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Centralisation and Status Formation: Institutional Frameworks that Shape Student Movement Outcomes

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CENTRALISATION AND STATUS FORMATION:
INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS THAT SHAPE STUDENT MOVEMENT OUTCOMES

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ABSTRACT

This study argues that certain socio-political and educational systems enhance the effectiveness of student protests. Using social movement theory, I derive a model that explains the relationship of these structures to the outcomes of student activism. I then test the model's accuracy by analysing cases of student protest in Québec, California, and Mexico. Protests are shown to be more successful in societies with centralised education systems that institutionalise student participation, and in societies that define students as an elite, politically-efficacious, unified group. By implication, student protestors face more barriers to success in California than in either Québec or Mexico.

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Thank you to the Political Science Honours Colloquium for many a fun Wednesday night and for the consolation of not suffering alone. And while anonymous peer reviews are titillating under any circumstances, the gentle guidance of Professor Blaney was essential to making the experience what it was, both inside and outside the classroom. Roxy was, as always, a consoling and constant presence and I appreciated all the treats. I am also grateful to my friends, always supportive, who heeded my last-minute call of distress and came, smiled and nodded at my defence. Finally, I owe not only my life but also my thesis (although the two were at times confounded) to my daddy, Irwin Haberman, who stayed up until the wee hours of the dawn on Passover to help with last-minute proofreading.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> "American student activism has never constituted an active threat to the stability of the political system- not even during the dramatic protests at the 1968 Democratic Convention or immediately after the events of the Cambodia invasion and the shootings at Kent State in 1970. This contrasts sharply with the student movements in other countries."
>
> -Philip G. Altbach,
> *Student Politics in America,* 1973[1]

Students around the world are notorious for organising powerful protests. They have toppled governments, changed laws and determined national and foreign policy in countries as diverse as France, Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Japan. However, while the phenomenon of student activism is not uncommon in North America, social historian Philip Altbach notes that American student activism has never significantly changed the national political system, nor even been effective at reforming university policy and shaping higher education.[2]

Why this is the case is unclear, particularly given the numerous protests organised by American students this past century. Studies of student protest have been very thorough at charting historical trends in student activism, analysing the events and circumstances that lead to student dissent, and detailing the psychological characteristics of student protestors themselves, but very few researchers have asked questions concerning the variables that encourage protest success.

Many studies have noted this gap in the literature: Seymour Martin Lipset wrote as early as 1970 that "relatively little attention has been paid to the role of the student as a dynamic force in educational and political change. Students have, of course, been studied frequently as

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[1] Philip G Altbach. *Student Politics in America: a historical analysis.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 4.
[2] Ibid., 5.

subjects by social psychologists."[3] Despite many similar observations by other student protest

researchers, this omission continued due to the fact that student activism is often depicted a

form of hooliganism by the media and university administrators. Much of the literature on

collective action and social change therefore excludes the study of student protest in favour

of longer-lasting activism by organisations that produce more detailed records of their action.

Furthermore, because classical theories of group insurgency view protest behaviour as

apolitical, psychological phenomena, even more conventional forms of group activism have

only recently been examined from a political perspective. As a result, the goals, tactics and

outcomes of student protest have remained largely unstudied, particularly in terms of

comparative analyses that would shed light on the different environments that shape student

protest results. As A. Belden Fields notes,

> "We are sorely lacking in systematic studies of the comparative politics of student
> activism within American universities which focus on the incidence and conditions of
> success or failure that students have had in extracting concessions from university
> decision-makers."[4]

This paper will attempt to fill this gap in the literature by examining the institutional

frameworks that influence the outcomes of student protests. Analytically, these variables can

be separated into environmental and movement-controlled variables. Environmental factors,

also called institutional, context, structural or external variables, refer to the determinants of

protest outcomes that reside outside the locus of control of protest participants. Their

counterparts, internal or movement-controlled variables, are those pertaining to the

organisational tactics and goal-setting of protest groups. These include protestors' methods of

framing their movements, the character and proportion of movement participants, the tactics

they employ and the goals they set. In order to examine why protest outcomes vary so

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[3] Seymour Martin Lipset. "Students and Politics in Comparative Perspective." In *The Student Revolution: a global analysis.* Edited by Philip G. Altbach. (Bombay: Lalvani Pub. House, 1970), vii.
[4] A. Belden Fields. "The Effects of Student Activism in Industrialized Countries." In *Social Reality.* Edited by Harvey A. Farberman and Erich Goode. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 292.

drastically across national boundaries, this project will exclude these variables and

concentrate solely on isolating the environmental determinants of student protest.[5]

Understanding the factors that lead to successful outcomes for student protest is

important for a number of reasons. First, studying the ways in which environments influence

the results of group insurgency will help improve our knowledge about the causal processes

involved in social and political change. While some theorists of contentious politics see

group protests as deviant activities that cause social and political instability, many others note

their potential to challenge the conservative tendencies of society and catalyse social

progress. For example, Oberschall writes that social conflict "prevents the ossification of

institutions and builds pressures for responsiveness and innovation."[6] Therefore, a better

understanding of protest outcomes and their determinants can significantly improve our

understanding of processes of social change.

Second, it is important to examine student protest outcomes in particular because

successful student activism can improve the democratic processes of society. Many scholars

of student protest have observed that leaders of student rebellions often graduate to become

the leaders of institutions that shape society.[7] Furthermore, Califano has argued that when

students are continually prevented from effecting change, they become alienated from the

political system.[8] In contemporary times, there has already been a disturbing increase in

youth apathy in Canada and the United States demonstrated by low voter turnout and lack of

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[5] Of course, it must be noted that the distinction between movement-controlled and external variables is often very fuzzy because the environmental conditions in which protest occurs influence the tactics and goals adopted by movement participants. Nevertheless, it is still possible to identify the institutional factors that influence outcomes without precluding the possibility that they also play a role in forming the character and nature of the protest itself.

[6] Anthony Oberschall, in Donald E Phillips. *Student Protest, 1960-1970: an analysis of the issues and speeches.* (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1985), 38.

[7] Joseph A. Califano. *The Student Revolution: a global confrontation.* (New York: Norton, 1969), 90.

[8] IBID.

civic engagement;[9] this evidence indicates that the phenomenon of youth alienation may already be taking place today. Therefore, in order to assure that the youth of today become committed and active citizens of their community, it is essential to analyse the structural factors that may be preventing student protests from emerging and concluding successfully.

The thesis of this study is that institutional frameworks in the socio-political and education systems of different countries shape the outcomes of student protest. Social movement theory indicates that influential frameworks include the social status of students, the history of student protest, educational governance structures, and opportunities to form political alliances. In order to assess the significance of these factors, this investigation employs a comparative case study analysis of three student protests in three countries: Canada, Mexico and the United States. Last spring, 230,000 Québec students protested against a proposal to cut university bursary funds, while six years ago 260,000 students in Mexico City went on strike in response to a government proposal to impose tuition at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). Both of these examples of student protest achieved many of their stated goals and will be utilised in this study as examples of 'successful' student activism. From 1994 to 1996, thousands of Californian students at the University of California (UC) attempted to defend affirmative action policies and prevent their elimination, but the UC ultimately ended race preferences. The significance of the United States as a case study will therefore be as an example of a country where the socio-political and education system impede student protests. It is possible to isolate the specific characteristics of these systems that influence student protest outcomes by comparing the institutional frameworks of these three cases. However, it is first necessary to create a

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[9] Michael D. Martinez. "Turning Out or Tuning Out? Electoral Participation in Canada and the United States." In *Canada and the United States: Differences that Count*. Second Edition. Edited by David M. Thomas. (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press Ltd., 2000), 221.

systemic way to approach the analysis. By reviewing the theoretical overlap of social movement and student protest literature, a set of hypotheses describing the relationship between institutional frameworks and student protest outcomes can be formulated. These specific hypotheses will then be tested using the three case studies described above.

No systematic study has of yet examined student protest literature as a subset of social movement theory, nor utilised models developed in social movement theory to explain cross-national differences in student protest outcomes. Focussing in such a way on the overlap between student protest and social movements is a useful endeavour as it organises what is otherwise a messy collection of unrelated accounts of student protest into distinct schools of thought. Furthermore, as cross-national analyses of insurgency outcomes are extremely rare, this study will make an important contribution to both student protest and social movement theory.

The benefits of employing a comparative case study methodology in order to isolate the environmental factors that determine student protest outcomes are twofold: first, using case studies makes it possible to avoid the use of rigid models of group insurgency that provide little information about protest outcomes to begin with, and certainly do not capture the intricate processes that contribute to student movement outcomes. Second, comparing different national cases makes it possible to isolate the conditions in each country that foster certain types of outcomes.

This methodology does however limit the results of analysis in a number of significant ways. First, as one of the underlying premises of this project is that distinct national characteristics influence the effectiveness of student protests, many of the conclusions reached in this study will be limited to the three locations examined. On a related note, it is also possible that the conclusions reached in this study do not apply to all student

protests even within the three countries examined; political, social and economic differences across states and provinces imply that student protestors face vastly different situations depending their locations within their own nations. However, notwithstanding the variation of institutional frameworks around the world and within countries, it is still likely that the factors identified and examined in this study would aid student protests in any nation. So, for example, the success of a student protest in a repressive state will depend in part on the same institutional frameworks as student protests in Canada, the United States and Mexico, although additional factors such as the state's ability to use violence against protestors would mediate that influence. In that respect, the institutional frameworks identified in this study should be applicable in some respects to all student protests. Furthermore, this study can serve as an example of how future case-study comparisons of student movements in other countries can be conducted.

Finally, the three cases of protest analysed here were all attempts to prevent a change in government policy, and it may be that different institutional frameworks influence student movements with more revolutionary goals. Nevertheless, selecting cases with similar protest goals makes it possible to rule out the possibility that protest results differed due to variation in protest goals; comparing the outcome of a student movement designed to change the entire education system with the outcome of one that attempts to modify a specific policy would be fruitless, as revolutions are significantly harder to achieve.

This study is divided into three sections. The following chapter provides an overview of both student protest and social movement literature in order to evaluate how these two bodies of research currently explain the outcomes of insurgency. Three schools of thought that explain contentious group politics are examined: classical theory, resource mobilisation theory, and political process theory. This chapter demonstrates that student protests can be

analysed using many of the same models derived to explain social movement behaviour, thus making it possible to draw from social movement theory when attempting to explain student protest outcomes. Chapter 3 will then use the information gathered in this literature review to formulate a detailed set of hypotheses that describe the relationship between student movement outcomes and a society's institutional frameworks. These variables, which represent the political opportunity structures available for student protestors to exploit in their respective nations, relate to the political status of students in society, the history of student protest, the governance structures of universities, and the social opportunities available for students to form alliances. Finally, Chapter 4 will explore cases of student protest in Québec, Mexico City and California in order to see whether the institutional frameworks identified in this study are accurate.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide a summary of both social movement and student protest literature. It has two interrelated aims: 1) to locate student protest literature within social movement theory, and 2) to describe how these two bodies of research currently explain the outcomes of insurgency. To my knowledge, no systematic study has of yet examined student protest literature as a subset of social movement theory, nor demonstrated the parallels in the development of these two bodies of thought.[10] Locating student protest literature within social movement theory is a useful endeavour as it organises what is otherwise a messy collection of unrelated accounts of protest into distinct schools of thought. Many of the foundational works on American student activism utilise a historical, narrative approach and frame protest as deviant, apolitical behaviour; in fact, students are often not considered as potential social movement actors at all because student identity, unlike a race, class, or gender identity, is temporary and not often united by common interests.[11] Therefore, comparing accounts of student protest to theories of social movements will also help scholars of student protest evaluate the relative merits and explanatory powers of the accounts of student unrest described here. Finally, it will make it possible to apply theories of social movement outcomes to student protests in a logical and methodical way.

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[10] The one exception that I have encountered is a study by Nella van Dyke that applies social movement literature and a historical approach to student protests in the United States in order to analyse characteristics of different universities that make them more likely locations of student protest. Van Dyke then uses quantitative analysis to substantiate the hypotheses she draws from social movement theory. However, this study does not include a systematic comparison of student protest and social movement theory, nor does it utilise these theories to explain cross-national differences in protest behaviour or outcomes.

