



Intersecting Power Fields Steeped in Tradition: The Radical Left and Administrating Higher Education in Finland during the 1970s

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Abstract • The student activism of the 1970s was strongly linked to the university administrative reforms in Finland. Especially after the radical faction of Finnish leftist students turned to pro-Soviet orthodox communism, the debunking of the professoriate’s “bourgeois power” became one of the main goals of the vocal student movement. In this article, I analyse how the old professoriate was challenged and how they responded to this challenge. The conclusion drawn by this article is that Finnish university professors managed to resist the radical reforms and the pressure from the radical student movement in 1970s because their elite positions were not derived exclusively from one field, academia; rather, they also participated in other sets of elite practices, namely politics. Moreover, the close relationship between the state and academia was also manifested in the activities of students, who were historically also part of the Finnish elite. The starting point of this article is a case study of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki

Keywords • educational reform, higher education, elite studies, student movement, Finland

Introduction

[T]he university field is, like any other field, the locus of a struggle to determine the conditions and the criteria of legitimate membership and legitimate hierarchy, that is, to determine which properties are pertinent, effective and liable to function as capital so as to generate the specific profits guaranteed by the field.

Pierre Bourdieu: *Homo Academicus*¹

During the 1960s and 1970s, universities faced many profound changes throughout the Western world. The system of higher education was reformed, and the number of universities expanded. The consequences of the arrival of the post-war baby boomers at these universities were drastic and multidimensional. The turning point was, of course, 1968. “The year that rocked the world,”² signified global political and cultural turmoil. “The year of the barricades”³ was characterized, in particular, by the collision of traditions and institutions. Bourgeois hegemony, a fashionable term in 1968, was challenged, and one of the main areas of social unrest was the international student revolt.

In most countries, and most specifically on the main battlefields in France and the United States, the clash was much more than just a dispute over studying, teaching, science or administrating higher education. As is well known, it was also to a large

1 Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*. Translated by Peter Collier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 11.

2 Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004).

3 David Caute, *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988).

extent a conflict between the faction of baby boomers and their parents' generation.⁴

In terms of universities, Finnish student activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s was linked to the university administrative reform.⁵ It formed the context for the battle over the authority of professors. Moreover, the student movement behind this battle was strongly politicized. Especially after the radical faction of Finnish leftist students turned to pro-Soviet orthodox communism at the turn of the 1970s, the debunking of the professoriate's bourgeois power became one of the main goals of the vocal student movement.

In this article, I investigate how intersecting societal power fields of the elite—professors, students, politicians—took part in reforming the university administration during the 1970s. I concentrate on the questioning of the hegemony of the old university elite in the university administrative reform of the 1970s.⁶ The diatribe against the professoriate came not only from the radical student movement but also from politicians. Secondly, I ask how the ideological and political activism of the internationally influenced movement had an impact on the reform. I show how national peculiarities moulded by history, traditions and organizational procedures and practices can shape the major university reforms that were common in higher education worldwide in the 1970s. The article focuses on the question of how the elite tradition of a nation affects student activism. This also makes the Finnish case interesting in the context of global student activism.

I begin by defining what I mean by the elite fields in my approach. Then, I describe the historical legacy of the Finnish student movement. This is important for understanding the peculiarities of the Finnish development against the global development. After that, I analyse the interaction of the different power fields in society during the major Finnish university reform of the period. The starting point of this article is a case study of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki. The students of sociology at the faculty, in particular, were the main ideological bellwethers in the Finnish radical left movement of the seventies.

4 The number of studies conducted on the student revolt of 1968 and its aftermath is enormous, especially concerning the American development. They began already in the 1970s, and late student radicals wrote a noteworthy proportion of them. On the global movements, see, e.g., Carole Fink, Philip Gassert, and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 1998); Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). On the European movements, see, e.g., Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *1968 in Europe – A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); On the communist ideologies in the American radical movement, see, e.g., Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (New York: Verso, 2006).

5 In addition, the degree reform also divided universities. On the degree reform, see Marja Jalava, *The University in the Making of the Welfare State* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012).

6 Professor of Political Science Ilkka Heiskanen (1935–2019) used the term “civil war” to describe the juxtaposition between students and professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences in the 1970s. Ilkka Heiskanen, “Epilogi: Yhteiskuntatieteet, käytännön yhteiskuntateoria ja maamme älyllinen ilmastoto,” 297–335, in *Valtio ja yhteiskunta: Tutkielma suomalaisen valtiollisen ajattelun ja valtio-opin historiasta*, ed. Jaakko Nousiainen and Dag Anckar (Helsinki: WSOY, 1983), 323–28.

University elite(s) between the fields

Elites were not a popular subject of research during the latter part of the 20th century. Earlier, however, social scientists were interested—often in terms of class theories—in scrutinizing the high and the mighty during the modern history of industrializing nations. There are many reasons for the lessening interest in elite studies after WWII, such as the changing interdependencies between upper and lower class groups evoked by shifts in the relations between capital and labour and the overall diminishing of economic inequalities in Western countries. Indeed, elite studies have often focused on economics. This has also been the case with the new rise of elite research in the 2000s, a case in point being Thomas Piketty’s influential study on wealth and income inequality since the 18th century.⁷ Also, new trends, such as the rise of the “history from below” approach in academic history research decreased interest in elites at the end of the 20th century.

One reason for the growing interest in economic elites is globalization, in which the dependency of national economic elites on the working classes and their organizations has weakened.⁸ Nonetheless, with respect to the “academic elite,” globalization has diminished rather than increased the power and influence of university professors since the last part of the 20th century. In terms of political or governmental power, external factors such as managerialism and the new ways of measurement and comparison in universities have, step by step, undermined these institutions’, and hence professors’, power of autonomy during the marketization of higher education.⁹ On the other hand, the significance of cultural, political and knowledge capital among elites has increased interest in elite studies among sociologists in the 21st century.¹⁰

The roots of the renaissance in elite studies can be traced back to 1968. The New Left, the counterculture and various forms of baby boomer movements revolted against the “establishment,” which often meant professorial power. Overall, issues of power and power structures were fuelled by critical thinking, more specifically by Marxism.¹¹

In the late 20th century, one of the most influential scholars to focus on university elites was undoubtedly the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.¹² This article explores, in particular, Bourdieu’s idea of elite positions in “fields,” which consist of sets of practices. In these practices, an elite is aware of and abides by the common rules and norms of a particular field. According to Bourdieu, “a field is a field of force within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or

7 Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

8 Johan Heilbron, Felix Bühlmann, Johs. Hjellbrekke, Olav Korsnes and Mike Savage, “Introduction,” 1–27, in *New Directions in Elite Studies*, ed. Olav Korsnes, Johan Heilbron, Johs. Hjellbrekke, Felix Bühlmann, Mike Savage (London: Routledge, 2017), 1–2.

