, however, mean that one does not find student representatives at the national level in other countries. In Denmark the National Union of Students has had two representatives appointed by the Minister of Education on the Planning Council for Higher Education since 1965, and in Ireland the National Council for Educational Awards (NCEA) which awards certificates, diplomas and degrees in non-university institutions of higher education includes two students among its members. These students participate in all the Council's work and play a full role in the various Committees, Boards of Studies etc which the Council has established.

According to the replies to the questionnaire, it is apparent that student representatives, whether as full members or as observers, are mostly found at the university senate, council or assembly and at the department or faculty level.

At the first level they are found in all member countries which have replied, except Cyprus, Ireland and Turkey. At the second level student representatives are found in all countries except Belgium, Cyprus and Ireland. It should, however, be mentioned that the amendment of 1971 to the Belgian Law on "L'organisation de l'enseignement universitaire par l'Etat" provides for student participation at the faculty level, but the necessary royal decree has not yet been issued. Furthermore, Swedish students participate at the faculty level under a special arrangement. They are not represented on the real faculties proper but on the study committees or education commissions which are decision-making on behalf of the faculties in all questions concerning the contents and the organisation of both under-graduate and post-graduate education. In Austria and Denmark similar study committees are provided for but without the effect that students are excluded from membership of the faculty councils.

The character of student participation varies as mentioned above from full membership to a status where student representatives may be called upon to express their views when questions concerning student interests are on the agenda. The latter is the case at some Swiss institutions and in Turkey.

At the institute or sub-department level student participation is not provided for by law to the same extent. It is only the case in Denmark, in some "Lander" in the Federal Republic of Germany, at some Finnish institutions, in the Netherlands, in Norway and Sweden and at some Swiss institutions. This does not, however, mean that one would not find student representatives at this level elsewhere, where it would then be based upon internal regulations.

3.3 Subjects upon which students' representatives should be consulted

Only in a few countries are student and teacher representatives on a totally equal footing on the decision-making bodies. This is the case in Belgium (at the Senate level), in Denmark, and in the Netherlands. In all other countries one or more subjects belong to "the reserved area".

A typical "reserved area" subject is appointment and dismissal of teachers. In Austria, Cyprus, some "Lander" in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Finland, France, Malta, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the UK, the student representatives have no part in the decisions in these cases, at the most, they have an opportunity to express their views.

Examinations and assessments represent another reserved area, where student participation is not provided for in the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Malta, Norway and the UK, and in some countries the treatment of budgetary matters and research planning and priorities is also regarded as a teacher's prerogative.

It is evident that the areas in which student participation has been generally accepted are those in which students have an obvious interest such as curricula, teaching methods, timetables, discipline, material facilities, scholarships and grants. All these are areas in which the students are directly confronted with the university as an educational institution in their daily lives.

The reserved areas are, however, still an important objective of student desire for influence on the activities of the institutions of higher education. The reason for this is evident. Changes in curricula, teaching methods, study structures and the purpose and ideological background of the studies could be far more easily fulfilled if students also had an influence upon the appointment of those who are to teach them and to do the research, and upon the research which always has been the source of renewal in higher education.

On the other hand, professors and university authorities equally want to keep appointment and research policies as their prerogative in order to preserve a certain continuity in this vital field and to avoid frequent changes in the student opinion.

The importance of student participation in this field is underlined on a decision made by the German Federal Constitution Court in May 1973.

The case was brought before the court by 398 teachers from institutions of higher education in Lower Saxony because they found that the new act on the government of institutions of higher education (Vorstandsgesetz) deprived the professors and other teachers of the decisive influence upon the governments of their institutions.

The court stated that the teacher representatives in the decision-making bodies should be a homogeneous group, well defined in relation to the representatives of other groups and that they should dispose of at least half of the votes when educational matters are decided upon.

Furthermore the teacher representatives should dispose of the majority of votes when all decisions concerning research and appointment of teachers are taken, and an undifferentiated participation of the representatives of the non-scientific staff should be excluded.

Generally the court stated that it is justified to safeguard the freedom of research and teaching and that there are legal differences between the different groups represented in the decision-making bodies.

Similar cases have been brought before the court by teachers from Hamburg, Baden-Württemberg, Hesse and Northrhine-Westphalia.