[11] Another reason cited to explain why so few scholars of group insurgency study student protest is that student movements often leave fewer records and documentation of their activism

In order to achieve the above-stated aims, this chapter will be organised according to the three dominant schools of social movement studies.[12] Section 1 will present classical theories of social movements and will examine the student protest literature that fits into this perspective, as well as the classical view of movement outcomes. Sections 2 and 3 will follow a similar pattern in examining resource mobilisation and political process theory, respectively.

Examining social movement and student movement literature in their entirety is in this case necessary because very few studies examine the outcomes of student protest. In fact, this chapter will demonstrate that both social movement and student protest literature fail to adequately examine the institutional frameworks that influence the outcomes of student protest. This topic is rarely broached at all, and in cases where the external determinants of movement outcomes are examined they are generally not the focus of study. Therefore, a large gap exists in both student protest and social movement literature in terms of their ability to explain the environmental conditions that affect movement outcomes. This project intends to fill this gap, but in order to do so it is first necessary to examine social movement theory in depth and extrapolate from it a more coherent vision of the institutional frameworks that determine the outcomes of student movements.

I. THE CLASSICAL MODEL

A) Summary

Classical social movement theory sees movements as being inherently distinct from conventional politics and therefore peripheral to processes of structural social change: political elites and conventional governance possess the actual agency to create change,

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[12] An emerging fourth school of social movement literature, New Social Movement theory, has been excluded from this study because it deals with the identity of social movements and their relationship to culture and ideology. The outcomes of social movements studied in this paradigm concern cultural changes as opposed to political or socio-economic alteration; while interesting, this approach does not lend itself to the study of students as agents of political change.

while social movements can at most identify strains and tensions in the social structure that require resolution.[13] Therefore, these theories focus on explaining the causes for the development of insurgency and largely avoid studying the mobilisation and resolution of movements.

While theories of the genre are numerous and varied, each describes the emergence of social movements as following the same general pattern. This pattern forms the basic theory of the classical model: a strain or social grievance causes a psychological disruption in some section of the population, and this results in the emergence of a social movement (see Figure 1).[14] Therefore, all classical theorists agree that the direct cause of a social movement is an individual's disrupted psychological state, and that social movements are the result of some form of societal ill referred to as a strain or grievance.[15]

Figure 1- The Classical Model[16]

Structural Strain ⟶ Disruptive Psychological State ⟶ Social movement
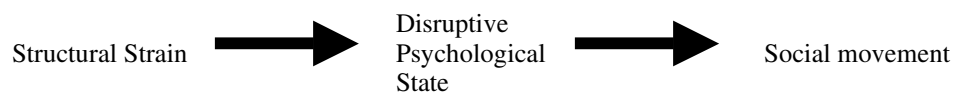
Theorists differ greatly in identifying the particular type of societal ill or grievance that triggers the psychological disruption. Commonly cited strains are industrialisation, urbanisation, rapid rise in unemployment, changes in voting patterns, or status incongruence.[17] Likewise, descriptions of the specific change of psychological state also vary, but all theories view social movement participants as being different in some fundamental, dysfunctional way from the rest of society.[18]

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[13] Craig J. Jenkins. *The Politics of Insurgency: the farm worker movement in the 1960s.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), xii.

[14] The classical model is therefore also referred to as the 'grievances' or 'discontent' model.

[15] Melvin G. Hall. *Poor People's Social Movement Organizations: the goal is to win.* (Westport: Praeger, 1995), 3.

[16] Doug McAdam. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 7.

[17] IBID.

[18] Ibid., 4.

Because classical theorists do not view social movements as political processes, it is important for our purposes to note that most of these theories see little chance for movement success. Power resides in the hands of elites, and social movements are simply repercussions of a psychological disturbance among a sector of the population; social movements are not seen as agents of social change, and movement participants are often depicted as having anti-social, destructive tendencies.

B) Classical views of student protest

The classical perspective of insurgency is perhaps the model most manifested in the literature on student protest, although none of the authors referenced in this section make explicit reference to social movement theory. This is most likely due to the fact that classical theory was dominant during the sixties and seventies when the largest body of work on student protest was produced. It is also likely a result of the tendency to view youth as irrational, psychologically unstable actors, a tendency that fits very nicely with the classical view of social movement participants.[19] The classical set of student protest literature mimics its counterpart in social movement theory by concentrating on the set of grievances that catalyse the outbreak of insurgency, as well as on the psychological characteristics of movement participants. The following is a brief overview of the main trends in this particular approach to analysing student protest.

Studies that assume that participants of student protests differ fundamentally from the general student population focus on detailing the demographic characteristics of protestors. Particular interest is given to their intellectual endowment, religious affiliation, family

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[19] Influenced by classical theory, many studies of student protest describe participants in derogatory terms. For example, in his analysis of student protest at Harvard University in the 1960s Steven Kelman wrote, "Most Americans see the extremists as pampered slobs gone amuck," (see Kelman, *Push Comes to Shove*, 2) while Bruno Bettelheim, a Professor at the University of Chicago, comments, "Very bright as they often are, emotionally some of them remain fixated at the age of the temper tantrum" (see Levine, *Right on!*).

background and socio-economic status.[20] A second set of classical studies focus on the

grievances and structural strains that give rise to student protest. Most of these grievances

can be classified as either forms of alienation with modern life, manifestations of the

generation gap between youth and the adult generation, or dissatisfaction with university life

in general.[21] Studies of Latin American student protest add anti-Americanism, antipathy to

dictatorship, and revulsion at inequality to this list.[22]

These classical theories perpetuate denigrating portrayals of students and other

movement participants. In so doing, classical theory seems to be taking a political stance that

raises questions about its academic reliability; as Meyer and Rubinson note:

> "A common political device is the attempted exclusion from ordinary consideration
> of the behaviour of other groups on the grounds that it is not properly political. Thus,
> student politics are reclassified by other members as not political, but as violent,
> disrespectful, immature, or irresponsible."[23]

Ultimately, classical theory has very little to say on the subject of student movement

outcomes because it focuses exclusively on their emergence and views them as apolitical

processes incapable of creating structural change.

II. THE RESOURCE MOBILISATION MODEL

A) Summary

Resource mobilisation theory first emerged in 1977 as a direct critique of the classical

model. Its main proponents, Mayer Zald, Roberta Ash and John McCarthy, criticised the

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[20] Molly Levin and John Spiegel. "Point and Counterpoint in the Literature on Student Unrest". In *The Dynamics of University Protest.* Edited by Donald Light, Jr. and John Spiegel. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1977), 36. See also Stevenson, "Higher Control in Institutions of Higher Education", 79 and Bakke, "Roots and Soil of Student Activism".

[21] See Stevenson, "Higher Control in Institutions of Higher Education", 79 and Lipset and Altbach, *Students in Revolt.*

[22] Daniel Levy. "Student Politics in Contemporary Latin America". *Canadian Journal of Political Science.* 14, no. 2 (Jun, 1981).

[23] John W. Meyer and Richard Rubinson. "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity: A Comparative Interpretation". 45, no. 1 (Winter, 1972).

underlying logic of classical theory by noting that grievances of one form or another are present at all times in every society, and therefore they alone cannot explain the emergence of social movements. The central claim of the resource mobilisation school is therefore that structural strains are a necessary but not sufficient cause of social movements, and that the catalyst that causes movements to emerge is in actuality an infusion of external resources that allow movement participants to mobilise.[24] (See Figure 2)

Figure 2- The Resource Mobilisation Model

Structural Strain → Organisation → Social movement

Elite Resources

Central differences exist between resource mobilisation and classical theory. While classical theorists see movement participants as social deviants at odds with the rest of the population, resource mobilisation theory sees them as rational political actors who are trying to promote a political goal and who are aided and supported in this effort by outside elites.[25] Also, resource mobilisation theory sees social movements as possessing the ability to create significant social change. Therefore, resource mobilisation theorists study the processes of mobilisation and resolution of movements while classical theorists for the most part do not.

This enormous broadening of the social movement field predictably led to the development of new ways of studying social movements. William Gamson notes that a completely new set of variables are highlighted by resource mobilisation theory. First, resource mobilisation theory studies the collection and aggregation of resources that cause movements to emerge. Second, it is assumed that resource aggregation and use requires some form of organisation, and therefore mobilisation theory focuses more directly on the structure

[24] Hall, *Poor People's Social Movement Organisations,* 6.
[25] Hall. *Poor People's Social Movement Organisations,* 7.

and roles of social movement organisations.[26] Third, outside elites play a crucial role for social movements, as they are the providers of the new resources that allow the movement to develop at a particular historical moment. Fourth, supply-and-demand analysis is often applied to the flow of resources in order to explain the emergence and decline of social movements. Finally, resource mobilisation theorists can conduct cost-benefit analyses to explain the incentives that cause individuals and organisations to become involved in a social movement. Because costs and benefits are determined by the structure of society and the activities of authorities, some resource mobilisation theorists also study environmental factors when they attempt to explain the emergence, continuation and resolution of movements. [27]

B) Resource mobilisation views of student protest

Student protest literature that is inspired by resource mobilisation theory sees the emergence of student movements as the result of increases in resources. In analyses of student protests, these resources are normally described as either financial capital, human capital or increased free time. Furthermore, the shift in social movement theory from seeing movements as apolitical, ineffectual and primarily psychosocial is mimicked in student protest literature. For example, Meyer and Rubinson note,

> "A crucial feature of student political activity, largely overlooked, is that it is participatory behaviour and can be discussed and explained in much the same terms as such behaviour in other groups."[28]

Adopting a resource mobilisation approach, Meyer and Rubinson posit that factors that endow students with resources increase student participation in movements. They define

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[26] McCarthy and Zald define a social movement organisation as "a complex, or formal, organization that identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals." (see McCarthy and Zald, *Social Movements in an Organizational Society,* 20).
[27] William A. Gamson. "Introduction". In *Social Movements in an Organizational Society: collected essays.* Edited by Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1987), 18.
[28] Meyer and Rubinson, "Structural Determinants of Social Movement Activity".

these resources as increases in students' personal skills and increases in their membership in groups and social systems, which presumably increase critical mass and therefore organisational capacity.[29]

Other writers who sometimes view student protest from a resource mobilisation perspective include Oberschall, Califano, and Van Dyke. Oberschall analyses student participation in movements from a "risk/reward perspective" that in actuality is a cost-benefit analysis of participation. He notes that student protest activity was low-risk in the United States until the Kent State incident; campus social control discipline was moderate and therefore for much of this period student protest participation was high and rewarding. From 1970 on however, the risks of student protest escalated in terms of legal and economic consequences for participants; students' career prospects could be jeopardised by protest participation, and some protestors faced prosecution. Therefore, following the 1960's the rewards of activism diminished and so did the level of student protests.[30]

Califano employs a resource-based model to explain why certain students are more likely to join protests. He claims, "affluence is unquestionably a significant factor in student unrest."[31] Upper-middle class students are likely to participate in protest activity because they do not have to concern themselves with material worries, while part-time fifth and sixth-year students are likely to participate because they have more free time and resources in the form of increased experience with university political structures.

Van Dyke notes that the highest incidences of campus protest activity occur at large-scale universities where there is a critical mass of students. This observation is indicative of

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Donald E. Phillips. *Student Protest, 1960-1970: an analysis of the issues and speeches.* (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1985), 34.
[31] Califano, *The Student Revolution,* 47.

protest being a function of human capital.[32] Like Califano, she also notes the important

contribution of non-students and part-time students often found in the vicinity of large

schools; these individuals have additional time resources that allow them to participate in

protest activity with greater frequency.[33]

C) Resource mobilisation views of outcomes

        Theorists have employed the resource mobilisation model to explain the outcomes of

both student protests and social movements. However, due to its emphasis on organisational

factors and resources, resource mobilisation theory often analyses movement outcomes by

assuming a continuing level of resource support from elites and by looking only at

movement-controlled variables. In *The Strategy of Social Protest*, William Gamson provides

the most detailed analysis of the relationship between organisational variables and the

potential for social movement success. Gamson defines success using two measures: the

acceptance of challengers as legitimate claimants and the obtaining of new advantages for

constituents.[34] He finds that four movement-controlled variables help determine outcomes:

groups with single-issue demands are more successful than groups with multiple-issue

demands, the use of selective incentives is positively correlated with success, the use of

violence and generally disruptive tactics is also associated with success, and, successful

groups tended to be more bureaucratised, centralised, and unfactionalised. In addition to this

primary focus of his work, Gamson also tested the role of context variables and found that

these seemed to have less of an effect on the outcomes of the challenging groups.[35]

        Although few theorists have examined student protest outcomes systematically,

Farberman postulates a set of ideas about resource mobilisation variables inspired by his

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[32] Van Dyke, "Hotbeds of Activism", 90.