9 See, e.g., Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Stefan Collini, *Speaking of Universities* (London & New York: Verso, 2017).

10 See, e.g., Shamus Rahman Kahn, “The Sociology of Elites,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (2012), 361–77.

11 Heilbron et al. (2017), 5.

12 Bourdieu (1990); Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996a).

transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field.”¹³ In the academic world, this means that professors, among other things, have a certain cultural legitimacy through their position as agents of expertise.

What makes the Finnish case interesting in terms of elite studies is that university professors were able to move to other fields as well—not only to business but, as was still the case in the 1970s, particularly to politics. Moreover, the long and strong relationship between intellectual labour and the Finnish state also left its mark on the struggles between professors and students during the era.¹⁴ In this relationship, Finnish academia traditionally included students as well, meaning they played an exceptional role in the Finnish public sphere.

As for Bourdieu, the present article uses the idea of elite fields as a research tool. The starting point is the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki. The empirical research data consist of the minutes of the Faculty Council (then simply the “Faculty”) from 1969 to 1978 and the volumes of the student paper *Tutkain!* at the turn of the 1970s.¹⁵ The article also uses two interviews with one student leader. The semi-structured interviews were conducted for a student association history project in the mid-1990s.¹⁶

Accordingly, I use “historical method,” meaning assembling information critically and heuristically by the close and cross reading of different data and exposing a synthesis.¹⁷ In this article, it means utilizing archival material, magazine articles, interviews, memoirs and secondary sources in reference to the research literature in a case-based study in order to look at the Finnish university elite from many angles and to understand the interconnectedness of the elements comprising it.¹⁸

Historical background: The intellectual historical legacy of the 1970s Finnish left-wing radicalism

In November 1968, the Student Union of the University of Helsinki (*Helsingin yliopiston ylioppilaskunta*, HYY) celebrated its 100th anniversary. The jubilee, with full academic splendour and the presence of the cultural and political establishment and honoured guests, including the then President of Finland, Urho Kekkonen (1900–1986), was supposed to be held in the Old Student House. However, a group of students who had not been invited to the formal celebration with tailcoats and evening gowns decided to occupy the building, and the event had to be moved to another

13 Bourdieu (1990), 36–37; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996b); Pierre Bourdieu, “The Political field, the Social Science field, and the Journalistic Field,” 27–47, in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, ed. Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), 30 (citation).

14 See Jukka Kortti, “Intellectuals and the State: The Finnish University Intelligentsia and the German Idealist Tradition,” *Modern Intellectual History* 11, no. 2 (2014), 359–84.

15 The amount of archival material during the period is approximately 4300 pages, which have all been thoroughly scrutinized. The minutes of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Helsinki is stored in the University’s Archives and Registry, Arkki, University of Helsinki and the volumes of *Tutkain!* in Helsinki University Library.

16 The interviews were conducted by John Lagerbohm. The history of the student association Kannunvalajat has not, however, been published yet.

17 E.g., J. Laurence Hare, Jack Wells, and Bruce E. Baker, *Essential Skills for Historians: A Practical Guide to Researching the Past* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 105–40.

18 Gary Thomas and Kevin Myers, *The Anatomy of the Case Study*. (London: Sage, 2017), 11.

location. This “spontaneous” occupation—it had actually been prepared for months and the same kind of occupation had occurred in Stockholm earlier the same year in May—which was soon to become a mythical occurrence, became a major event for the Finnish student movement of the era, yet the students of the radical left of the coming seventies played a minor role in the proceedings. However, the occupation of the Old Student House was a turning point in forming the Finnish New Left.¹⁹

While the target of this action was basically themselves, the Student Union, it was very much aimed at an old elite. Although owned by students themselves, the Student Union, as an institution, represented the same elite as university professors, the old elite. According to the new radical student movement, and also the front-rank Finnish politicians of the day, these professors were representatives of an ancient world that failed to meet the demands of the democratic and egalitarian society with which the new student generation identified. What makes this formative event in Finnish radicalism interesting in a wider international context is that the battle began within a university subfield, the Student Union.

The Student Union of the University of Helsinki is an old and exceptionally strong institution both in terms of academic life and especially wealth (the Student Union owns substantial properties in the heart of Helsinki, which makes it one of the richest student unions in the entire world). Because it is basically students who decide how the Union uses the profits from its business operations and because the Union is such an important cultural institution, it has always functioned as a kind of elite school, preparing its members for the top positions in Finnish Society. That is why students are regarded as one elite field in this article (see Figure).

The Student Union provided students with direct access to the very heart of the University’s power fields. Not only did the Student Union enjoy economic capital within those fields, providing facilities (premises, restaurants, etc.) to the University, but students also possessed significant cultural capital in both the university and wider societal power fields.

For instance, students occupied a central position in creating the idea of the Finnish nation, “the national mind,” in the 19th century.²⁰ Another example of the significance of students in Finnish history is *Ylioppilaslehti* (“Student Magazine”), established in 1913 by student nations (*osakunnat*, regional associations of students at the University of Helsinki), which has been a major cultural and political institution throughout the history of independent Finland. Its editors have included most of the major figures in the Finnish political (such as Urho Kekkonen) and cultural intelligentsia of the 20th century.²¹

Because students have held this kind of cultural and symbolic capital in the national sphere, major Finnish elite associations have often invited students onto their

19 About 1968 in Finland, see, e.g., Laura Kolbe, “From Memory to History: Year 1968 in Finland,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33, no. 4 (2008), 366–81; Olli Kleemola, “The Visual Narrative of Student Radicalism in Finland: The 1968 occupation of the Old Student House in the Finnish media,” *Media History* 27, no. 1 (2021), 86–105.