3.4 Mode of election, powers etc

(The replies to the questionnaire show that the designation of student representatives takes place in many different ways, but nearly always according to a law or regulation. An exception to this is the UK where one finds a wide variety of practices for appointing the student members of the council and the senate, but a more or less uniform system of filling places on faculty committees. In most cases at least one or two of the student places on the governing bodies are filled by a student union officer ex officio, the remaining places being filled either by appointment by the student union council, or by election by the whole student body.

In Austria, Finland, Norway and to some extent in Sweden the student unions or associations appoint the student representatives. The organisational structure, the composition of the decision-making bodies, the methods of election and the procedures of appointing student representatives to the different bodies of the institutions of higher education are fixed in laws on student organisations in Austria and Finland, while similar provisions are found in Norwegian and Swedish university laws and royal decrees. In these countries membership of student unions or associations is compulsory.



The predominant method of election seems to be direct election by the whole student body within the institution or within the faculty or department, or a combination of direct election at the faculty level and indirect election from the faculty board to the senate or university council.

In no case is there found, however, a system of direct election of student representatives to a body at the national level,

Direct election of student representatives by the whole student body to the senate or university council takes place in Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, at some French universities, in the Netherlands and at some British universities.

Indirect election from the faculty or department boards to the senate or university council takes place at some German, at most French universities and at the Royal University of Malta.

Views on Electoral Systems

According to the replies to the questionnaire, the electoral systems - generally speaking - are regarded as satisfactory. This may reflect the present situation, but in some countries this was subject to serious disputes some years ago. These disputes took place especially in those countries where direct election was introduced in connection with the legislation providing for student participation in the decision-making bodies.

In Denmark, for instance, the student unions were strongly opposed to direct election by the whole student body within the institution for the senate, within the faculty for the faculty board and within the department or sub-department for the study committees. They argued that the student unions had hitherto been officially recognised in the statutes of the universities as the student organisations authorised to act as the spokesmen for the whole student body. Consequently they should also be authorised to appoint the student representatives to the decision-making bodies of the universities. Any other solution, they argued, adopting a trade union point of view, would be, an offence to the freedom of organisations.

The student unions furthermore argued that the outcome of direct elections would split the unity of the students as it was expressed by the student unions, and that such a split would reduce the influence of the student representatives in the decision-making bodies - at least as long as the students were not entitled to 50% of the seats in these bodies.

If direct elections could not be avoided, the student unions demanded that the manner of election should be the majority election system and not that of election by proportional representation, are latter being fit for the splitting of the student unity.

The legislature argued on the other hand that the decision-making bodies exercised a public function in their administration of regulations issued by the government and as donors of public funds. Seen from a legal administrative point of view, it could not be tolerated that responsible members of the decision-making body were appointed according to rules on which the legislature had no influence at all. It was pointed out that there was a fundamental difference between a student union officer representing students' points of view and a student representative holding a public office in a decision-making body.

This philosophy of legitimacy is also adopted by the countries in which the student unions or associations are entitled to appoint student representatives to the decision-making bodies as the articles of these unions or associations must be in accordance with a law or public regulation on this subject, cfr conditions in Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden mentioned above. A special form of official responsibility in Sweden is worthwhile mentioning here. This means, among other things, that persons active in the public sector who are guilty of an irregularity or neglect in their official duties, or of abusing of their authority, can be punished for such misconduct under special legislation. The sanctions, however, differ as between those holding an appointment and those who do not. Student representatives hold no post from which they can be suspended or dismissed, the punishment in their case is instead a fine or (in severe cases) imprisonment.



Besides the legal arguments, political points of view have also determined the attitude of the legislature. The legislature had the impression, based among other things upon the fact that only a minority of the whole student body voted at the elections of the student unions, that direct elections of student representatives with real influence in the decision-making bodies might call upon the interest of "The Silent Majority" of the student body, and create an alternative to the often militant and very left-wing oriented student unions. To secure a reasonable representation of the different opinions among the students, election by the method of proportional representation was therefore introduced in some countries.

According to the replies to the questionnaire, some criticisms have been made of the electoral systems. In Sweden the appointing of student representatives by the student unions has been questioned, and the electoral system is presently subject to examination by a special governmental commission. The method of indirect election of student representatives by the faculty of department boards to the senates or university councils is subject to criticism in France and in one of the German "Lander" - Sarre. The point is that this method tends to give rise to a student representation in the university council not reflecting the opinions of the whole student body.