[33] Ibid., 80.

[34] Marco G Guigni. "Was It Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements". *Annual Review of Sociology.* 24 (1998), 376.

[35] Ibid., 375.

experience of the French student protests in 1968. He explains why successful student

mobilisation is difficult to produce and sustain by noting that students as a group are

deprived of material resources:

> "Student status is of short duration, thus a consistent organisational base is lacking; students are young and short on political skills and experience; they lack financial resources, do not enjoy the full measure of civil rights accorded adults, have virtually no informal access to decision-makers, and offer no strategic services which can be withheld in strike action. From every point of view, students are weak on resources."[36]

Farberman continues to explain that high levels of student revolt, while not due to material

resources, are in fact due to resources of a human nature:

> "The students capitalised on the only resource they could depend upon- their own bodies. The students reacted to massively inept governmental policy by direct confrontation of officials. Officials reacted with force, students were beaten, non-student segments of the population sympathised with them, and an incipient anti-regime attitude began to crystallise."[37]

Clearly, resource mobilisation theory largely ignores external determinants of

movement success. Gamson's study of movement outcomes in particular has limited research

by focusing on variables of social movement organisations instead of on political factors and

by cursorily dismissing context variables. Piven and Cloward argue that this exclusion is

unfortunate as environmental political factors actually play a large role in determining

movement success: their 1979 thesis stresses the importance of factors external to the

movement itself and further contradicted Gamson's findings by demonstrating how internal

movement organising can be detrimental to movement success. Their study helped in part to

inspire the final model of social movements that this paper will examine, the political process

model. Like Piven and Cloward, political process theorists place a large emphasis on the

importance of both internal and external factors in the determination of movement success. It

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[36] Harvey A. Farberman. "Students and Youth Culture". In *Social Reality.* Edited by Harvey A. Farberman and Erich Goode. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 266.
[37] Ibid., 267.

is by studying these external movement variables that this study hopes to contribute to the literature on student protests.

3. THE POLITICAL PROCESS MODEL

A) Summary

The political process model is an alternative to both the classical and resource mobilisation model. According to Doug McAdam, its founder, the theory seeks to explain insurgency as a result of factors both internal and external to the movement. Three main factors are cited: expanding political opportunities, indigenous organisation, and collective liberation.[38] Political opportunities are similar to what classical theorists refer to as structural strains, however instead of merely causing a psychological disturbance among individuals these opportunities lead to collective liberation and organisation among effected groups.[39] Political opportunity structures refer to the institutional structure, informal procedures and power configurations in the political context that influence movements.[40]

Alone, political opportunities are not sufficient to cause social movement emergence. However, in conjunction with the formation of organisations among the aggrieved population and the realisation of collective liberation, social movement formation becomes possible. Piven and Cloward explain collective cognitive liberation as the realisation by an aggrieved population that something can be done to change their condition and that furthermore something *should* be done as the current system of power is unjust.[41] However, cognitive liberation can only occur after an accompanying expansion of political opportunities and the development of a strong organisation have taken place because a 'critical mass' must be

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[38] McAdam, *Political Process*, 2.
[39] Hall, *Poor People's Social Movement,* 11.
[40] Hanspeter Kriesi, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Duyvendak and Marco Guigni. "New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe". In *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics.* Edited by Doug McAdam and David Snow. (Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company, 1997), 52.
[41] Piven and Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*, 3-4.

reached in order to promote liberation.[42] All three factors identified by the political process model are therefore interrelated. Furthermore, it is clear from its emphasis on these three factors that, unlike the preceding classical and resource mobilisation models, political process theory takes into account both socio-psychological *and* political phenomena.

Finally, McAdam is careful to point out that even in cases where the three main factors are present, social movement emergence is not guaranteed. The antecedent to these three factors is what McAdam labels 'broad socioeconomic processes'. The fact that he does not elaborate on this important concept at all must be interpreted as a deliberate reminder that insurgency is both a social phenomenon dependent on psychological factors not easily defined or predicted, as well as a political phenomenon dependent on environmental factors.[43] Therefore, social movements cannot be explained by any universal model or list of conditions because they involve a complicated mix of both political and psychological processes that are unique to any given situation. The political process model of movement emergence is illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3- The Political Process Model[44]
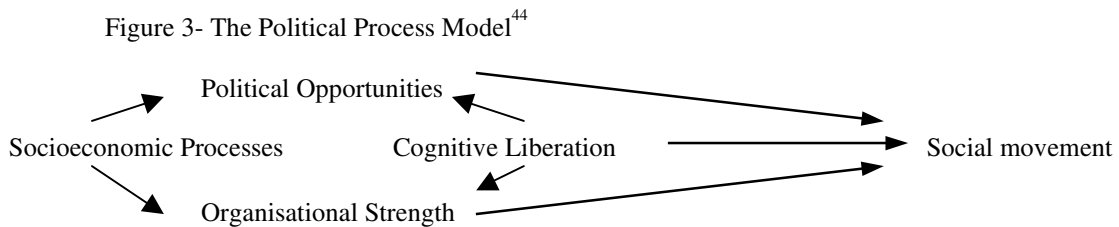
B) The political process view of student protest

Cognitive liberation and political opportunities have been used to explain student protest emergence. For example, the idea of cognitive liberation is embedded in Meyer and Rubinson's thesis that student political activity reflect the inclusion of students as a status

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[42] Hall, *Poor People's Social Movement,* 12.
[43] Ibid., 10.
[44] McAdam, *Political Process,* 51.

group in the social and political system: students are politically active in many Latin American countries because "the student status is almost everywhere defined, both structurally and symbolically, as one with distinctive standing in society and in the political system." Moreover, this symbolic image of students provides them with the conviction that they hold political power;[45] this analysis very closely mirrors the description of processes of cognitive liberation described by Piven and Cloward.

Daniel Levy also employs a political process analysis to help explain why public universities in Latin America witness greater degrees of student protest than private universities. He argues that the lack of student mobilisation at private universities is due to a smaller political opportunity structure: "Most private universities are governed from atop a much steeper organisational hierarchy. Many are self-consciously patterned after the American model, purposefully and explicitly rejecting the Latin tradition of student participation."[46] He concludes that the most important determinants of student political activism are external variables not controlled by the students themselves: "Whatever role in shaping national policies one ascribes to student politics, an analysis of the 1970s clearly indicates that the shape of student politics is itself highly dependent on national policies."[47]

C) The political process view of outcomes

Political process theorists see success as a continuation over time of the same mix of internal and external factors that caused the initial generation of insurgency.[48] Therefore, factors that create political opportunities or aid in processes of cognitive liberation improve chances of movement success. Of the three sets of literature examined, political process theory has the most to say about external influences on outcomes.

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[45] Meyer and Rubinson, "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity".
[46] Levy, "Student Politics in Contemporary Latin America", 10.
[47] Ibid., conclusion.
[48] See McAdam, *Political Process,* 52 and Jenkins, *The Politics of Insurgency,* 22.

Guigni notes that studies about the environmental conditions that influence the outcomes of movements have thus far analysed two external factors: the role of public opinion and of political opportunity structures. Part of the goal of social movements is often to raise public support for their cause, and governments pay close attention to public opinion when making decisions; therefore, social movement analysts look at the way that social movements change social values to increase public sympathy, as well as how these changes in public opinion can subsequently help movements achieve their goals by making decision-makers more responsive to their demands.[49]

Political opportunity structures refer to two external determinants of movement success: the system of alliances and oppositions to social movements, and the state structure.[50] Guigni describes how powerful allies are necessary for successful mobilisation in the long run, and how opponents may influence the outcomes of social movements. According to this perspective, the effectiveness of social movements depends on their capacity to bargain effectively with allies and opponents.[51] Multiple case studies of social movements demonstrate that the structure of the state influences outcomes: Jenkins examines American farm-worker insurgents and concludes that their success was due to a combination of sustained outside support and the disunity of the political elites during a period of political turmoil under a centre-left governing coalition.[52] Piven and Cloward further identify the role of institutions that shape opportunities for action and limit its impact; they view the electoral-representative system as a major factor mediating the political impact of institutional disruptions.[53] Finally, Meyer and Rubinson demonstrate that student protest success is

[49] Guigni, "Was It Worth the Effort?", 379-380.
[50] Ibid., 381.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Jenkins, *The Politics of Insurgency,* xiv.
[53] See Piven and Cloward, *Poor People's Movements.*

determined in large part by the institutionalisation and regulation of the educational system at a national level.[54]

SUMMARY

This chapter has explained the central tenets of classical, resource mobilisation and political process theories, paying particular attention to how these perspectives view movement outcomes. It has also examined how student protest literature coincides with these social movement models, thus making it possible to draw from social movement theory when attempting to explain student protest outcomes.

Two major findings stem from this review of the literature. First, student protests can in most respects be analysed in the same way as social movements. Despite the fact that many definitions of social movements involve an element of longevity, even student protests of short duration display the main characteristics of a movement: they pass through phases of emergence, continuation and resolution, and furthermore they each can be understood as evolving in response to a particular set of grievances, resources, organisational capacities, collective cognitive liberation and political opportunities.

Second, on the subject of movement and protest outcomes, most theorists agree that the same factors that lead to the emergence of group insurgency also lead to its perpetuation and contribute to its successful resolution. These factors can be separated into internal and external variables.[55] External variables refer primarily to political opportunity structures and the development of cognitive liberation; in the case of student protest, these are determined by the education system and student status in society.

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[54] Meyer and Rubinson. "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity".
[55] Internal variables have been studied more thoroughly and include any number of actions taken by movement participants that strengthen their resource base, increase their longevity and create sympathy among decision-makers and the general public for their cause.

The following chapter will draw on the theories and observations described in this review in order to derive a complete set of hypotheses that explain the environmental determinants of the student protest outcomes in Québec, Mexico and California. While the information gathered here will prove very useful to this attempt, it is clear that the institutional determinants of student protest outcomes have thus far been largely neglected in the literature: not one theorist systematically analyses the outcomes of student protests, to say nothing of the external factors that lead to success. This oversight probably relates to the relative lack of a corresponding theory in social movement literature; as Guigni notes, "research on social movements has usually addressed issues of movement emergence and mobilisation, yet has paid less attention to their outcomes and consequences."[56] As demonstrated, accounts of student protest mirror developments in social movement theory; therefore, it is unsurprising that these two gaps coincide.

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[56] Ibid., 371.

CHAPTER 3: THE EXTERNAL DETERMINANTS OF STUDENT PROTEST

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to employ the information gleaned from social movement theory in order to formulate a set of hypotheses related to the institutional frameworks that influence student protest outcomes. Chapter 4 will evaluate the importance of the independent variables identified in this chapter by analysing the outcomes of student protests in three different political contexts: two successful cases of student protest, one in Canada and one in Mexico, and one unsuccessful example of protest in the United States. For the purpose of this study, protest success or effectiveness can be understood as an outcome in which social movement participants realise their primary aim: therefore, protests are either successful or not successful. This operational definition is the most applicable because this study seeks to understand the circumstances in which student activists can deliberately produce social change. Because all three cases of student protest clearly stated their goals and because the realisation of their aims can be easily observed, these cases lend themselves to such a binary definition of outcomes. Definitions of social movement outcomes that understand success as some variation or combination of goal achievement, movement strengthening, or unintentional effects are not as pertinent.

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, hypotheses describing the relationship between protest outcomes and different socio-political and educational institutional frameworks will be explained. The second section will introduce the case studies that will be used to verify these hypotheses. If the institutional frameworks identified in this chapter are valid explanations of protest outcomes, then these variables should manifest themselves more in the Canadian and Mexican systems than in the

American system. To be sure, not all of the determinants of student movement outcomes can be examined in this study: the four that have been selected are those that were comparable across the three cases and that best explained the variation in outcomes.[57]

In order to identify these four variables, all three schools of social movement literature were considered. However, as each framework- classical, resource mobilisation and political process- focuses on different aspects of social movement emergence, mobilisation and resolution, they were not all equally useful in identifying the institutional influences of protest outcomes. For one thing, classical theory analyses only the grievances that catalyse the outbreak of insurgency. As will be shown in the description of the protests, the student movements in Québec, Mexico and California were all caused by one common grievance, namely the implementation of a specific policy that placed limitations on university access. However this identification of movement catalyst does not generate any hypotheses regarding protest outcomes.