20 Matti Klinge, *Kansallismielen synty. Suomen ylioppilaiden aatteet ja järjestäytyminen ilmentämässä yleisen mielipiteen ja kansalaistietoisuuden kehittymistä v. 1853–1871* (Helsinki 1967).

21 Jukka Kortti, “Generations and Media History,” 69–93, in *Broadband Society and Generational Changes Series: Participation in Broadband Society* – Volume 5, ed. Leopoldina Fortunati and Fausto Colombo (New York: Peter Lang, 2011).

boards. For instance, the Paasikivi Society (*Paasikivi-Seura*), founded in 1958 with the aim of strengthening and stabilizing Finland’s official foreign policy among the nation at large during the Cold War, included several student leaders at its inaugural meeting.²² From its inception, the Paasikivi Society represented a central forum for discussing foreign politics and international issues in Finland, including, as it did, the presidents of the Republic, leading politicians, government officials, academics and other members of the national elite in its gatherings.

Hence, in terms of elite studies, belonging to the student elite meant that the step to other elite fields was relatively small. Moreover, this concerned not only universities but also cultural and political life in Finland. In other words, students at the University of Helsinki were traditionally in close interaction with the professoriate and other power elites. Or, to express this idea in Bourdieu’s vocabulary, the student elite were “linked by relations, constitutive of the structure of the field, that contribute to determining their efficacy and their value in such a way that, within the field they *contribute* to defining, they are able to produce effects different from the ones they would produce in another field.”²³ However, it should be noted that rather than approaching students and their associations as “fields of power,” Bourdieu mostly treats students as the targets of power production, as children of societal classes, as a growing mass or as the agents of change.²⁴ This different approach is obviously due to the different university and intellectual traditions between France and Finland—or, more precisely, to the unique Finnish intellectual tradition.

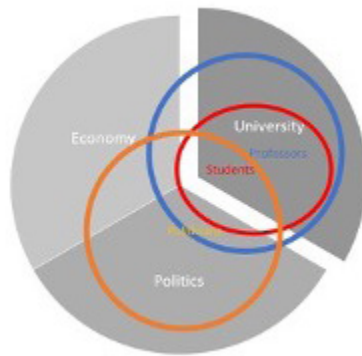


Figure 1: The elite fields during Finnish university reforms in the 1970s

In terms of intellectual history, another Finnish peculiarity compared to many Western European countries, including other Nordic countries, was the near absence of a Marxist tradition. This was because after the Reds lost the Finnish Civil War in 1918,

²² The driving force behind the Paasikivi Society was Professor of Political Science Jan-Mangus Jansson from the Faculty of Social Sciences. The student representatives at the inaugural meeting included many student leaders of the current and previous generation, who later became university professors, high-ranking officials and public intellectuals.

²³ Bourdieu (1996a), 264.

²⁴ See, e.g., Bourdieu (1990), 159–93.

leftist intellectuals, for the most part, escaped to Soviet Russia. The Communist Party of Finland was also banned in the early 1930s as a result of the rising influence of right-wing nationalism in Finnish political life. Therefore, when the post-positivist and neo-Marxist movement of the 1960s began to transform the social sciences, as in many Western countries, there was almost no leftist intellectual tradition in Finland to refer to. Consequently, the actions by the Marxist-Leninist student movement were unprecedented, which obviously accentuated the shock felt by the elite.

The student elite: The Finnish New Left joins the party and plays the Moscow card

Until 1968, the Finnish New Left of the 1960s had been a more central-leftist, social-democracy-led radical movement. Overall, what distinguishes Finnish and Scandinavian student movements from the larger European movements of the era is the strong social democratic consensus in society and hence the avoidance of conflicts among students as well.²⁵ The Finnish New Left of the sixties was characterized by its demands for social and universal reforms, such as disarmament, helping disadvantaged alcoholics and promoting sexual and social equality.

After 1968, the Finnish New Left nonetheless became more ideologically extreme as were its peers in many Western countries. However, the central figure for the movement was not Trotsky or Mao, as in most other radical movements in the West at that time, but Lenin.²⁶

One of the central venues for the formation of the Finnish radical leftist student movement was the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki. Similar to other social movements, significant tools for creating the worldview of intellectuals were periodicals and magazines. In Finland, the student newspapers exerted a disproportionate influence within the Finnish public sphere because they were read in wider areas—or fields—than just student circles.

The editorial group of the student paper *Tutkain!* gathered at the office of the Faculty's student society, *Kannunvalajat* (speculators) in early 1969, soon after the occupation of the Old Student House. The student paper was one of the major forums in the forthcoming highly ideological battles at the Faculty and in the Finnish university sector in general. The group had just been elected at the general meeting of the student society. The general meeting was also the first time that one of the student leaders who addressed the meeting had called for the movement to follow the political stances of the Finnish Communist Party SKP (*Suomen Kommunistinen Puolue*) and, first of all, to approve of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet-led Eastern Bloc armies.²⁷ Two years later, this policy was officially adopted at a meeting of the national Socialist Student League SOL (*Sosialistinen Opiskelijaliitto*). The meeting of the *Kannunvalajat* student society in early 1969 was a turning point in the radical left's transformation into what would become a pro-Soviet communist movement in the 1970s.

Thus, the so-called *Taistoism* was born. The name, which was given to the move-

25 Kolbe (2008); Thomas Ekman Jørgensen, "The Scandinavian 1968 in a European Perspective," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33, no. 4 (2008), 326–38.

26 Of course, Finland was not the only country where Lenin was adopted by radical-left activists. Even in the US, the 1968 radicals established the Leninist Party (Elbaum [2006], 55–58).