In another of the German "Länder" - Hesse - the students have criticised the rule which provides that at least 50% of those students having the right to vote should actually make use of this right, should all the seats reserved for student representatives in the decision-making bodies be occupied. If the 50% are not reached, the number of seats is reduced proportionally.

This principle, which intends to increase the interest of the student body in the elections (and to activate "The Silent Majority") and to create a correlation between interest and influence, was originally introduced through the French "Loi du 12 novembre 1968 d'orientation de l'enseignement supérieur". The principle has, besides by Hesse, been adopted by other countries. The minimum percentages fixed in different countries are as follows: Cyprus: 66.6%, France: 60%, Hesse: 50%, the Netherlands: 35%, Turkey: 40%.

Student participation in the elections of representatives

Taking into consideration the publicity given to student unrest in the late sixties and the political disturbance caused by this unrest, it might be of interest to examine the extent to which students have shown interest in using the influence they thus obtained by electing or appointing their own representatives to the decision-making bodies of the institutions of higher education.

The percentages stated in the replies vary very much, cfr Appendix II where percentages from 20 to 95 are indicated. Although high percentages are stated, the general impression is that the participation of the students in the elections of their representations is significantly lower than the percentage of voters taking part in general elections for parliaments, county councils, town councils etc.

The question is, however, whether it is fair to expect a higher participation in the elections, at least at the present stage. Several reasons may be mentioned as explanation of the relatively low percentages.

To the ordinary student it is a new phenomenon to have the possibility to influence the management of his institution through representatives on the decision-making bodies. During his preceding education, the university student of the early seventies was not accustomed to participate in the administration of the institution in which he was trained. He was brought up to leave the decisions to his headmaster and his teachers, and he thus reasons, "I want to concentrate on my studies. I won't bother about making up my mind about for whom I am going to vote. Anyhow the results obtained by student representatives will not affect my situation before I have finished my studies".

On the other hand, some students may reason that the proportion of student representatives in the decision-making bodies is so small that the representatives will have no decisive influence and it is therefore not worthwhile taking part in the elections.



There is also the question of how the student body is composed, on which the percentage of active voters is calculated. This is a question of the effectiveness of the student registration system. It is well-known that not all university students are full-time students studying for a degree. Some students are enrolled only because they want to take one or two courses. Some enrol even if they have given up their studies, because the registration cased entitles them to take part in cheap student travels, to have theatre and concert tickets at reduced prices and to enjoy other discount arrangements. Others are part-time students studying and having a job at the same time. These types of students do not take the same interest - if any at all - in the work of the decision-making bodies as the full-time students, and they may form a part of the percentage of students not taking part in the elections.

Student-representatives or delegates

Only in one case, namely the University of Bremen in the Federal Republic of Germany, are "student delegates" accepted in the decision-making bodies, and in this case only can the student representatives' mandate be withdrawn by their electors between the elections.

One of the main demands proclaimed during the student unrest was that the student representatives should always be in accordance with the opinion of the majority of the student body. At "peoples meetings" open to all students, the representatives should seek information on the policy wanted by the students to be followed in the decision-making bodies and in the same forum the representatives should explain the attitudes taken by them in the bodies to the students.

If a representative did not agree with the student opinion expressed at such meetings, or if he had his attitudes in the body disavowed, he should resign and leave his seat to another student.

In addition to this idea of continued and close conformity between the policy of student representatives and the opinion of the majority of the student body, the student leaders argued for the principle of "rotation", ie that the students should be entitled to send varying representatives to the sessions of the different decision-making bodies to enable them always to have representatives with special knowledge about each item on the agenda of the body.

Apart from Bremen, these ideas have not been accepted by the legislature and the university authorities,

Seen from a legal administrative point of view, it was not acceptable to have responsible decision-making bodies with an ever changing group of members. In a given situation it might be impossible to find out who is responsible for one decision or another.

Seen from a university point of view, it would be intolerable if agreements and decisions made by a body could be set aside at the next session by new student representatives. It would be impossible to keep up a continuous administration and planning under such conditions.

The proportion of student representatives

During the student unrest, the students demanded 50% of the seats in the decision-making bodies - or even that the members of the bodies should be elected according to the principle "one man - one vote".