Resource mobilisation theory highlights infusions of external resources that help protestors mobilise and sustain their movement. In the case of student protests, these resources come in the form of financial capital, human capital, and increased free time. To a large extent, these three variables are determined by the movement and not the environment in which protest occurs. For example, human capital and free time depends on the ability of protest organisers to encourage movement participation, the nature of the tactics they choose to employ, as well as the sharing of tasks within the movement. The importance of financial resources is also determined by the nature of the tactics employed, and while money can be donated by external protest supporters, student protests are largely dependent on the affluence of movement participants and the organisations they work through. Therefore,

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[57] For a discussion of other unexamined possible factors, please refer to the summary and the conclusion.

although these three factors are pertinent influences on protest outcomes, it is difficult to measure them as effects of external institutional frameworks. For this reason, resource mobilisation variables are not central to this study. A discussion of their potential significance to the three cases of student protest can be found in Appendix A.

Political process theory proves most applicable to this study. This school of social movement literature looks at the opening of political opportunity structures and processes of cognitive liberation that increase chances for movement success. It is clear from the outset that political process theory generates a larger set of pertinent variables than other social movement theories because of its focus on the wider political and cultural environment in which protest occurs. Variables that help explain student protest success according to this model are the role of student status and identity, the history of protest and political participation, the degree of openness of educational governance structures, and the availability and role of elite allies. The following section will describe these four variables in greater detail.

I. POLITICAL PROCESS VARIABLES
A) Variable 1: Student status
Hypothesis: An elite, politically-involved student identity aids student protests

Political process theory emphasises the importance of cognitive liberation as a contributor to protest mobilisation and strength. For students to be a successful challenging group, they must possess a cohesive sense of solidarity that stems from the development of a distinct student identity. Furthermore, this identity must be infused with a sense of political efficacy and competence in order to encourage protest participation.

Numerous studies of student protests have noted the importance of highly-regarded student status.[58] This prerequisite is necessary for a number of reasons. First, a sense of community allows student leaders to mobilise their peers around a set of objectives because they can identify these objectives as important for students as a group.[59] Second, the student identity is often identified with intellectualism and thus with a relatively high social status. This position allows students to appeal to the social and political values of other intellectuals, and in so doing form alliances with other groups in society.[60] Third, the student identity typically has an inherently idealistic quality that is due in part to the elite nature of university students as well as to their youth; protest leaders often explicitly appeal to this idealism in order to mobilise students.[61]

Not only must student status be evolved and highly regarded, it must also contain a sense of political efficacy. In their 1972 survey of student activists, Meyer and Rubinson find that political participation most often stems from a sense of competence rather than of despair or oppression.[62] This observation is intuitively sensical: self-competence and a belief in self-actualisation among the student body is important in order to inspire protest, because defeatist attitudes would result in complacency and apathy.

The cohesiveness and character of student status varies across countries and can change with time. It is determined by such factors as the historical involvement of students in politics, the status of intellectuals, the political career opportunities of students and student

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[58] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge*, Meyer and Rubinson, "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity", and Lipset, "Students and Politics in Comparative Perspective".

[59] Bakke E. Wight and Mary S. Bakke, *Campus Challenge: Student Activism in Perspective*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1971), 237.

[60] Of course, the status of intellectuals varies by country as well. For example, intellectuals are held in higher political regard in Mexico than in Canada or the United States. Yet regardless of the status of intellectuals, the association of students with academics always provides greater political opportunity to form alliances. See Lipset, "Students and Politics in Comparative Perspective", 43.

[61] See Lyonette, "Student Organisations in Latin America", 655 and Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge,* 9.

[62] See Meyer and Rubinson, "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity" and Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge,* 249.

activists after graduation, political cultures of mass participation and civic engagement, and

the existence of competing identities that lessen the importance of student status.

B) Variable 2: History of success
Hypothesis: Historical precedents of student political participation aids student protest

A historical precedent of student influence in governance aids protest primarily

because such a history is necessary in order to create the politically-active and influential

student identity that was just described. As Bakke and Bakke note, "the concept of what it

means to be a student is built up out of the expectancies held by students…These

expectancies are stabilised by popular, cultural, and historical reinforcements."[63]

Furthermore, a history of successful protest and participation implies that contemporary

student protestors will have a network of alliances and a repertoire of tactics that they can

renew, and that the authorities they are challenging already view the students as an influential

group that must be negotiated with and not ignored.[64]

Multiple student protest scholars have empirically demonstrated the importance of a

history of activism. In her examination of American universities in the 1960s, Nella van

Dyke finds that schools that experienced protest around one issue were far more likely to

have protest around numerous other issues as well.[65] She also found evidence that

universities that experienced protest in the 1930s were more than four times more likely than

schools with no history to experience protest activity during the 1960s.[66]

A second likely reason for the importance of a historical precedent of student political

participation is the fact that activist subcultures may survive on college campuses over time

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[63] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge,* 245.
[64] Additionally, if past protests were aimed at insuring greater student power and representation, as is often the case, then a history of successful activism also implies that contemporary students will have more access to governance structures to aid their movements.
[65] Van Dyke, "Hotbeds of Activism", 205.
[66] Ibid., 212.

and thus aid in future student mobilisation. For example, van Dyke finds evidence that American students of the 1960s were influenced by activist subcultures that had endured among long-time faculty members and community locals since the 1930s.[67] The survival of these activist subcultures means that student protestors can receive training in tactics, learn more about the administrative culture that they are challenging, and be acquainted with the history of activism on their own campus. Students from large university towns may have an easier time accessing these 'social movement communities' as many alumni and former student activists remain in the vicinity and because these schools are surrounded by a larger number of restaurants, cafés and clubs that encourage interaction between current students and these locals.

C) Variable 3: Educational Governance
Hypothesis 1: Centralised, public education systems aid student protest
Hypothesis 2: Institutionalised student participation in university governance aids student protest

Two qualities of the decision-making structure of university governance have been cited by protest scholars as important determinants of student activism: the level of political centralisation of the education system and the level of student participation in governance.[68]

Regulation by the national political system helps encourage the formation of a unified student status for two reasons.[69] First, because all students are subject to the same examination schedule, course requirements, financial demands, and government policies, it is far easier to mobilise a larger number of students in a centralised system than in a decentralised one because a larger percentage of the total national student population is affected by policy changes. Second, a centralised, public education system also provides a

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[67] Ibid., 207.
[68] See Aron, Meyer and Rubinson, and Levy. Furthermore, Weinberg and Walker cite national centralisation of universities as a factor that encourages student protest, while Bakke and Bakke describe how student participation increases chances of successful student activism.
[69] Meyer and Rubinson, "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity". 29.

more concrete target for student protest, usually the national government or Ministry of Education, while decentralised systems have multiple levels of decision-making.[70] This increases potential for protest success simply because there are fewer decision-making bodies that need to be influenced.

Furthermore, high levels of centralisation often come hand-in-hand with strongly institutionalised student participation: as Levy notes, "co-government has rarely found an institutional home in a private setting"[71] because most private universities are governed by a Board of Trustees and have a more top-down organisational hierarchy than public universities. Therefore, countries with a centralisation of authority are likely to have a strong, centralised organisation of students at the national level as well,[72] and this student union is ideally positioned to protest education policies and mobilise the entire national student population.

Institutionalised student roles in university governance are important in and of themselves: for example, even in the highly-decentralised American education system the most notable examples of student activism occur at universities that promote student participation in university governance and civic engagement in society.[73] This is perhaps explained by the fact that co-governance encourages students to perceive involvement in politics as both their right and responsibility. Thus, institutionalised student participation strengthens students' political identity and aids in processes of cognitive liberation. It also provides direct access to the university decision-making structure and thus greatly increases the political opportunity structures available to student organisations and protest groups.

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[70] Decision-making at private universities and universities in decentralised education systems typically involves approval from faculty forums, campus administration, a governing board, state and possibly national government.

[71] Levy, "Student Politics in Contemporary Latin America", 3.

[72] Weinberg, Ian and Kenneth N. Walker. ""Student Politics and Political Systems: Toward a Typology". *The American Journal of Sociology.* 75, no. 1 (Jul., 1969), 83.

[73] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge,* 498.

D) Variable 4: Systems of alliances
   Hypothesis: Institutionalised links to political allies aid student protest

Systems of alliances influence movement outcomes because outside allies increase

the potential for the donation of resources to the movement, provide indirect access to

decision-making bodies and reinforce the legitimacy of protest movements as political actors.

This rationale applies strongly to student movements as well. Allies of student protests range

from public political figures and intellectuals who provide moral support, to political parties,

trade unions and other social groups who provide both financial support, access to decision-

makers and valuable political training.

Bakke and Bakke note that support from non-student groups bolsters the morale of

student activists and occasionally also results in financial contributions to student

movements.[74] To be sure, this type of infusion of external resources can undermine a student

movement by alienating student participants who oppose the ideology of these non-student

groups, but in many cases public support from respected intellectuals or public figures

creates widespread societal support for student protests, increases the chance that more

students will join the movement, and diminishes the likelihood that university administrators

will ignore student demands. In short, support from outside allies makes student protest

appear "intellectually and morally respectable."[75]

Furthermore, links between student activists and local or national political parties

allow protestors to learn vital leadership skills: as Levy notes, "student leaders learn how to

recruit, form alliances, exert pressure, make compromises and deal in the political capital of

power."[76] Such alliances also encourage more students to participate in campus activisms, as

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[74] Ibid., 471.
[75] Ibid., 501.
[76] Levy, "Student Politics in Contemporary Latin America", 3.

it is apparent that in such situations political talent and involvement may ultimately result in offers of employment or at the very least in character recommendations.[77] Finally, Ian Weinberg and Kenneth Walker argue that structural links between student organisations and national political parties may help control extremist tendencies among student activists and thus create a wider support base for student movements;[78] this observation applies to alliances with non-governmental community organisations and unions as well.

II. THREE CASES OF STUDENT PROTEST

The three cases of student protest that have been selected to establish the validity of these hypotheses occurred in Québec, Mexico, and California. In Québec, students protested from spring of 2004 to spring of 2005 against the provincial government's decision to convert university grants into loans. In Mexico, students protested during the 1998-1999 academic year against the governing board's decision to raise tuition at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). And, in California students protested during the 1994-1995 school year against the Board of Regents' plan to stop the University of California's affirmative action programs.

These three cases were selected because they were the most reported, and therefore one could say the most significant, student protests to occur in their respective nations in the past decade. Furthermore, they were appropriate to this study because the similarities between these cases make them comparable while the differences between them make it possible to analyse the validity of the four political process variables just described. All three

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[77] It is important to note that strong systems of alliances result more often in political systems that are highly centralised. As Weinberg and Walker note,

"Where political parties are highly organised and centralised at the national level, and are thus able to sponsor mobility into professional political careers, they are likely to turn to universities as sources of able, well-educated candidates. This in turn leads to the development of student political clubs or branches of national political parties on university campuses…" (84).

Thus, it is possible that centralised political systems as well as centralised education systems influence student protest outcomes, however this observation is not verifiable in this particular study.

[78] Weinberg and Walker, "Student Politics and Political Systems", 94.

cases were comparable in terms of the issue disputed, as student protestors in each case

claimed that they were fighting to keep universities accessible to all sectors of society.[79]

Second, students in each case protested for approximately a year, and this long length of

protest as well as statements from protest participants indicate that the movements each

explored and exhausted all the protest tactics feasible in their respective situations.[80] Third,

the protestors had similar goals: in each case they were trying to block a specific new policy.

Fourth, in all three cases the policy in question did not affect the entire student population

uniformly. In California and Québec, the protested policy was aimed directly at students

from racial and class minorities, respectively;[81] in Mexico, the 65 USD proposed increase in

undergraduate tuition[82] would also affect poorer students infinitely more than students from

higher-income families, and completely excluded graduate students. Nevertheless, a final

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[79] The affirmative action debate in California was about access for racial minorities, while the debates in Québec and Mexico were about access for all socio-economic classes. Nevertheless, this difference should be mitigated by the fact that students in all three cases claimed they were fighting for the diversity of the student body, and that this diversity was beneficial to the all students at the universities and to society in general. Furthermore, race and socio-economic class in California are very related; in testament to this fact, following the abolishment of affirmative action the UC introduced admissions preferences based on economic class in order to insure the *racial* diversity of the student population. It is therefore possible to surmise that if the issue in California has been about class preferences instead of race preferences, a similar number of students would have been directly affected by the contested policy, and a similar number of students would have been swayed by the rhetoric of the protestors.