27 Juhani Ruotsalo, Interview by John Lagerbohm, June 19, 1995. Personal collection.

ment by journalists a few years later, came from the Finnish communist leader Taisto Sinisalo (1926–2002), a controversial figure in the Finnish Communist Party, SKP. Unlike Sinisalo, the party had denounced the invasion of Czechoslovakia, for instance. Although the Taistoists never enjoyed majority support—not even within the SKP, which was dominated by a more Euro-communist faction—they were influential in the Finnish public sphere due to their small but vocal representation among the cultural and academic elite. Above all, they possessed a powerful ally, the Soviet Union.²⁸

In contrast to other Western extreme left-wing movements of the time, the Taistoists were members of an established political party, The Communist Party of Finland, SKP from the very beginning. As such, the idea of “the party” was central to both Lenin’s theoretical thinking and action. Moreover, the role of the Bolshevik Party in the Russian Revolution was seen as an analogy to the post-1968 situation among certain factions of the revolutionary movement worldwide.²⁹ However, instead of establishing a new Finnish Leninist Party, the young Finnish radical left decided to join the SKP, which had been founded in 1918 in Russia by Finnish exiles after the Civil War. The party had been outlawed until 1944. In other words, the radical revolutionary movement operated as an official political subfield from the very start. This peculiarity is also a result of the history of Finland.

While Finland had been brutally divided after the bloody Civil War of 1918, the country nonetheless continued as a parliamentary democracy, which also included the losing side in the war, the Social Democrats. In fact, the SDP won almost 40 per cent of the seats in 1919 in the first parliamentary election after the war. The country also remained a democracy during the rise of right-wing nationalism in the early 1930s and after the so-called post-war “Years of Danger,” when communists gained momentum.³⁰

Since then, even the communists had predominantly restricted their actions to the realms of parliamentary party politics and participated in civil society as part of the state apparatus. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, the parent organization of the SKP, the Finnish People’s Democratic League, SKDL (*Suomen Kansan Demokraattinen Liitto*) had participated in several Finnish governments, and the Taistoists also followed the tradition of the Finnish communist movement in this sense.

Finland has historically been a country of associations and movements. When Finnish civil society was formed in the 19th century, the Association of Popular Enlightenment (*Kansanvalistusseura*), the Fennoman movement (promoting Finnish language and Finnic culture), and the temperance movement, labour movement and women’s movement played an even more important role than political parties in de-

28 Concerning the first years of the movement, see, e.g., Kimmo Rentola, “Keväällä 1968,” in *60-luku. Seminaarien aineistot 20.3.93 ja 17.4.93 pidetyistä seminaareista Kirjan talolla Helsingissä* (Helsinki: KSL, 1994); Kimmo Rentola, “Kevään 1968 isänmaan toivot,” in *Työväen verkostot*, ed. Sakari Saari and Kari Teräs (Tampere: Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura).

29 Elbaum (2006), 55–57.

30 “The Years of Danger” refers to political historian Lauri Hyvämäki’s book (*Vaaran vuodet 1944–48*) published in 1954. It was feared that, through either Soviet occupation or communist revolution, the Soviet Union might turn Finland into a communist Soviet satellite, as had happened namely in Czechoslovakia in the late 1940s. However, this mythical and controversial—especially among historians—concept was part of the wider anti-communist movement in the post-war western world. On the other hand, the late 1940s was also a period of strong political organization and unionization in Finnish society.

fining what Finland would become. Indeed, the modern Finnish party system was not formed until the turn of the 20th century.

This tradition of participating in civil society through formal societies and associations has characterized the actions of Finnish radicalism as well. Hence, a favoured strategy among Finnish radical movements has been to infiltrate organizations. This also—or indeed particularly—includes student movements. For instance, the nationalistic right-wing student movement the Academic Karelian Society (*Akateeminen Karjala-Seura*) took over the Association of Finnish Culture and Identity (*Suomalaisuuden liitto*) in 1927 in their campaign to Fennicize the University of Helsinki during the interwar period.³¹

For the radical leftist students of the 1970s at the University of Helsinki, this first meant capturing the Academic Socialist Association ASS (*Akateeminen Sosialistiseura*). Social Democratic students were forced to leave the association when the Leninists began to reshape the ASS into a Marxist “paramilitary organization.” The ASS was the largest sub-organ of the national Socialist Student League, SOL.

The party politicization of the extreme left student movement lifted the university reforms to the level of national politics and the national public sphere, which is why the operative realm of the 1970s radical student elite extended to the field of national politics.

Although the Taistoists lost practically all their campaigns, they enjoyed wide influence in the Finnish public sphere during the 1970s—often by playing the “Moscow card.” The relationship with the Soviets was crucial in all areas of Finnish society during the era. In international relations during the Cold War, the process by which a small independent country was forced to abide by the politics of a bigger more powerful country had begun to be called *Finlandization*.³² Finland’s geopolitical position was etched on the activities of the student movement. One of the weapons most used by students against the university authorities was accusing them of anti-Sovietism—whether it concerned the teaching or the required reading for the courses. As the student leader of the time, Juhani Ruotsalo, put it, “it’s impossible to understand our actions if you don’t understand that we identified ourselves as a part of the global system led by the Soviet Union. To put it simply and bluntly, we were doing the revolution under the baton of the Soviet Union.” One part of this was the promotion of Soviet and socialist science.³³

During the 1970s, the most infamous example of the Taistoists using “the Moscow card” in the university power field was the case of blacklisting the content of courses at the Faculty of Social Sciences. In the 1970s, conflicts between professors and students were often linked to the degree requirements, especially to the required reading. For instance, the department councils requested course synopses from teach-

31 Jukka Kortti, “Ylioppilaslehti and the University’s Language Struggle in the 1920s and 1930s,” *Kasvatus ja aika* 3, no. 4 (2009), 7–73.

32 On the position of Finland and the concept of Finlandization during the Cold War, see, e.g., Norbert Götz, “Finlandization,” in *Encyclopedia of the Cold War: A Political, Social, and Military history*, Vol. 2, ed. Spencer C. Tucker (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO cop., 2008); Jussi M. Hanhimäki, *Scandinavia and the United States: An Insecure Friendship* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), 150–52; Esko Salminen, *The Silenced Media: The Propaganda War between Russia and the West in Northern Europe*, translated by Jyri Kokkonen (New York: St. Martin’s, 1999).