The philosophy behind the fifty-fifty share of the seats between the teacher and the student representatives was that the teachers and the students were two homogeneous groups with opposite interests. Results satisfying to both parties would not be obtained until general agreement was reached through a "palaver - démocracy", ie through intensive discussions and compromises.

This philosophy has been rejected by the legislature and the university authorities. The only example of a decision-making body where both teachers and students are represented on a fifty-fifty basis is the Danish study committees.

The rejection of the fifty-fifty principle has been motivated in different ways. One argument has been that the teachers in principle are employed at an institution of higher education for their lifetime, having a much closer connection with the institution than the students spending 4-6 years there. The teachers should therefore have the decisive influence upon the activities of the institution. Another argument was that the institutions of higher education have a double function as research and educational institutions, and that students could not be regarded as sufficiently qualified to have the same influence in research matters as the teachers.

Furthermore, a third group - the technical and administrative personnel - have entered the scene since the sixties and claimed their right to participate in the decision-making process. These groups of personnel have obtained representation on the decision-making bodies in Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, at some Finnish institutions, in the Netherlands, at some Norwegian institutions and in Sweden (at the institute level on an experimental basis). To place representatives for the technical and administrative personnel on the bodies has made it impossible to reserve 50% of the seats to the student representatives unless the teacher representation should become preposterously small.

The percentage of student representatives on the decision-making bodies varies, according to the replies on the questionnaire both from country to country and from level to level as well as - in some. countries - from institution to institution. These variations are illustrated in Appendix II, III and IV, which gives a survey of the situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and at seven out of seventeen Finnish institutions of higher education. In Belgium, where up till now final provision for student participation has only been made at the university council level, the students take 15% of the seats in this council and 10% of the seats in its permanent bureau. In Denmark, the students take 25% of the seats in the senate and in the faculty boards, up to 25% of the seats in the institute boards depending upon the extent of the contribution to the education rendered by the institute. In France, the percentage varies according to the percentage of students having used their right to vote, but the percentage of teacher representatives must never be smaller than that of the student representatives. In the Netherlands, at least . 1/6 of the seats of the university council is reserved to representatives from outside the university, while the rest of the seats are divided as follows: at least 1/3 to the scientific staff, no more than 1/3 to the students and no more than 1/3 to the non-scientific staff. The faculty council should consist of at least half of representatives of the scientific staff and no more than half of representatives of the students and the non-scientific staff together. In Sweden, the proportion of student representatives on the university councils varies from 2/5 to 1/6. Students are not represented on the faculties, but the study committees normally consist of teacher and student representatives in equal proportions plus a representative of the technical and administrative staff. At the University of Fribourg in Switzerland the student representatives take 4 out of the 24 seats in the senate, while there are no regulations providing for a fixed student representation on other bodies of the university.

Decisions requiring the affirmative vote of the student representatives

Only three countries have answered this item in the affirmative. In the Federal Republic of Germany, there are regulations with the provision that decisions concerning questions of the reform of study courses cannot be taken without the affirmative vote of at least one student representative. In Sweden decisions negative to any individual student cannot be taken in study committees without at least one student representative taking part. The fifty-fifty composition of the Danish study committees is that the teacher representatives cannot make any decisions without the support of at least one student representative and vice versa.

Student representatives' attainment to executive posts

In very few cases student representatives' attainment to executive posts are provided for. In Denmark a student representative may attain to the posts of vice-dean and chairman or vice-chairman of a study committee, and in practice he does so, especially of the study committees. A student vice-dean cannot, however, act as the dean's deputy in all cases. A dean is ex officio member of the senate, and in his absence a student vice-dean may take his seat, but he is not entitled to vote, as this would disturb the balance between the different groups represented in the senate.



At some French universities, a student representative may be elected vice-rector and this has taken place in practice. In <u>Sweden</u> a student representative theoretically and legally might be elected rector, if he possesses the necessary scientific and educational qualifications, but in practice this has never happened. "

Effects of student participation in decision-making bodies

Only in Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK is a student representative entitled to some sort of compensation if his academic work suffers through service on a decision-making body. The compensation takes different forms. One is an extension of his grant or scholarship equivalent to the period of his membership. Another is respite of the time for examinations. In a single case (Norway) a fee per session is paid as a compensation.

The work load of a student member of a decision-making body is of course very difficult to define on a European basis.