Finally, despite the fact that the affirmative action debate had the obvious potential of placing minorities and white students in competition, the pro-affirmative action protests were supported by the majority of all UC students as well as all nine UC Student Governments. At the same time, policy-makers in Québec and Mexico attempted to frame the debate by appealing to the self-interests of wealthier students: they argued that cuts to subsidies and increased private funding of higher education were necessary in order to prevent a rapid decrease in the quality of education. There is therefore no reason to believe that the different outcomes of the three movement related to the divisive nature of the issues and their different potentials to pit students against each other.

[80] This opinion was voiced by student protestors themselves. UC Student Regent Ed Gomez is quoted as saying, "I really believe that in many cases the only people who put up a good fight to us were the students" and that the students were the only ones "willing to risk all to avoid a vote by the board." See Pusser, *Burning Down the House,* 119.

[81] In order to qualify for provincial student assistance, a student must demonstrate that they are in financial need. Most students receive loans, while grants are reserved for low income students who fall into the lowest tax bracket.

[82] Tuition was at 0.02 USD, or 20 Mexican cents. Originally, Rector Barnés had proposed to raise tuition to 100 USD on February 11, but the university governing board approved the smaller sum of 65 USD as an attempt to appease student protestors who had already staged two large marches through the city and had forced a 24-hour shutdown of a third of UNAM's classes.

similarity between the cases was that, despite the targeted nature of the policies, student

protestors received support from students of all races and classes.

The major differences between the three cases that make them applicable to this study

are their different outcomes- success in Québec and Mexico, failure in California- and the

different institutional frameworks in which protest occurred. Furthermore, the targets of the

protests also varied: Québec students were trying to change a budgeting decision of the

provincial government, Mexican students were trying to reverse a tuition change passed by a

university governing board, and Californian students were trying to convince members of the

governing board to uphold a policy that the university had a long history of defending. If

anything, this difference implies that student protestors in California should have had an

easier time succeeding[83] and therefore makes these three protests even more interesting as

case studies. A more detailed description of the three cases follows.

A) QUÉBEC

The Québec student strikes began when the provincial government, headed by the

Liberal Party of Premiere Jean Charest, modified the Grants and Loans programme for higher

education by transforming $103 million worth of student grants into loans. The effect of this

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[83] Further evidence exists to support this claim. First, the decision to raise tuition at the UNAM was made of necessity: the university was already facing underfunding and a budget crisis which was exacerbated by an additional 30% cut in funding from the federal government, and the IMF and the World Bank had been applying strong pressure throughout Latin America to switch to a model of privately-funded education. The governing board was therefore under pressure from both the federal government and international institutions to raise tuition and keep it raised. Similarly, Québec's provincial government was also facing budget problems and the Liberal Party had been elected with the promise of lowering personal and corporate income taxes through social spending cuts. In both of these cases, the contested policies were passed and partially implemented before student protests broke out.

In contrast, the affirmative action policy-changes at the UC were *opposed* by the university's administration as well as by President Clinton, and although the policies had the support of the Governor of California, in 1974 the Californian state legislature defended affirmative action by passing a resolution explicitly ordering the UC to match the racial composition of its student body to that of each year's graduating high school class. Furthermore, the governing board of the UC had just 14 years previously devoted enormous resources to the *Bakke vs. the Regents of the University of California* legal case to publicly defend affirmative action. Therefore, the end of affirmative action was unexpected and counter to prevailing tendencies.

Finally, it can also be assumed that provincial governments are less responsive than university governing boards, as they have more constituent groups to appease and are geographically further from the principal site of protest. Therefore, protestors in Québec may have been up against a larger challenge.

policy was that students supported by the grants suddenly found themselves in greater debt. This policy change was made despite the fact that the Liberal platform in the 2004 general election campaign promised to maintain the freeze on higher education tuition.

The student protests that ensued were the largest ever staged in Québec history. Negotiations with the government and student marches began in April 2004 and continued for over a year without result. Student strikes beginning on February 24, 2005 were led by both CÉGEP (Québec colleges) and university students; many technical colleges participated as well. At the peak of the protests over half of the entire student population of the province was on strike, with 230,000 out of 450,000 students participating.

Although the protests began as independent movements on CÉGEP campuses, as the protests spread to the universities three student unions began coordinating the management of the strikes at a province-wide level. These unions were the FEUQ and the FECQ coalition (Féderation Étudiante Universitaire du Québec and Fédération Étudiante Collégiale du Québec), which was strongly affiliated with the Parti Québecois (the PQ, the provincial separatist party), and the CASSÉE (Coalition de l'Association pour une Solidarité Syndicale Étudiante), which is loosely connected to l'Action Démocratique du Québec (the ADQ, the provincial left-wing party). Although these two union groups continually bickered over the goals of the movement, they were jointly responsible for negotiating the resolution of the protests with the governing Liberal Party. The FECQ and FEUQ favoured a return to grant-based higher education funding, while CASSÉE's goals ultimately expanded to include a demand for free tuition.

While the negotiations were in process, local strike committees were formed at every campus involved in the protests; these committees held weekly ratification assemblies for

student participants, the results of which were communicated to the student unions.[84] Congresses were also held regularly, and these were open to all citizens of the province.

The students were given moral support by the PQ and the ADQ. They were also given direct support by worker's unions who helped establish picket squads, made financial donations to the protestors, provided free public transportation to student strikers, and sponsored advertisements of the students' arguments. Teachers unions joined in with rotating strikes and maintenance workers at universities also proclaimed a day of strike in solidarity. The demonstrations called by the student unions consistently saw tens of thousands of supporters, including the families of students, schoolchildren, and workers. For example, a Montréal march held on March 18th, 2005 had 80,000 participants, while one in Québec City on March 24th had 10,000. On numerous occasions, such marches succeeded in blocking major thoroughfares; in March and April of 2005 alone the students disrupted highway traffic, blocked access to the port of Montréal and the Casino, and occupied the offices of members of the provincial legislature.

The strike ended on April 2, 2005 when the FECQ and FEUQ broke ranks with the CASSÉE and negotiated a deal with the government. The Liberal Party agreed to reinvest $482 million into student grants by the start of the 2006-07 school year.[85] This amount was significantly more than the $103 million initially cut, yet the CASSÉE and its membership were disappointed that more radical concessions were not reached. Nevertheless, they too officially ended the strikes and students returned to class on April 11th.[86]

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[84] Marouf and Fiorito, "Successes and Shortcomings of the Student Strike".
[85] IBID.
[86] However, 20 campus unions affiliated with the CASSÉE, representing approximately 20,000 students, continued to reject the agreement for the following two weeks.

B) MEXICO

The stimulus of the student protests in Mexico was a proposal by UNAM Rector Francisco Barnés de Castro to increase undergraduate tuition. This proposal was made in part because the federal government had cut the university's budget by 30 percent and because the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) were pressuring the Ministry of Education to encourage private university funding. The proposal was approved by the university's governing board at a meeting that occurred off-campus and that excluded the Student Board Representatives.

The students were already organised into a variety of informal student organisations including the Unión Revolutionario Emiliano Zapata, the Frente Popular Francisco Villa, the Movimiento Proletario Independiente, and the Trotskyist Juventud Socialista.[87] After the protests began, a General Strike Council (GSC) was elected, composed of representatives from many of these factions. Originally, the demands of the protestors were limited to the return to the original tuition rate and the resignation of Rector Barnés. However, the GSC also issued a set of four additional goals including immunity from academic and legal sanctions for protestors, an alteration of the university governance structure to include more student representation, a return of the automatic admission policy for graduates of high schools affiliated with the UNAM, and the removal of the time limit for graduation so that students could continue their studies for an indefinite number of years. These last two demands were aimed at the elimination of university policies that had been instituted in 1997 against student opposition.[88]

The UNAM strike lasted for two semesters. A number of faculty-led groups from the UNAM and the PRD-led municipal government of Mexico City supported the student

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[87] Rhoads and Mina, "The Student Strike at the National Autonomous University of Mexico", 339.
[88] Statland de Lopez, "Mexico's National University is Free of Strikers."

protests. The PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática) refused to send police to the sites of protest, and the leader of the party, Cárdenas, spoke formally in favour of the students. Meanwhile, faculty groups participated in rallies and supported the students at formal negotiations. The student movement also had widespread societal support from trade unions, faculty and regular citizens, who participated in marches and rallies and utilised public media to voice their approval of the students' position. Civilian members of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation joined students at demonstrations outside of UNAM's administrative buildings and inspired student organisers to form a General University Consultation.[89] Meanwhile, members of workers' unions formed armed guards that patrolled the campus to discourage attacks on the students.

Throughout the strike a number of marches and rallies were held, including a May 12th rally in which 100,000 protestors participated.[90] These demonstrations saw tens of thousands of student participants not only from the UNAM, but also from the National Polytechnic Institute and 30 other universities. The GSC also organised National Student Encounters attended by students from all over the country, and in mid-May students from 33 universities agreed to form the National Student Coordinating Committee, a permanent radical student organisation designed to institutionalise national support for student protests.

On June 3, 1999, after 10 months of strikes, Rector Barnés capitulated to student demands by making the tuition charge voluntary.[91] He also promised immunity to student strikers, and extended the spring semester so that students could take their examinations. While many students accepted these concessions, radical groups hoping to realise some of their secondary goals continued to protest on campus.

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[89] Modelled after the Zapatista Consultation, the General University Consultation is a plebiscite for students, faculty and staff.
[90] Rhoads and Mina, "The Student Strike at the National Autonomous University of Mexico", 341.
[91] Post, "Student Movements and User Fees," 160.

In response, the university held a referendum in which all students and faculty were asked whether they approved of the Rector's proposal and supported the end of the strike: 172,000 people voted, with ninety percent in favour of returning to classes.[92] However, radical students refused to break the strike and continued to occupy campus buildings. As a result 2,500 federal police officers with batons and riot shields occupied the university. 745 student protestors were rounded up and jailed, bringing the student movement to its end.[93]

C) California

The student movement at the University of California broke out in an attempt to prevent the passing of two anti-affirmative action proposals put before the governing board. When Regent Ward Connerly first introduced SP-1 and SP-2, which together regulated admissions as well as employment and contracting by the University, the policies seemed doomed to failure. Affirmative action was mandated by California's Constitution and Legislature and was a key component of the university's culture, celebrated as a mark of institutional progress.[94] Furthermore, affirmative action was publicly supported by the UC's President, all nine campus Chancellors, all nine Academic Senates, all nine campus Student Associations, and the university's Alumni Association.[95] Nevertheless, because of political support from outside of the UC, these two policies provoked what has been called "one of the most prolonged and contentious policy disputes in higher education in the US."[96]

Twelve months of organising against the policies took place before the Regents voted on the proposals. Students formed the radical Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) and the Affirmative Action Coalition. They organised

[92] Statland de Lopez, "Mexico's National University is Free of Strikers."
[93] Ordorika, "The Limits of University Autonomy", 385.
[94] Brian Pusser. "Beyond Baldridge: Extending the Political Model of Higher Education Organization and Governance." *Educational Policy.* 17, no. 1. (January and march 2003), 121.
[95] IBID.
[96] Ibid., 122.

walkouts and conferences, circulated petitions and threatened litigation.[97] Other campus

groups developed innovative protest tactics such as "Black Outs" during which protestors

dressed in black enacted scenes of racial discrimination.[98] The University of California

Student Association (UCSA) also organised a series of marches, meetings and rallies at every

UC campus that were attended by thousands of students.[99] Interestingly, student organisers

explicitly complained that non-student groups in favour of affirmative action were not

willing to cooperate with the students.[100]

Furthermore, the student movement utilised institutional routes to fight for their

goals. Student Regent Ed Gomes introduced a counter-proposal to the Board (which was

voted down),[101] students spoke in favour of affirmative action at Board meetings, and the

UCSA invited Jesse Jackson to address the Board on their behalf.