33 Juhani Ruotsalo, Interview by John Lagerbohm, January 24, 1996, personal collection.

ers for review and occasionally even asked teachers to present the content of their courses beforehand. By 1972, the ASS had mostly occupied the course and department councils, which critically appraised course content. Usually, adjunct professors (docents) declined these requests, and the student activists labelled them anti-democratic and reactionary individuals. At first, the department council system compensated for the unrealized principle of one-man-one-vote (more about the principle later), but dissatisfaction re-emerged later in the 1970s.³⁴

Not only the political agenda, to increase Marxist course content in the curriculum, but also students' efforts to occupy the professors' field of expertise in teaching drove the professoriate to seek tactics that, while effective, were not overly conspicuous. Thus, the establishment of such committees was a shrewd strategy by the Dean and the Faculty administration. The professor elite was thus able to mitigate the actions of students by using the bureaucratic power of its field and thereby occupy a hegemonic position in the battle.

"The Moscow card" was played regularly in conflicts between students and professors during the 1970s. Nevertheless, the first clash of the decade where questions of university and political power fields played a central role in higher education was the so called one-man-one-vote battle—the principle that students should enjoy equal representation in university administration voting—at the turn of the 1970s. In that case, students already possessed significant power capital in the field of national politics.

The professoriate and political elite: Reforming the university within rivaling power fields

It was a value in itself to organize a strike and it interweaved with the effort to speed up the law [one-man-one-vote] to be passed. So it is hard to say which was more important. We wanted to pressurize Parliament. Of course, it was a great feeling. We ruled the University.

Former left-wing student leader Juhani Ruotsalo in 1995³⁵

The turning point for the occupation of the ASS was the university administrative reform, which had already begun in 1968. The administrative reform mobilized students much more than any of the student activities of the 1960s, and it staged a more important student demonstration than the occupation of the Old Student House a year and a half earlier.

The administrative reform of higher education was part of an international trend to adapt higher education to the needs of a rapidly changing society: The system of higher education was to be expanded and universities were to become more efficient factories of knowledge and skills in order to help nation states remain competitive in global markets. Thus, politicians attributed growing significance to higher education, especially in terms of "evidence-based policy-making." One of the best-known and most influential starting points for the ideology was the so-called Robbins Re-

³⁴ Eevi Heikkinen, "Poliittisen historian laitosneuvosto. Mies ja ääni -periaatteen puntarointia vuosina 1968–1972," 30–37, in *Tiedettä & kaljaa 1965–2015. Poliittisen historian opiskelijoiden 50 vuotta yhteistyötä, yhteisöllisyyttä ja aktivismia*, ed. Lyydia Aarnisalo, Ilari Leskelä, and Sara Nurmilaukaus (Helsinki: Polho, 2015), 32–34.

port commissioned by the British government in the early 1960s.³⁵ Finnish higher education reformists were already familiar with the Report by the mid-1960s.³⁶

In Finland, the reform was very much intertwined with the welfare state project, which underwent its formative years in the 1960s. The question was not only administrative democracy in universities, concerning especially a form of grass-roots democracy (university departments), but also workplace democracy, which was the framework for the Left in particular. Thus, active citizenship became an important idea in the forming of the Finnish welfare state at the turn of the 1970s.³⁷

Therefore, post 1968 radical movements were concerned not only with seizing state power but also with the question of equality. This was manifested in the combination of the workers' class struggle with that of students. As Kristin Ross puts it in her analysis of May 1968 in France, 'the union of intellectual contestation with workers' struggle' was the central idea in the French movement.³⁸ In Finland too, the radical student movement supported and made contacts or at least sympathized with the workers.

In 1970s Finland, this was characterized by the comprehensive party politicization of this state-organized democratization—as was the case in almost all societal, even cultural, activities in Finland during the era. Overall, the reform was politically loaded from its very inception in the mid-1960s. At the level of state politics, it was a tool of President Kekkonen for decreasing the power of university professors, who had traditionally been a powerful force in Finnish political life. For instance, since Finnish independence in 1917, many Finnish prime ministers had been former university professors. Overall, Kekkonen was extremely active in university politics—as in almost all areas of Finnish society during his long term as President (1956–1981).

In the field of politics, Kekkonen, a former 1930s student radical, exploited the students to gain power over the university elite as early as the Occupation of the Old Student House in 1968 when he aligned himself with occupiers in his 100th anniversary jubilee speech. The President also invited young radicals to wine and dine at his residence. Overall, Kekkonen was extremely aware of how the academic world operated. The most successful of Kekkonen's manoeuvres against the academic elite during the 1960s was the total reform—or, in practice, disbanding—of the Academy of Finland when the Academy was changed from an *Institut de France* type learned society into a governmental funding body for scientific research.³⁹

Nor was the reform-minded Minister of Education of the late 1960s, Johannes Virolainen (1914–2000), very popular among the professoriate. He was an enthusiastic advocate of universal suffrage for the university administration, the law of YYÄ

35 On the Robbins Report, see, e.g., Robert Anderson, *British Universities Past and Present* (London: Hambledon continuum, 2006), 147–65; Peter Mandler, 'Educating the Nation: II. Universities' *Transactions of the RHS*, no. 25 (2015), 1–26.

36 Allan Tiitta, *Suomen Akatemian historia I, 1948–1969. Huippuyksiköitä ja toimikuntia* (Helsinki: SKS, 2004), 608.

37 Kauko Sipponen, 'Julkinen valta ja yksilö', 737–803, in *Suomen keskushallinnon historia 1809–1996*, ed. Jaakko Numminen and Raimo Savolainen (Helsinki: Edita, 1996), 766–70.

38 Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 73–74.

39 Kolbe, (2008), 373; Tiitta, (2004), 586–616.

(*Yhteinen ja yhtäläinen äänioikeus*), which was a central issue in the administrative reform. The idea behind the reform was to abolish the traditional authority of professors in the decision-making bodies of the university and elect members of the university administration on a “one-man-one-vote” principle.