To some extent the work load may be measured by the frequency of the bodies' sessions. This frequency ranges according to the replies to the questionnaire from twice a month to every second month. But the work is, however, not only done during the sessions. Special items are for instance often dealt with in sub-committees between the plenary sessions, and some members often serve on inter-university or government committees. Moreover, student members who serve only for one year - apart from the Belgian student members who serve for two years - must invest comparatively more time reading documents and preparing themselves for plenary and sub-committee meetings not having the same routine, experience and broad knowledge of the field of the body as the senior members. The student-representatives have furthermore a far greater number of voters with whom to keep in contact than have the senior members.

Under these circumstances it seems fair for student representatives to be entitled to some sort of compensation for the period in which their service on a decision-making body has prevented them from studying.

3.5 . The results of student participation

The general impression of the replies to the questionnaire is that no-one is yet prepared to evaluate in detail the consequences of student participation for the institutions of higher education and their development.

Several member countries have refrained from commenting on this item and others have expressed themselves in very brief and general terms.

Finland finds it difficult to answer as students up till now have formed a proportionally very small part of the members of the decision-making bodies, but refers to the fact that it is the intention to strengthen the influence of students. The Netherlands also find an answer difficult because the present University Administration Reform Act of 1970 has only been in force in such a short time that experiences are few and because it is difficult to identify the influence of students when they have only formed a minority among 2 or 3 other groups of representatives. The Norwegian answer is very laconic. Norwegian experiences are good and nobody could imagine a system where the students are without influence. The UK confines itself to reporting that it has been possible to have all seats provided for occupied by student representatives.

Cyprus reports about positive experiences in connection with extra-curriculum activities and the social life of the students, while student representatives have rendered rather limited assistance in matters of curricula and teaching methods. The Federal Republic of Germany reports good results in general and especially mentions matters concerning the organisation of individual educational careers. Sweden's experiences are generally good with respect to educational matters, but more guarded concerning the administrative effectiveness of the corporate bodies on institute, level, which are inclined to spend too much time on administrative matters of a more routine character.

More detailed replies have been given by Denmark and France. According to the Danish reply, student participation has had a mostly positive effect upon decisions concerning educational matters. New curricula and teaching methods have been introduced and experiments with new tests and methods of examination have been launched. Student participation in the planning and budgeting process has also had a positive effect, as the student representatives have shown normally a more critical and open-minded attitude towards established rights and priorities than was expressed in the decision-making bodies before students became members. Student participation as a whole has been a challenge to the teacher representatives, as the students generally devote a great deal of their time to the work in the decision-making bodies and therefore normally meet very well prepared for the sessions.

This has, however, made the work in the governing bodies much more time-consuming. The teacher representatives find the work load connected with the membership of a governing body very heavy and much larger than the 10% of their total work load which, according to the official regulations, should be devoted to administrative work.

France reports that the students at the institutions of short-cycle post-secondary institutions (les instituts universitaires de technologie and les instituts nationaux polytechniques) take great interest in participating in the management of these institutions. The interest of the medical students is more modest, while the students at the faculties of humanities take very little interest, in student participation.

As far as the different types of decisions are concerned, student participation has led to satisfactory results in the field of student social welfare at the institutions. More varied opinions have been expressed on student participation on decisions concerning the organisation of studies, and the situation seems to be less satisfactory when one reaches important decisions on university policy in the field of selection of studies and research programmes relevant to the students.

Although it may be dangerous to draw any conclusions from such slender statements, the tendency seems to show that student participation seems to be regarded positively as far as student social welfare, extra-curriculum activities and educational matters are concerned.

The attitude towards student participation in desisions on research matters seems more reserved. This may partly be due to the fact that students are not regarded as qualified to deal with such items, and partly due to the political view advocated by some student representatives with regard to research.

A third observation to be made is the critical attitude towards the administrative effectiveness of the decision-making bodies expressed by some countries. The question is, however, whether the students especially are to blame in this connection. This minor effectiveness of the present decision-making bodies may be due to the way in which they are composed. The members nowadays represent different groups, and the bodies have become more like ordinary political assemblies than previously when they consisted of full professors as ex officio members.

4. General conclusions

If one compares the situation in 1968 with the situation in 1973, one must realise that a great change has taken place in the power structure of the institutions of higher education in most of the member countries — at least seen from a formal point of view. Whether this is also true when one comes down to realities could only be answered after thorough sociological studies of the procedures of decisions at the single institution.