Although the students saw mass participation at their events, and although affirmative

action had widespread administrative support, the outcome of the movement was not

successful. On July 20, 1995 the UC Board of Regents passed both proposals during a 14-

hour meeting.[102] They were interrupted twice by bomb threats.[103]

Students continued their movement even after the Regents' vote, working both to

reverse the Regents' actions and prevent state-level anti-affirmative action policies from

being passed. Student organisations continued to hold protests and teach-ins at all nine

campuses for the next sixteen months. In addition, a group of students from the UC Santa

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[97] Robert A. Rhoads, Victor Saenz and Rozana Carducci. "Higher Education Reform as a Social Movement: The Case of Affirmative Action." *The Review of Higher Education.* 28, no. 2. (Winter 2005), 209.
[98] Horowitz, *Uncivil Wars*, 25.
[99] Pusser, *Burning Down the House*, 134.
[100] Ibid., 120.
[101] Connerly, *Creating Equal*, 142.
[102] Jerome Karabel. "The Rise and Fall of Affirmative Action at the University of California." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education.* No. 25. (Autumn, 1999), 110.
[103] Pusser, "Beyond Baldridge", 122.

Barbara filed a lawsuit against the Regents;[104] in October, over 5,000 students rallied at the

UC Berkeley and a campus-wide walk-out stopped many classes, while students at the UC

Irvine held a three-week long hunger strike.[105] Students also started holding protests outside

of virtually every Board meeting, and during the December meeting, fifty-nine students were

arrested for blockading a Berkeley administrative building.[106]

Nevertheless, on November 5, 1996 California voters passed Proposition 209, the

California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI),[107] and the Board of Regents refused to re-vote on

SP-1 or SP-2. The student movement, as well as other social movements in support of

affirmative action, had failed.[108]

SUMMARY

This study hypothesises that four context variables influenced the outcomes of these

student protests: the status of students, their history of protest and political participation,

educational governance structures and the availability of political allies. The validity of

these institutional frameworks will be tested in the next chapter by analysing their

presence and role in two successful cases of student protest in Québec and Mexico and

the one unsuccessful example in California.

While these six variables are likely strong determinants of student protest

outcomes, it should be noted that other factors influence movement success as well. First,

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[104] Pusser, *Burning Down the House*, 198.

[105] IBID.

[106] IBID.

[107] This proposition amended the state's constitution to prohibit the use of race preferences for any position with a public entity. (see Sax, Linda J. and Marisol Arredondo. "Student Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action in College Admissions." *Research in Higher Education.* 40, no.4. (1999), 439).

[108] Interestingly, in May 2001 the UC Board of Regents, including Regent Ward Connerly, voted to rescind their decision on SP-1 and SP-2. However, this new resolution was largely symbolic as the university is still bound by the CCRI which prevents the use of race preferences at all state agencies. Regent William Bagley stated that the colleges "are not presently returning to affirmative action per se….The message, really, is that the University of California is no longer a sponsor of anti-affirmative-action movements around the nation." (Peter Schmidt. "University of California Ends Affirmative-Action Ban: State law still bars preferences". *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* A23 (May 25, 2001).)

successful protest can depend as much on internal movement variables as on the context in which protest occurs. So, for example, it is impossible to conclude that the student protests in Québec were successful because of the context in which they occurred and not also because protestors utilised strong tactics to mobilise and sustain their movement. Nevertheless, the findings of this paper are limited: the assertion is not that context determines the outcomes of protests in all cases, merely that the institutional variables identified in this chapter facilitate student protests and therefore their presence or non-presence in the three different environments contributed to the outcomes of these movements.

Second, although this project isolates the external determinants of student protest outcomes, it should be noted that the internal and context variables of student movements are in reality greatly intertwined. For example, the tactics utilised by protestors are influenced by the history of student activism at a university as well as the alliances that they are capable of forming and the political cultures in which they are located. Similarly, the number of students who participate in protests depends on the size of the university and the unity and characteristics of the national student identity, and even the initial grievance and goal of the movement are influenced by context.[109] As this study examines the influence of environment on protest outcomes, it was necessary to separate these two sets of variables for analytical purposes.

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[109] During the initial stages of this study, an attempt was made to find a case of large American student protests framed as a class issue, however all of these potential cases had been framed by student protestors as issues of racial diversity. This finding was consistent with a 2001 study by Rhoads and Mina that surveyed all reported cases of student activism, both large and small-scale, in the United States during the 1990's and found that over 60% of these directly concerned issues of multiculturalism. This indicates that political culture limits and defines the types of issues that are contestable. For more information on the ability of political culture to define political controversies, see Daniel C. Hallin. "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support." *Journal of Politics.* 46 (February, 1984).

However, because internal and external movement variables are interdependent, internal movement variables are at least partially controlled for in this comparative case study. Assuming that protestors in each case exhausted all the tactics and resources they had available, the major differences in movement tactics between the cases must therefore have been a product of the institutional frameworks the protests engaged. For example, the reason that massive strikes were not employed in California was likely because there was no state-wide student union to coordinate one and no alliance to make a strike an effective tactic;[110] the reason that there was no student union was because the education system is decentralised and student status fractured.[111] Therefore, it is unlikely that internal movement variables such as protest tactics were the root cause of the different outcomes of the three cases.

Finally, some context variables have been excluded from this study because of the impossibility of testing them in the three cases examined. While the commonalities between the three cases made the contexts in which the protests occurred more significant, they also limited the types of variables that could be examined. For example, although student protest literature indicates that the geographic location of protests influences protest outcomes, this cannot be substantiated by this study because the protests in Canada, the United States and Mexico all took place in large, urban areas. Similarly, while scholars of student protest have indicated that the types of goals selected by student protestors, particularly whether they are campus or society-oriented goals, influence chances of success, protestors in the three cases in question all had similar

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[110] Student strikes do not directly prevent the provision of services to a community; therefore, without the support of worker's unions the only group that truly suffers during a student strike are the students themselves. Furthermore, in the United States, the direct costs of holding a strike are significantly higher for American students because tuition costs are so much higher compared to Québec or Mexico.

[111] Weinberg and Walker argue that nation student unions are only present in states with centralised education systems, while decentralised systems produce campus-based student governments. Without a united student identity or a central governing authority, it is extremely rare that multiple universities would be able to coordinate a strike. It is therefore hardly a coincidence that a nation-wide student strike occurred only once in American history.

demands, namely the reversal of a specific policy. Therefore, this study is by no means exhaustive, and it is sincerely hoped that future research will address some of these issues.

The following chapter will evaluate the importance of the four external variables of student protest outcomes described here. In particular, Chapter 4 will analyse the institutional frameworks of the socio-political and education environment in Québec, Mexico, and California to see whether characteristics of these different contexts aided in the development of cognitive liberation and the creation of political opportunity structures for student protestors.

CHAPTER 4: POLITICAL PROCESS VARIABLES

INTRODUCTION

This study had thus far taken a theoretical bent, analysing social movement theories in order to better understand the external determinants of student protest outcomes. Political process theory suggests that student protestors can build stronger, more successful movements if student status in society is well defined and if students see themselves as a competent and historically influential political group. Theory also predicts that educational environments characterised by a centralised, public authority that provides institutionalised avenues of student participation in university governance favour the development and successful resolution of student movements. Finally, the political process model implies that the formation of student-nonstudent alliances is also critical for successful student protests.

This chapter will analyse the student protests in Québec, California and Mexico in order to see whether these political process variables are supported by empirical evidence. If these variables are significant, then the education environment at the University of California

should be characterised by fewer of these institutional frameworks than the environments students confronted in Québec and Mexico.

Based on the three cases examined, it appears that political process hypotheses of student protest outcomes are quite accurate. A developed, elite and politically efficacious student identity and a history of successful student protests do aid student activists in mobilising and sustaining movements. Furthermore, centralised, publicly-funded universities with a high degree of co-governance also aid activists, as do the creation of outside alliances.

1. STUDENT STATUS AND IDENTITY

Political process theory implies that the formation of a cohesive student identity combined with a sense of political efficacy increases the possibilities that students can form successful challenging groups. This hypothesis is supported by evidence from the cases of student protest in Québec, Mexico and the United States.

In Mexico, it is clear that students form a clearly defined social group. This identity stems in part from common experience: Meyers and Rubinson describe how student status is developed at the national level through national entrance examinations and a historically strong ministry of education that homogenises the university experience across the country.[112] Federal education policy since 1989, focussed on quality control and incentive funding at the bequest of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, has produced an even

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[112] Meyer and Rubinson, "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity", 32.

stronger evaluation system of undergraduate and graduate programs.[113] The effect of these polices was to unify the student experience even further. [114]

Student identity in Mexico also stems from a mythology of the role of students in society that has survived since the Mexican Revolution of 1910. At the first National Student Congress in Mexico, held at the UNAM two months before the outbreak of the Revolution, many of the objectives of the Revolution were debated and articulated by the students.[115] The students therefore became an important representative group of the Revolution: in fact, in the early years of the new republic, between 1916 and 1920, the Mexican government even appointed student attachés to all of its embassies and international delegations.[116] Since the Revolution, the UNAM has been seen as a place where questions of national concern should be raised and discussed.

It is clear then that students in Mexico not only have a defined identity, they have an elite status and political role. Such a role is common in many developing countries where illiteracy is common and where students have access to more knowledge than the average citizen; Kevin Lyonette notes that in such situations students are viewed with great respect because it is assumed that they are not only informed, but also idealistic, untainted, and more likely to feel obliged to improve their countries than other elites.[117] Although contemporary Mexico now has high literacy rates,[118] public officials as well as the population in general still hold intellectuals in high regard.[119] This is exemplified by the fact that many public figures

[113] Richard C. Richardson, Jr. and Rollin Kent. "Government Policies and Higher Education Performance in the U.S. and Mexico: Report of a Comparative Study." (New York: Alliance for International Higher Education Policy Studies, 2002), 14.
[114] It is therefore somewhat ironic that these identity-strengthening policies were greatly criticised by student groups at the time of their implementation.
[115] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge*, 119.
[116] Ibid.*,* 119.
[117] Kevin Lyonette. "Student Organisations in Latin America". *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-).* 42, 4. (Oct., 1966), 655.
[118] According to the CIA World Factbook, Mexico's literacy rate is 92.2%.
[119] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge,* 374.

take pride in being considered well-read or literary, perhaps a tradition stemming from the 1920s when every revolutionist took care to appoint intellectuals to their staffs.[120] Furthermore, in a survey of students in four different countries, Bakke and Bakke found that students in Mexico, more than in any other country, "generally considered themselves the avant-garde of the defenders of those objectives of continuing revolution, emphasizing concerns for the welfare of all Mexicans and their fuller enjoyment of the economic and social benefits made possible by a modernised and politically stable Mexico"[121] and that "subjectively they considered themselves already to be mature persons as capable as their elders of functioning in the current adult world."[122]

Educational policy has reinforced the image of the University as a defender of Mexican welfare, the underprivileged and the powerless. A declaration of civic engagement is apparent in the UNAM's and other public universities' organisational charters,[123] and it is common for UNAM medical students, architects, and engineers to spend most of their final year of studies working at internships in rural villages.[124]

Although this revolutionary image of the student may be in part myth, it is a self-perpetuating myth. As Bakke and Bakke found in their surveying of the Mexican population,

> "Of all citizen groups, aside from the inner governing circle and the army, the students are most aware of the strength of their collective voice in affecting the affairs of society generally, even to having a significant part in the overthrow of governments."[125]

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[120] IBID.
[121] Ibid., 120.
[122] Ibid., 222.
[123] According to the official university website, UNAM's motto reveals a humanitarian vocation: "El lema que anima a la Universidad Nacional "Por mi raza hablará el espíritu" revela la vocación humanística con la que fue concieba." See www.unam.mx..
[124] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Protest*, 352.
[125] Ibid., 356.

This sense of political efficacy, combined with an elite status and a desire for social change, makes Mexican students a prime group for social activism. Furthermore, as will be shown in the next section, the students' sense of political efficacy is not only a dream: it is greatly reinforced by their successful history of political participation and struggle.

In stark contrast to the Mexican education system, the American system produces little sense of community among students from different colleges. Nor does it view students as social or political elites; in fact, for the most part the American education system functions with an understanding of the student as a private individual still coming of age.