According to historians of higher education (and top governmental offices) of the era, the motives of Virolainen were very much political. He was a strong candidate to succeed Kekkonen as the President of Finland, and, by taking a radical stance on the reform, Virolainen could gain favour among baby boomers. Moreover, it was common for the politicians of the time to demonstrate their progressiveness in education politics; political parties even competed with each other over whose party programme was the most modern and comprehensive in terms of science and culture. In addition, Virolainen’s party, the Agrarian League (*Maalaisliitto*), had just changed its name to the Centre Party (*Keskustapuolue*) in order to attract urban voters.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, in early 1969, the reforms for increasing university democracy still met with a favourable response from professors of the Faculty of Social Sciences, as they agreed that students should be included more in the university administration. However, this should not be seen as a question of “arithmetic” rather, students were to participate in those bodies where they had most to contribute, such as student and teaching affairs committees. Nonetheless, since students, unlike professors, are merely “visitors” at the institution, this form of “producer–consumer” could not include the political idea of democracy as such, as Professor of Political Science Jan-Magnus Janson (1922–2003) once observed in *Tutkain!*. In addition, Professor of Sociology Erik Allard (1925–2020), one of the most internationally connected scholars at the Faculty, was worried about the role of research in the reform. Both professors supported the idea of a tripartite principle according to which the membership of university administrative bodies would be divided equally between professors, other teachers and staff, and students.⁴¹ Moreover, Professor of Practical Philosophy Jaakko Hintikka (1929–2015), who had spent time as a Junior Fellow and professor at Harvard and Stanford at various times since the 1950s, suggested that the burden on teachers should be eased rather than increased by the creation of new administrative bodies.⁴²

Nevertheless, a clash was inevitable. Both the occupation of the Old Student House and international examples provided fuel for a Finnish student movement that was beginning to radicalize. When the editors of *Tutkain!* commented on the professors’ statements, they proclaimed that any arrangement based simply on numbers was insufficient. Instead, the Left should abandon “positivistic quantitative” thinking and start creating a dialectic alternative, a new university image. According to the student paper, the duty of leftist social scientists was to indicate “the problems of unproblematized concepts.” By this, they meant that the authorities were attempting to alienate students with bureaucratic administrative language and that part of

40 Osmo Kivinen, Risto Rinne, and Kimmo Ketonen, *Yliopiston huomen* (Helsinki: Hanki ja jää, 1993), 94–95; Veli-Pekka Leppänen, “Virkamies opin ja sivistyksen asialla,” *Helsingin Sanomat*, October 22, 2018.

41 “Professorien diktatuuri & dialektinen ajattelu,” *Tutkain!* 1/1969, 6–7.

42 The minutes of the Faculty of Social Sciences 24 Sep 1969, 18§ + appendices. The University’s Archives and Registry, Arkki, University of Helsinki.

the Left had also been taken in.⁴³ In other words, they wished to challenge the “scientific field” of the professors. However, since the students operated inside the field as a subject, they positioned themselves as an agent in this microcosmos.⁴⁴

Clashing in the fields: The one-man-one-vote battle and the question of power hegemony

The opportunity to turn rhetoric into action arose in February 1970 when the law of Universal Suffrage for the University Administration was read in the Finnish Parliament. Both the recently founded Finnish Union of University Professors and student organizations lobbied heavily in Parliament. The National Union of University Students in Finland, SYL (*Suomen Ylioppilaskuntien Liitto*) declared a national Administration Reform Day with rallies and teach-ins. The ASS also engaged in harsh propaganda, distributing leaflets and fliers. To support the parliamentary reading, an ASS-led student strike was staged at the University of Helsinki on February 11, 1970. Thousands of students occupied Porthania House in the city campus and Franzénia in the Kallio city district for days. Both were the main premises of the Faculty of Social Sciences. Not all lectures were cancelled, however; rather teaching interactions gave way to debate, the intensity of which depended on the approach of the teacher and the zeal of the students.⁴⁵ In some lecture rooms, the teachers stepped aside, but in some rooms, professors drove the strikers away.

Physical violence was avoided, however. In addition, the rectorate of the University had decided earlier that the police would not be called; rather problems were to be solved inside the university community through constructive dialogue. As the then Vice Rector of the University of Helsinki, Mikko Juva (1918–2004), reminisced: “Academic youth had to be handled *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*”—with heavy hands but in kid gloves.⁴⁶

The strike ended after a few days, but the battle over the administrative reform continued across several governments during the early 1970s. Besides lobbying, the professors also intervened in the law inside Parliament. Indeed, some professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences were also MPs in the 1970s. One of them, Professor of Political History L. A. Puntila (1907–1988), was against the law, although his party, the SDP (The Social Democratic Party of Finland), led the government coalition that had introduced the law. Actually, many social democrats hoped to pass the law after a subsequent general election, but they did not want to appear reactionary in the eyes of the radical youth. Later in the 1970s, when the draft law was tabled by following governments and by several ministers of education, Professor of Social Psychology Kullervo Rainio (1924–2020) and Professor of Communication Osmo A. Wiio (1928–2013) campaigned against the law as members of Parliament.

43 “Professorien diktatuuri & dialektinen ajattelu”; Mikael Böök, “Yliopiston on tietoa tuottava organisaatio,” *Tutkain!* 3/1969, 4–5; Antti Kasvio, “Suoraa demokratiaa,” *Tutkain!* 3/1969, 6–7.

44 Cf. Bourdieu, “The Political Field, the Social Science Field, and the Journalistic Field,” 29–47, in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, ed. Benson, R., Neveu, E. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 30.

45 Laura Kolbe, *Eliitti, traditio, murros. Helsingin yliopiston ylioppilaskunta 1960–1990* (Helsinki: Otava, 1996), 377–78; Matti Klinge, “Politiikka ja korkeakoulupolitiikka,” 188–349, in *Helsingin yliopisto 1917–1990*, Matti Klinge, Rainer Knapas, Anto Leikola & John Strömberg (Helsinki: Otava), 324.

46 Mikko Juva, *Seurasin nuoruuteni näkyä: Muistettavaa vuosilta 1939–82* (Helsinki: Otava, 1994), 174–79, 184, 196 (citation).