It is, however, apparent that the goals of the student unrest in the late sixties have not been fully reached. The students have not obtained half of the seats in the decision-making bodies, and they have not reached the direct participation of the whole student body through the right to send varying delegates with mandates from general student meetings to the decision-making bodies.



On the other hand, students have obtained much more influence than anybody in the early sixties would have thought possible. Why is this so? The governments could have quelled the students' revolt but they didn't. They chose to try and canalise the power of unrest into an ordinary parliamentary system and to appearse the angry youth by means of repressive therance. This could not be explained only by the fact that students have always been privileged to take more liberties than citizens in general would do. There might have been a wish among politicians to set in motion the institutions of higher education in order to create an innovation of the studies which for years had been criticised by the student unions and by the outside world for being too inflexible and incongruous in a fast-developing society. Through the participation of the students and of the fast-growing group of assistant teachers, a process of innovation might be started from the inside of the institutions which had always enjoyed the right of academic freedom and self-government.

One could not, however, expect the politicians to support the rebellious students in their intention to use the institutions of higher education as an instrument in an attempt to alter fundamentally the established order of the society. Through the new laws and regulations they therefore tried to create a new order of balance in the decision-making bodies by setting up different groups of representatives, that of the full professors, the assistant teachers, the administrators and the technicians and that of the students, eventually divided into the graduate students, and the post-graduate students.

In addition to that, the legislature set up the rules according to which the representatives should be elected or appointed in order to ensure that the representatives of the different groups - acting as public officers - were properly chosen.

The present situation shows that the absolutism of the full professors has disappeared in most member countries and that the power structure is based upon a certain balance between different groups. This balance may, however, not always be the same. Many countries use a system of reserved areas, mostly appointment, and research matters, where the decision-making is reserved for the qualified representatives. On the other hand, it is possible to find examples where the influence of student representatives is greater in educational matters than in other cases.

The information given by the member countries on the percentages of student votes and the very scarce information on results achieved through student participation seems to indicate that the situation, generally speaking, is a transitional one: The students as a whole have not fully realised the influence they have obtained, and both teachers and students have not got really used to the new power structure. It is obvious that it is too early to examine in depth the effects of student participation upon the education and research activities of the institutions of higher education. What will the graduates be like in the years to come? How will they function in the society? How will the research activities be influenced by student participation? These questions cannot be answered sufficiently today.

Many of the most gifted leaders of 1968 have finished their studies and are now becoming employed at the universities. How will they act in their new role as teachers, and how will their relations be to the students of the late seventies? Students faced with other problems than those of the students in the sixties? Students faced with a period of reduced rates of growth, alternatives to the traditional types of post-secondary education?



APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

On

Student participation

National authorities are requested to answer those questions which are applicable to their educational system and relatively easy to answer. They are also requested to indicate whether any important changes are foreseen in the near future.

Legislation, etc

1. Is there a law or regulation (or a relevant clause within a more general law or regulation) in your country providing for undergraduate student participation, representation in the operation of institutions of tertiary education and research?

If yes:

- a. Date and title of the law or regulation? Which article(s) of a more general Higher Education Act?
- b. If possible, short summary of the relevant provisions (unless these are apparent from the answers to the questions appearing below)?
- c. Introduction of student participation as a definite measure or just on an experimental basis?

If no:

To what extent do internal regulations of institutions of tertiary education and research provide for student participation?

- 2. At what level is student participation provided for by law:
 - a. national (eg central planning or decision-making bodies)?
 - b. the university or similar institution (University Senate, Council or Assembly)?
 - c. . the Department or Faculty?
 - d. the Institute or Sub-Department?
- On what <u>subjects</u> must students' representatives be consulted (at the four levels mentioned under 2);
 - curricula?
 - teaching methods?
 - the timetable?
 - examinations/assessment?
 - appointments, dismissals?
 - the budget? in respect of (2) receipts, (b) expenditure?



- discipline?
- material facilities (libraries, laboratories; accommodation; recreational facilities)?
- scholarships and grants?
- research (planning priorities)?
- "external relations" (relations between an institution of higher education and the central authority, or with analogous institutions inside or outside the country)?
- other?
- 4. On what major subjects of decision need students' representatives not be consulted?