Two of the main systemic differences that explain the absence of an American student identity are the lack of a central education ministry[126] and the existence of a large private sector.[127] None has ever existed in the United States; instead, the amount of governance by religious and other private organisations is extensive.[128] This has produced a hierarchical education system in which universities vary widely in ideology, academic rigor and student population; there are no common entrance requirements, class content regulations, or graduation requirements in the American system. As Philip Altbach has noted, "students at Harvard…have little in common with their compeers at a community college in Oklahoma."[129] Therefore, there is little sense of community or common identity among students.

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[126] According to the U.S. Department of Education website,
    "there is no national education framework law or series of laws in the United States. National law does not control things like the establishment of institutions, the recognition of degrees and qualification, recognition of professions, prescribed curricula or academic requirements, institutional governance, or the status of students and faculty." (see http://www.ed.gov)

[127] Only 600 of the roughly 2,200 universities in America are public. (Srebrnik, "Football, Frats and Fun",166).

[128] Meyer and Rubinson, "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity", 32.

[129] Altbach, *Student Politics in America,* 4.

In fact, it often seems as though American universities are in direct competition with one another. American universities, almost 3/4 of which are private, rely heavily on non-government funding and therefore compete with each other in terms of college rankings, sports, students, and high-profile professors. Indeed, most American universities have public relations departments and marketing professionals charged with differentiating them from the competition, with the result that American students identify strongly with their own campus, but have very little sense of a state- or nation-wide student community.[130]

Furthermore, as Meyer and Rubinson note, the American student is "seen as a private person, not an element in public life," who is still going through a difficult process of coming of age.[131] For this reason, even after the official elimination of the practice, the tradition of 'in loco parentis' is still apparent on most American campuses; residential colleges often provide counselling and mentoring services for students and strictly regulate social practices such as parties, drinking, and sexual encounters. Student status is seen as a time when young people can experiment, make mistakes, and begin to prepare themselves for the adult world and the responsibilities they will possess upon graduation. For this reason, "In American society… it still is common to point out that politically active students are but naïve and inexperienced 'children',"[132] whereas in Mexico students are seen as members of the political elite.

Finally, not only are American students encouraged to think of themselves as youths as opposed to fully developed political actors, and as members of a unique campus as opposed to members of a nationwide social group, they are also encouraged to see

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[130] Srebrnik remarks that, "Clearly, American schools have become more than just institutions of higher learning; they seem to represent a whole way of life" (Srebrnik, "Football, Frats and Fun", 177). Many American colleges now hire full-time graphic artists and image consultants who place the college's licensed logos on t-shirts, pants, caps, jackets, mugs, dishes, even dog food and burial caskets.
[131] Meyer and Rubinson, "Structural Determinants of Student Political Activity", 32.
[132] IBID.

themselves as belonging to a private community isolated from national politics. This is done by creating a residential "campus bubble", a self-sufficient area complete with its own administration, health services, post office, entertainment and physical facilities. While most American universities provide campus housing for undergraduates, only a small fraction of Quebec and Mexican students live in residence and students therefore have far more daily interaction with the outside community.

Although students in Québec are not granted the same status of defenders of social justice as their Mexican counterparts, it is clear that a province-wide student identity is more established than in the American system. As in Mexico, the Québec education environment is characterised by an all-powerful ministry of education. In fact, the Québec ministry of education is perhaps more bureaucratised and controlling than that of Mexico due to the province's struggles to remain independent of federal rule.[133] The highly bureaucratised ministry has produced a system of universities that are not hierarchically differentiated from one another,[134] in which professors have little control over their courses and in which universities are governed by rigid rules.[135] As there are no private universities in Québec, all students are treated to virtually identical experiences. This creation of a universal student experience produces a corresponding universal student identity. Therefore, Québec students see themselves as a united social group rather than as a member of any particular college campus. And although Québec students are not endowed with a history of revolutionary struggle as in Mexico,[136] their identity as viable political actors is apparent in the

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[133] All Canadian provinces were granted exclusive control over education policy by the federal government in 1966 as a result of Québec's demands for greater independence.

[134] Imanol Ordorika. "The Limits of University Autonomy". 365.

[135] Henry Srebrnik. "Football, Frats and Fun vs. Commuters, Cold and Carping: the Social and Psychological Context of Higher Education in Canada and the United States." In *Canada and the United States: Differences that Count*. Second Edition. Edited by David M. Thomas. (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press Ltd., 2000), 180.

[136] Although student unions have been and are still affiliated with the Independence Movement.

institutionalised presence of student political organisations and the many examples of effective student activism in the province.

Finally, it is worth noting that the character of student status partially reflects national political cultures. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Mexican political culture, which generally holds intellectuals in high regard and often seeks out their 'expert opinion' on political issues, accords the same political voice to students. The American political culture, on the other hand, is more likely to seek out the opinion of business elites as non-government experts and, according to Altbach, has a tradition of distrust of the involvement of intellectuals in political life, [137] and of political figures in general.[138] Similarly, while many union activists and student activists in Mexico and Québec become politicians, activism in the United States seldom leads to a political career.[139]

2. PROTEST HISTORY

Cognitive liberation and a sense of political efficacy derive in large part from a successful history of activism, and the presence of such a history also implies that modern social movements have political opportunity structures they can continue to exploit. Québec and Mexican students both have a lively history of student activism and political participation, much of it successful.

Over the last fifty years, Québec students have declared official province-wide strikes eight times: in 1968, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1988, 1996, and most recently 2005. As a result of this activism, students successfully pressured the provincial government to institute a freeze

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[137] Altbach, *Student Politics in America*, 213.

[138] Robert A. Kenny, Jr. Preparing for Citizenship: Teaching Youth to Live Democratically. (Westport: Praeger, 1994), 166-167.

[139] The acceptance of activism in the political culture of Mexico is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the street running through the university campus is named Insurgents Avenue.

on tuition rates in 1996 and have since blocked all attempts to remove it. They have also established and defended increases in student representation.

Mexican students similarly have a history of mobilising effectively to influence government policy. In 1929 university students in Mexico City protested the frequency of examinations and other evaluation measures, and as a result the Ministry of Education granted the National University autonomy from government intervention.[140] In 1948 and 1966, student movements reversed education policies instituted by the Board and forced the resignation of two Rectors.[141] In 1987 students at the UNAM prevented the administration from implementing more rigorous entrance exams,[142] and in both 1986 and 1992 they successfully opposed the administration's attempts to raise tuition.[143]

Of course, not all student protests were successful: in 1968 students successfully shut down UNAM for over two months in protest against government authoritarianism, however this attempt ended in the infamous Tlatelolco massacre of protestors and innocent civilians. Nevertheless, students in both Québec and Mexico have played a significant historical role in creating the contemporary education environment, for example by successfully fighting for increased student participation in governance and lower tuition.

This history of activism is particularly important to this analysis because it helped to lend greater importance to contemporary student protests; when students in Québec protest cuts in higher education spending, they are defending a right- equal access initially won through student protest. This fact helped protestors frame the issue: students not only had a

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[140] Cesar Sepulveda. "Student Participation in University Affairs The Mexican Experience". *The American Journal of Comparative Law.* 17, no. 3 (Summer, 1969), 385.

[141] Brian Pusser and Imanol Ordorika. "Bringing political theory to university governance: the University of California and the Universidad Nacionale Autónoma de México". *Higher Education: handbook of theory and research.* Edited by J.C. Smart. XVI. (New York: Agathon, 2001), 46.

[142] Robert A. Rhoads and Liliana Mina. "The Student Strike at the National Autonomous University of Mexico: A Political Analysis." *Comparative Education Review.* 45, no. 3 (Aug., 2001), 338.

[143] IBID.

precedent of success to follow and learn from, they had a hard-earned right to defend. Similarly, the protests in Mexico may have appeared to be over a small, virtually insignificant increase in tuition, but there as well the issue of accessibility has a history as a right won and defended by students. Protest organisers in both places were able to inspire greater participation by trading on this history.

In contrast to virtually all other countries, American universities have had such a curious absence of significant student protest that scholars of student activism are apt to crack jokes: George Bereday for example quipped, "Until the riots for or against civil rights were ushered in a decade ago, the history of American universities registered hardly more than a sequence of panty raids."[144] Shortly after the more turbulent years of student unrest over civil rights and the war in Vietnam, Philip Altbach observed that,

> "American students have not had a strong tradition of political activism. Nor have students ever been effective in producing major political change in the United States. This lack of an accepted tradition of activism has made it difficult for activists to effectively organise on campus."[145]

In fact, the only nation-wide student strike ever to occur on American soil, in response to the Kent State shootings, was short lived and produced no effect on America's involvement in Cambodia or Vietnam, or on preventing the implementation of the draft, the exoneration of the Guardsmen who had shot the students, or the indictment of students involved in the protest.

Nevertheless, the UC's Berkeley campus has had one of the most significant histories of student protest of any university system in the nation. Berkeley jumpstarted the 1960's student protests with its Free Speech Movement, during which it was also the site of the first

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[144] George Z. G Bereday. "Student Unrest on Four Continents: Montreal, Ibadan, Warsaw and Rangoon." *Comparative Education Review.* 10, no. 2. (Jun., 1966), 202.
[145] Altbach, *Student Politics in America*, 4.

American instance of a student occupation of a campus building.[146] Since that time, Berkeley students have also famously protested course content, ROTC recruitment, and the American intervention in Cambodia.[147] However, while Berkeley may be a 'hotbed' of student activism, these movements have had very little success at changing social policy. In his history of protest and reform at Berkeley, Neil Smelser notes that few of these university crises produced successful change; in fact, the only issues that students have ever successfully protested have been campus issues such as the creation of new courses, the alteration of course requirements and the modification of the grading system.[148] According to Smelser, students have unfortunately been unsuccessful thus far at changing wider social policy and at having an impact outside of the university.[149]

Political process theory implies that this history of failure at producing social change would dampen contemporary protests. Students might have trouble mobilising their compeers and forming alliances, and would face additional obstacles because of the absence of strong political representation. Furthermore, Smelser also observes that this history of failed protest has, "produced direct countermeasures, such as more careful surveillance of student and nonstudent behaviour by the campus administration, an increase in the number of disciplinary actions, and more police on campus more often."[150]

3. EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE

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[146] David Horowitz. *Uncivil Wars: The Controversy Over Reparations for Slavery*. (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2002), 26.

[147] Neil J. Smelser. "Berkeley in Crisis and Change". In *Academic Transformation*. Edited by David Riesman and Verne A. Stadtman. (Berkeley: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1973), 51.

[148] Ibid, 61.

[149] However, even a history of unsuccessful protests may help student activists succeed in future attempts: Smelser argues that Berkeley's status as a symbol of student rebellion causes protest-prone students to be attracted to the campus. As a result, there now seems to be "a larger proportion of students who are politically radical, who are interested in social and political issues in general, and who are involved in the "action" of hip culture." (Smelser, "Berkeley in Crisis and Change," 61)

[150] Smelser, "Berkeley in Crisis and Change", 62.

Political process theory suggests that the institutional decision-making structure greatly affects protestors' ability to effect systemic change. In particular, two hypotheses were put forward: first, that centralised education systems are more conducive to successful student activism, and second, that education systems that allow for student participation in university governance also facilitate student power. These hypotheses are supported by evidence from the outcomes of the three student protest case studies.

The Mexican education system is centralised under the control of the SEP (The National Ministry of Education). Traditionally, the SEP has been the main funding source and regulator of the education system.[151] Until the 1980s more than 90% of the student body was enrolled in public institutions,[152] and federal grants still constitute over 90% of public universities' budgets.[153] However, since the 1929 Organic Law was passed as a result of student protests, most universities have been granted complete institutional autonomy. Faculties and schools within the UNAM system also have autonomous administrations.

This centralised governance system combined with institutional autonomy has created many openings for student-led reform. The Organic Law established a system in which faculty and students would be equally represented on the University Council. This system provided a significant role for students as co-governors of the university, as the University Council elected the Rector, deans and directors through direct vote and their positions could be revoked at any time.[154] This governance structure was modified in 1944, but for over a decade students held institutionalised power equal to that of faculty and staff and even today students continue to have equal representation on the governing board of the university and of each faculty.

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[151] Richardson and Kent, "Government Policies and Higher Education", 13.
[152] Levy, "Student Politics in Contemporary Latin America", 3.
[153] Ordorika, "The limits of university autonomy", 379.
[154] Pusser and Ordorika, "Bringing political theory to university governance", 35.