Those professors operating in both fields, university and politics (see Figure), were able to promote their cause on two fronts. Their key positions within the political field allowed them to advance the agenda of the academic field through interaction between the fields. Nevertheless, this interaction differed in many ways from that observed exclusively within the university field. First, although the MP professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences encompassed all three Bourdieusian⁴⁷ realms of university power capital—academic, scientific and intellectual capital (excluding Puntila’s scientific prestige, which was rather modest)—they all now possessed political statuses (although Puntila enjoyed political prestige long before his period as an MP).⁴⁸

Political power nonetheless differed considerably from power within the university field. The MP professors were faced with rigid, complicated political processes involving compromises, consensus, party discipline and the intrigues of the multi-party political system. Obviously, the power of those MP professors from opposition parties, such as Rainio, was considerably weaker. As Rainio wrote in his memoirs, being in the opposition was “like being laid off. No matter what you tried, nothing seemed to have any impact.” What was special, again, in the Finnish political system of the era was the influential role of student associations in political parties. For instance, *Tuhatkunta*, the Student Union of (the centre-right) National Coalition Party opposed the protest Professor Rainio mounted against the law of Universal Suffrage in the Parliament.⁴⁹ Moreover, Tapio Rajavuori, a student who acted as the secretary of student affairs at the Faculty of Social Sciences, even wrote speeches on the theme of one-man-one-vote for the Minister of Education, Virolainen.⁵⁰

On the other hand, when the professoriate lobbied politicians and wrote speeches for MPs, their prescriptions for filibustering and other activities were drawn from the mid-war right-wing student movement the Academic Karelian Society. Many professors had a background in this influential association and its struggle, mentioned earlier, to Fennicize Finnish society—thus representing yet another example, this time through history, of students operating in the elite field of politics.

Nevertheless, opponents of the law of Universal Suffrage enjoyed considerable success, since the law was neither passed in the form introduced by Virolainen nor in that of three of his successors during the 1970s. This did not mean, however, that democracy had not increased in universities. The first department councils had already been established at the Faculty of Social Sciences in the late 1960s. Nonetheless, when the role of the departments was discussed by the university administration, the professors were not only concerned about losing their power but also about the state of academia, as the plans for university democracy failed to consider how

47 Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 73–127.

48 L.A. Puntila was already the Prime Minister’s secretary during WWII and a very active major player in many fields of society in the immediate post-war years.

49 Kullervo Rainio, *Polkuja ja risteyksiä* (Helsinki: Libera-säätiö, 2020), 304. Actually, the idea of adapting the one-man-one-vote principle to Finnish universities was introduced by Hannu Tapani Klami (1945–2002), a law student and member of Tuhatkunta. Klami’s aim was to promote, as widely as possible, Anglo-American individual freedom within Finnish university administrations. His libertarian views, especially the slogan ‘one-man-one-vote,’ were nevertheless co-opted and transformed by the leftist student movement. (Jukka Kortti, *Valtaan ja vastavirtaan. Valtiotieteellinen tiedekunta 75 vuotta* [Helsinki: SKS], 159–60).

50 Kortti (2020), 167.

freedom of research would be guaranteed.⁵¹ Moreover, anxiety was also felt over resources. The Faculty of Social Sciences was particularly under-resourced when it came to teaching staff, and the faculty was struggling to cope with the influx of baby boomers that occurred from the early 1960s until the mid-1970s—despite the introduction of *numerus clausus* as early as 1962.

Overall, at this point—and also later in the 1970s for the greater part—the main concern of the professoriate was not so much fear of losing its power positions as anxiety over the role of research amidst the flood of (baby boomer) students. Moreover, although they were concerned about their expert positioning, professors did not merely attempt to conserve their positions in the field; rather, they were also willing to transform it.

In terms of power, the dispute included one extremely practical dimension. In particular, Professor and MP Rainio emphasized problems concerning the responsibility of officials for the legality of their actions if the one-man-one-vote principle were to be realized. If those in office constituted the minority of a university decision-making body, who then would be in charge of decisions, Rainio asked. Thus, while he supported the inclusion of more stakeholders in university bodies, he proposed that their share should never reach 50 percent.⁵² In that sense, the question of the capital of academic power was not only an abstract matter but also a juridical issue.

The Faculty organized several discussion events between the professoriate, teachers and students during the reform to introduce universal suffrage to the university administration. Nonetheless, the students lost the fight (ultimately, the 1:1:1 tripartite principle was adopted as a temporary arrangement, but it actually lasted until the large-scale university reform of 2009); however, the one-man-one-vote battle was a catalyst for the radicalization of the leftist student movement. After a short period of inactivity, the movement began to focus on infiltrating student organizations as a practical application of their recently adopted Leninism ideology. Finally, the SOL became more Leninist than the SKP, its parent party. In practice, this meant that, according to the democratic idea of the university, ASS cells should act as self-governing organs to defend the rights of students in relation to their teachers. The student cells were also to criticize the content of courses.

In addition, the ASS established parallel departments of sorts in sociology and economics, where the students organized their own Marxist lecture series. The teachers in these courses were either fellow students or leftist junior teachers (assistants). The basic idea behind the cells was to act as a counterbalance to teaching based on “bourgeois values.”⁵³

51 E.g., The minutes of the Faculty of Social Sciences 13 May 1970, 1§; 25.5.1970, 12§ + appendices. Arkki.

52 Rainio (220), 288, 303. Kullervo Rainio interview by Jukka Kortti, February 8, 2018, personal collection. Rainio based his views, especially concerning stake holders (or interest groups), on the power-defence theory by Richard M. Emerson.

53 Matti Hyvärinen, *Viimeiset taistot* (Tampere: Vastapaino, 1994), 256–57; Juhani Ruotsalo, Interview by John Lagerbohm, January 24, 1996, personal collection; Mika Lampinen, *Imperialismin iltarusko? Nuortaistolaisen liikkeen ideologian muotoutuminen*, Master's Thesis in Political History, University of Helsinki, 2000; Matti Klinge, 'Politiikka ja korkeakoulupolitiikka', 188–349, in *Helsingin yliopisto 1917–1990*, Matti Klinge, Rainer Knapas, Anto Leikola & John Strömberg (Helsinki: Otava, 1990), 315.