Mode of election; powers, etc

- 5. How are students' representatives elected (or appointed) at the four levels mentioned under 2:
 - a. direct election by the whole student body?
 - b. direct election within the Faculty or Department?
 - c. indirect election or appointment (through students' associations or unions)?
 - d. . 40ther procedures?
- 6. Is the electoral system regarded as, broadly speaking, satisfactory? What criticisms have been made?
- 7. If the election valid only if a certain minimum percentage of those having the right to vote actually make use of this right? What is this minimum percentage?
- 8. Is there any information on the percentage of students voting in any recent year?
- 9. Are those elected regarded as "representatives" or as "delegates" (ie having an imperative mandate from their electorate)? Can their mandates be withdrawn by their electors (between elections)?
- 10. What is the proportion of students' "representatives" in decision-making bodies, as compared with the representatives of other categories (full professors, junior and intermediary staff, administrative staff, etc)?
- 11. Are there decisions which cannot be taken without the affirmative vote of the students' representatives?
- 12. Can a students' representative theoretically attain to an "executive" post (President or Rector of the University; Dean; Head of a Department)? Are there cases where in practice he has done so?

Effects of participation in decision-making bodies

- 13. How often do these bodies meet (on the average)?
- 14. How long does a students' representative serve on them (on the average)?
- 15. If a student's academic work suffers through service on a decision-making body, is he entitled to "compensation" (eg through extension of his grant or scholarship, exceptional authorisation to sit for an examination a second time, etc)?

Results achieved

16. In what fields (subject matters; type of decision) is it considered that student participation has given good results? In what fields negative or negligible results?

Other observations



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representatives in the administrative bodies of some Finnish institutions of higher education The number, rhode of election and length of mandatory period of student

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	of Jyväskylä	of Tampele	University of Turku	College of Kuopio,	College of Joensuu	Tampere Univ.	Lappeenranta Univ.	institutions . of higher
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or the like	Student membe	Student members chosen in elections	ions.			J		

(1) Administrative bodies at the College of Kuopio, the Gollege of Joensuu, the Tampere University of Technology and the Lappeenrantu University of Technology are temporary.

(2) The total mimber of members as well as of students may vary being dependent on the mimber of lower administrative units and the number of professors' chairs.

(3) The College of Education in Pictorial Art and Industrial Design was opened on 1 July 1973. Students have representation in its administrative organ. NOTE

(4) Students have the right to attend the meetings of administrative organs of the other institutions of higher education (10) but they cannot take part in decision-making.

APPENDIX III

The percentage of students voting in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1972-73

At the universities in Baden-Württemberg

25% - 30%

At the universities in Bavaria

49,8% - 70%

At the universities in Berlin

as a rule less than 50%

At the University of Bremen in 1972

for the body at central university level 73.6%

for the bodies at department level 80, 9%

for the bodies at sub-department level 82%

At the University of Hamburg in 1972

for the body at central university level 53.6%

for the bodies at department and sub-department level 45,6%

At the universities in Hesse in 1972-73

for the bodies at central university level 35.6% - 63.9%

for the bodies at department level 34% - 72.6%

At the universities in Lower Saxony in 1972

25.5% - 64.2%

At the universities in Northrhine-Westphalia

35% - 45%

At one of the universities in Rhineland-Palatinate in 1972-73

for the bodies at department level 39.5% - 81.8%

APPENDIX IV

The proportion of students' representatives in decision-making bodies of German universities

At the universities in Baden-Württemberg

20% - 25%

At the universities in Bavaria

up to 25%

At the universities in Berlin

in the decision-making bodies at central university level about 25%

at department level 7:4:3:1

At the university in Bremen

1/3

At the university in Hamburg

in decision-making bodies at central university level 4 out of 23 (Akademischer Senat)

40 out of 130 (Konzil)

at department level a maximum of 6 out of 32

at institute level as many as the representatives of full professors and abteilungsleiter

· At the universities in Hesse

in decision-making bodies at university level 30 out of 90

at department level 5:1:3:1

At the universities in Northrhine-Westphalia

4:2:2:2

At the universities in Rhineland-Palatinate

in decision-making bodies at university level 32 out of 104 (Versammlung)
16 out of 59 (Senat)

at department level 6 out of 23.