Conclusion: The Finnish peculiarities of the elite fields in the universal clash

The conflict between students and the old university elite was a universal phenomenon in the 1960s and the 1970s. In Finland as well, the activities of the leftist student movement led to several confrontations between professors and students during the 1970s. However, there were many national peculiarities in the conflict shaped by Finnish history, traditions and organizational procedures and practices.

The most obvious peculiarity was that Finnish far-leftist students, as well as the whole Marxist-Leninist movement, took Finlandization politics to an extreme through their tendency of accusing opponents of anti-Sovietism in a wide variety of contexts, including the university reforms.

In terms of politics, accusations of anti-Sovietism were an efficient tool in an era when the Finnish political elite, as well as the media, had to be very careful of the Soviets. Moreover, this concerned not only foreign but also domestic policy in terms of Finlandization. Even if it was not necessary to take any practical measures, the authorities had to provide some response to the claims of the Leninist movement. This allowed the movement to be more influential than its size would suggest. Moreover, the Taistoists' relatively wide support among artists and journalists further increased their influence in the Finnish public sphere. In terms of cultural capital, they managed to occupy dominant positions in the Finnish "gaming space" in order to gain symbolic capital.⁵⁴ This question was also very much entangled with the clashes over power positions in the elite fields.

Unlike many countries,⁵⁵ violence was not part of the repertoire of this Finnish extreme left movement, however. Even the rallies and the demonstrations were rather peaceful, and there was no question of engaging in the kind of bombing and murders perpetrated by the German Red Army Faction, the Italian *Brigate Rosse* or the American Weather Underground. Although the attacks by Finnish students were often personal, they were never physical on the campuses. However, the psychological violence was sometimes extreme.⁵⁶

The Finnish tradition of participating in society primarily through associations and political parties was also manifested in radical student activism. The Finnish "educated class" had traditionally been close to the State. This was manifested on both sides of the clash. In other words, extra-parliamentary activities had never been a strong feature of the political history of independent Finland after the Civil War. As the student leader Ruotsalo emphasized, they had "zero tolerance of violence because the tradition of the Finnish labour movement obligated them to avoid violence."⁵⁷

The distinguishing characteristic of the Finnish elite system was the role of students, who had historically been an elite themselves. Of course, before the baby boomer generation, educated young people were a privileged class in many countries, especially in such class-based societies as England or France. Nonetheless,

54 Bourdieu, (1996a), 264–65, 318.

55 See, e.g., Alberto Martin Alvarez, Eduardo Rey Tristán, *Revolutionary Violence and the New Left* (New York: Routledge 2017).

56 Besides the leaflets published by the student movement, which were very personal in their criticism of the university elite, some professors or their families were also disturbed by telephone calls at night. Jari Leskinen, *Tulevaisuuden turvaksi. Osa 2: Sotavahinkoyhdistyksen säätiö ja sotavahinkosäätiö 1954–2004* (Helsinki: Sotavahinkosäätiö, 2004), 349.

57 Ruotsalo interview 1996.

whereas an Oxbridge or Collège de France background was the gateway to elite status, Finnish students, many of whom, due to the late formation of the industrial bourgeoisie, came from rural areas with most of them lacking any sort of aristocratic background, were able to gain access to the elite.

The Finnish nobility never represented such a strong social class as the aristocracy in many older European cultures. Moreover, the peasantry was one of the four cameral divisions of the Diet (together with the nobility, clergy and burghers) in the Grand Duchy of Finland under the Russian Empire before a new unicameral Parliament was formed in 1906. Thus, even before the baby boomers, the sons of peasants could join the elite by entering the University.

Unlike in many Western countries, the student elite have been close to the corridors of power throughout modern Finnish history. Moreover, this tradition was still manifested in the 1970s leftist student movement in many ways. First, it was apparent in the activities of student organizations, which have historically operated as an elite subfield. They were influential and played an official role in Finnish political life and the public sphere. Moreover, this subfield did not just function within the university field; rather, its networks reached all the way to the political and economic fields. The student movement enjoyed power that extended to the highest echelons of government, even to the President of the Republic and speculation over his successor.

Consequently, in addition to being a struggle between the main field (the professoriate) and the subfield (the students) of the university, the question of university democracy was very much entangled with the hegemonic battle between two power fields, the political elite and university elite. The former wished to weaken the other and the latter wished to preserve its autonomy as an elite group. Moreover, the exceptionally strong student movement, again, operated not only in the university field, but also within the field of national politics.

The most revealing example of this influence within the political field is the case of Ulf Sundqvist: he was appointed Minister of Education only a few short years after leaving his position as a student leader.⁵⁸ In terms of the economic field, the Student Union of the University of Helsinki, with its remarkable real estate holdings, as well as the student unions of the Helsinki School of Economics, prepared students to take rather short steps into business life. In short and, again, with Bourdieuan terminology, the students networked effectively to gain “social capital.”⁵⁹ This tradition partly explains why the influences of international political student activism, with its strong leftist flavour, shook the old establishment. The threat of a leftist uprising did not shock the old elite only because of the left’s support for Finland’s problematic WWII enemy neighbour, but also because of its proximity to the power centres of society.

Although (global) reforms in higher education since the 1980s are beyond the scope of this article, both the Finnish higher education authorities and Finnish politicians learned a lesson from the reforms of the 1970s. While university professors succeeded in resisting much of both the administrative reform and the degree reform in the 1970s, the same cannot be said for the marketization of higher education

58 One of his successors during the university reforms of the 1970s was Paavo Väyrynen, similarly a young baby-boomer talent with a background at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Helsinki.

59 Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” 241–258, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 248–52.

in recent decades. In remoulding Finnish universities according to the ideas of “academic capitalism,”⁶⁰ the strategy has been to introduce new ideas gradually rather than through sudden change. Consequently, both professors and students have only woken up to the reforms when it has already been too late to protest.

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60 Slaughter and Rhoades (2004).

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