APPENDIX V

Extract from the report of the 30th session of the Committee for Higher Education and Research

The Committee for Higher Education and Research held a debate on student participation on the basis of the report prepared by Mr Goldschmidt at its 30th session - Strasbourg (26 to 28 October 1974). The committee thanked Mr Goldschmidt for his work and welcomed the report as most helpful.

During the debate the following comments were made:

- It seems that in most countries enough experience has now been made with student participation so that definite solutions can now be adopted.
- It is unlikely that there will be student participation to a much larger extent than granted at present (apart from countries like Greece where there has been no student participation so far). When granting student participation the authorities will probably be more careful than in the past in defining the areas in which participation can be useful.
- At present student participation is no longer a question how to channel student unrest but rather how to come to a most reasonable management of institutions of tertiary education.
- It seems that the intermediary staff (junior and senior lecturers) have had most benefit from the concept of participation introduced in 1968, perhaps even more than the students.
- Student participation means that students are supposed to take part in decisions and share responsibility, but very often they are simply not in a position to assume such responsibility, because their period of service is too short and they are not affected by the results of their decisions.

As regards curriculum reform, it always takes 2 or 3 years until certain decisions are put into practice. This means that another student generation will be affected, not the one having pushed through a certain change. Each student generation has their own ideas and proposals about curriculum reform. Any long-term planning of curriculum reform becomes impossible, if the students have too great a say in these matters.

- One cannot say that the principle of university democratisation should enjoy priority over the principle of efficiency in university administration.
- Democratisation of higher education must not result in exempting higher education from the decisions made by the democratic institutions of society as a whole.
- Student participation cannot be based upon a concept whereby the students would be looked upon as workers and their teachers as employers; otherwise there would be a danger that student participation results in lowering examination standards and the level of teaching and research as well as in new staff being nominated merely on political grounds:
- The socio-political aspects of student participation must, however, be taken into account. Student participation must be seen in a general political context: all possibilities of participation in society should be based on an overall political concept, namely that there must be legitimation for each claim of participation.

- It might not be bad if participation leads to coalitions cutting through all groups: teachers, students, technical staff, etc, unless these coalitions follow exactly the pattern of existing political parties.

Comments made with regard to the situation in individual countries:

Austria

The particular experience of the Commercial University of Vienna shows that students generally are well prepared, when they take part in debates of university bodies. On the other hand they are often not quite capable of dealing with certain technical problems to be decided upon by such bodies. Often they do not clearly see the situation, and it needs endless meetings until all the basic facts have been brought to their attention. Much also depends on the character of the individual student representative. Some of them are very obstinate, because they only try to be re-elected or to have all decisions taken based on a particular, narrow-minded political view of things.

Finland

In the meantime the students have been given one third of the votes in the university bodies on an experimental basis. The temporarily direct appointment of the whole university administration by the government only concerns those private universities which have been taken over by the state.

Federal Republic of Germany

- There is a strong trend towards dissolution of the present groups (senior teachers, junior teachers, students, etc) in favour of merely political groupings following the pattern of political parties. In one of the German universities, any proposals for decision are discussed by the political parties in the Municipal Parliament of the town in question, before they are brought to a vote in the university bodies. This means the end of the university as a corporation of different groups settling a great deal of their own affairs.
- In general student participation does not lead to a patt situation except for certain social
- affairs (eg student hostels) where the students have 50 per cent of all the votes and tend to block any decision on reasonable prices and rents so that the Minister has to fix them by way of decree.

Norway

Experience with student participation has been very good but the particular context must be borne in mind, namely the conditions of student participation in Norway. They may be summed up as follows:

- The teaching and research staff must have more than 50 per cent of all the votes, and the students not more than 20-25 per cent.
- The election rules should be general and laid down by the central authority.
- The election system should be a proportional one.
- A certain percentage of the students (at least 30 per cent) must take part in the election, if they are allowed to fill all the seats reserved for them.
- The student body has no right to withdraw their representatives during their term of office.
 - The students may take part in all decisions except in decisions on nomination of teachers and on the award of degrees.

Sweden

Unlike stated in document CCC/ESR (74) 31, in the meantime their experience with student participation has not only been positive as regards educational matters but also as regards administrative I matters.

Switzerland

Things are now in full development. Two cantons have a relatively restricted degree of student participation, others are experimenting with laws where the amount of student participation is not yet clearly defined. The students seem to be less and less interested in participation, and it is difficult to make them participate in the elections.