Because the UNAM is splintered into autonomous faculties and schools, the ability of the central administration and the federal government to control and discipline protests is very reduced. Since the granting of autonomy, the federal government has been legally prohibited from interfering in protests unless officially summoned by the UNAM governing board. However, government influence has been highly frowned upon since the student protests of 1968 when government troops massacred students and civilians; any decision by the governing board to violate university autonomy again in this way would lead to massive public turmoil and the forced resignation of board members and possibly the collapse of the government itself. Furthermore, the central administration at the UNAM is also quite powerless: student demonstrations can move from one autonomous faculty to another, and therefore never face a central authority.[155] Meanwhile, the teaching staff and administrators at most faculties are for the most part not trained or hired to address student unrest. The UNAM governance system is therefore characterised by its inability to discipline student protests.[156]

The centralised education system also provides further opportunity structures for student influence because it provides a direct avenue between students and the national government, which until 2000 was monopolised by the PRI party (Partido Revolucionario Institutional) party. One of the PRI's governing policies that allowed it to maintain authoritarian control for over seventy years was its policy of co-opting dissident groups, including students. Thus, in the 1970s the government of Luis Echeverría deliberately attempted to maintain the loyalty of the students by granting their demands.[157] The PRI has also made mass mobilisation into a tool of the regime because of its popular roots as the

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[155] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge*, 372.
[156] IBID.
[157] David Post and Carlos Ornelas. "Recent University Reform in Mexico". *Comparative Education Review.* 36, no. 3. (Aug., 1992), 281.

people's revolutionary party.[158] As McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly note, a high degree of social

contention was permitted by PRI elites, who preferred to grant reforms to protestors rather

than let them form a strong political opposition.[159]

Even in Mexico's contemporary open political environment, personal favours are still

customary and so student political leaders, who have a high tendency of launching into

political careers after graduation, are sometimes granted favours in the hopes that they will

be repaid in the future.[160] Furthermore, the federal ministry must be lenient with student

dissidents because of the large nature of this voting constituency: not only is the student

population large in its own right, it has a long history of swaying public opinion because of

the influential status of students in Mexican society.

The Mexican education system is also characterised by a high degree of student

participation in governance that aids student protestors. Student societies or councils exist in

each faculty. These student organisations are completely autonomous from the university

administration; they work as pressure groups to represent student interests.[161]

Furthermore, a distinctively Latin American system of co-governance exists at the

UNAM that provides for the inclusion of two student representatives on the governing board

of the university and on each of the governing councils of the faculties.[162] These student

representatives are elected by the student body and have direct access to the centres of

decision-making at the UNAM.

The American education system has virtually none of the qualities of the Mexican

system that increase student power. First, over one-third of college and university students

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[158] Douglas McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. *Dynamics of Contention*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 294.
[159] Ibid, 295.
[160] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Protest*, 375.
[161] Ibid., 140.
[162] Ibid, 141.

are enrolled at private institutions that are not subject to any government authority.[163] Second, even public universities are not regulated by a central authority in any meaningful sense. The American Constitution makes no mention of education, and federal policy under both Democratic and Republican rule for the past forty years has emphasised consumer determination as opposed to government intervention.[164] State departments of education have jurisdiction over chartering universities and regulating standards and quality, but according to the Department of Education this role has traditionally been limited to financial assistance policy.[165] Therefore, even public universities such as the UC are largely free to govern themselves.

Instead of centralising policy, it has been proposed that the American education system was developed in order to "localise bureaucracy."[166] Private institutions have been completely free from state officials since the nineteenth century, while most public universities have their own autonomous governing boards. However, while the granting of autonomy to public institutions in Mexico has led to a vacuum of control over students, the American educational bureaucracy has produced the opposite effect: university administrations, trustees, schools and departments each possess decision-making powers and the ability to control student activism.[167]

At the UC, many analysts have noted the firm concentration of power in the hands of the Board of Regents.[168] In fact, most respondents in a survey of the UC community identified

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[163] Ordorika, "The limits of university autonomy", 11.
[164] Richardson and Kent, "Government Policies and Higher Education Performance", 7.
[165] "USNEI: U.S. Network for Education Information". *U.S. Department of Education: Promoting Educational Excellence for all Americans.* Online at http://www.ed.gob/about/offices/list/ous/international/usnei/us/edlitefedrole.html.
[166] Burton R. Clark. *The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 129.
[167] Ibid., 128.
[168] Furthermore, although the British higher education model inspired the American system, faculty bodies in the U.S. are notably weaker than their British counterparts, while the powers of the administrative boards are

the members of the Governing board as "the most powerful and relevant individuals in University life."[169] Regent Tom Sayles himself is quoted as saying, "being a Regent as the closest thing to knighthood in America."[170] The UC board is for the most part autonomous from government interference, although members of the board are appointed directly by the governor of California and for the most part are composed of political supporters of the party in power.[171] A historian of the UC system, Martin Trow, has noted that autonomy from outside interference has led to a "distaste for political activity inside the University as well."[172] While the UC is supposed to have a tradition of shared governance between faculty and administration, final-say on policy is the reserved right of the Board of Regents.[173] Moreover, even the pretence of "shared governance" between the faculty and the administration excludes the idea of "co-governance" with students that is at the heart of the Mexican education system. Trow also notes that the democratic nature of the faculty's representative forum, the Academic Senate, is compromised through appointive procedures and through consensual decision-making instead of voting; therefore, at the UC even faculty do not bargain collectively to assure their working rights and pay conditions.[174] Regent Ward Connerly summarised the position of the Board nicely in his memoirs by calling it the

broader and include the right to appoint the entire administrative staff. (see Clark, *The Higher Education System,* 129).

[169] Pusser and Ordorika, "Bringing political theory to university governance", 34.

[170] Brian Pusser. *Burning down the House: Politics, governance, and affirmative action at the University of California*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 177.

[171] In 1998, 17 of the 18 Regents on the Board were members of the Republican Party who had made significant financial contributions to the party. This lack of diversity on the Board is caused by the historically partisan control of the governorship in California. (see Pusser and Ordorika, "Bringing Political Theory to University Governance", 32)

[172] Trow, "Governance in the University of California", 4.

[173] Pusser, *Burning down the House*, 21.

[174] Trow, "Governance in the University of California", 6.

"center of power."[175] In the UC education system, student and even faculty are excluded from the institutional decision-making process.

Student organising and political participation at the UC is also limited. Although the university's student government, the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC), was politicised during the Free Speech Movement of the 1960s, many participants in the student radical movement are averse to working through the organisation because of the considerable control that the university administration has over ASUC affairs.[176] Furthermore, students only have one out of 26 votes on the Board of Regents, and the Student Regent must be accepted by the Regents and selected by the ASUC instead of by a direct campus-wide student vote.

The effects of this education system are clear. UC student protestors have to deal with a number of decision-makers including the Academic Senate, the Offices of the President, the administrations of each campus, and the Board of Regents. Moreover, many protestors mistrust the official student government because of its ties to the administration, and students are in no meaningful way incorporated into the legitimate institutional decision-making structure.

Because every university in the state has its own governing board that sets institutional policy and because American student identity is campus-based, there is little chance of receiving support from students of neighbouring universities: As former Harvard University president Derek Bok noted, "the advantages of a competitive, decentralised system are never so evident as in periods when large social changes sweep over universities"[177] because movements rarely *can* sweep over multiple universities.

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[175] Ward Connerly. *Creating Equal: My Fight Against Race Preferences.* (San Fransisco: Encounter Books, 2000), 109.
[176] Smelser, "Academic Transformation", 68.
[177] Srebrnik, "Football, Frats and Fun", 168.

The Canadian education system, like the Mexican model, exhibits a large degree of centralisation and of student organisation and participation. Provincial governments have had complete jurisdiction over education since 1966 and are the primary source of funding for post secondary institutions.[178] In Québec, the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport regulates education policy for the nine universities located in Québec, including the Université du Québec system that consists of ten branches. These universities are, however, legal entities that have a significant amount of autonomy.[179] This leads to the creation of an institutional framework similar to that of Mexico, where no governing body is willing to take full responsibility for student protestors. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education and the head offices of the Université du Québec are located in Québec City, over three hours drive from the usual centre of protest in Montréal.

Membership in a university students' union is mandatory across Canada, and union fees of $50 to $300 are included automatically in tuition. These student unions are well known for their political lobbying and negotiating, and most student governments are also responsible for representing their student bodies at the municipal, provincial and federal government levels as well as at the university itself. Most student unions in Canada are also members of one of two rival national lobby organisations based in Ottawa, the Canadian Federation of Students and the Canadian Alliance of Student Associations, that are responsible for monitoring and negotiating federal funding policies. Jill Conway identifies the "liveliness" of the tradition of student unions in Canada as one of the main differences between university life in Canada and the U.S. She explains this difference by noting that the

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[178] Nicole M. Fortin. "Rising Tuition and Supply Constraint: Explaining Canada-U.S. Differences in University Enrolment Rates." *Center for Labor Economics.* Working Paper no. 66., (May 2004), 2.
Note: While the provincial governments distribute funds to universities, they rely on federal transfers to make these payments.

[179] "Education in Québec: An Overview". *Gouvernement du Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.* 2005. Available online at http://www.meq.gouv.qc.ca.

Canadian system, like the Mexican as well as the British system on which it was modelled, sees high school graduates as mature citizens. Furthermore, student government in Canada is seen as an important preparation for a future career in politics, and student political leaders are treated in Canada with much of the same respect they are given in Mexico.[180]

Student political participation is perhaps even more institutionalised and mobilised in Québec than in other provinces. French-speaking students have politically been associated with provincial syndicalism, and some student unions openly state their aim of transforming capitalist society. Currently, the student movement in Québec is divided into two permanent union groups, the centre-left FEUQ and FECQ and the left-wing CASSÉE. The FECQ and FEUQ are highly integrated in the provincial political scene and have been described as "essentially function[ing] as a training group for future Parti Québecois (PQ) bureaucrats,"[181] while the CASSÉE is strongly affiliated with provincial trade unions and worker's unions, as well as the province's most left-wing political party, the ADQ. In 2005, the CASSÉE, the FEUQ, and the FECQ joined forces to coordinate the student movement.

4. SYSTEMS OF ALLIANCES

According to political process theory, the ability of protestors to build alliances with social elites and institutionalised political groups is essential for the successful outcome of any social movement. The three case studies examined here support the hypothesis that non-institutional movements, such as student protests, need institutional support.

Mexican student protestors at the UNAM were able to build coalitions with important political allies in the Mexican political arena. Student leaders made use of nonstudent groups within the UNAM system such as the "eight emeriti", a group of eight well-respected faculty

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[180] Jill Conway. "Academic Change and Crisis- Canadian Style". In *Academic Transformation*. Edited by David Riesman and Verne A. Stadtman. (Berkeley: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1973), 344.

[181] Marouf and Fiorito, "Successes and Shortcomings of the Student Strike".

members who sponsored pro-student university resolutions and issued sympathetic public memorandums.[182] The student movement was also supported by one of the national chief opposition parties, the PRD, and were given moral and participatory support from the Zapatistas.[183] Cárdenas personally spoke out in support of the student strikers, and the PRD municipal government in Mexico City[184] refused to send security forces to intervene at the university.[185] Finally, trade unions including the electrical worker's union also joined forces with the students, turning out en masse to support their public protests.

Similarly, both provincial opposition parties, the PQ and the ADQ, supported Québec students.[186] In addition, before the students even officially called the strike, a Montreal-based organisation called the Reseau des Travailleurs et Travailleuses Solidaires (Workers' Solidarity Network) demonstrated support for the student movement by organising picket squads.[187] Major trade unions including the construction workers union and the transit worker's union also aided the students: transit workers covered public transportation advertisements with strike posters and provided free transportation for student strikers, while the construction workers union paid for television ads that publicised the students' position. During the later months of the protest, the teachers' federation voted to join in with rotating strikes and maintenance workers at Québec schools also declared a one-day solidarity strike.[188] In past student protests in both Mexico and Québec, successful alliances were also built between student and nonstudent groups. For example, in Mexico Communist and Catholic groups have historically sought to join forces with and influence student protestors

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[182] Rhoads and Mina, "The Student Strike at the National Autonomous University of Mexico", 340.
[183] Rhona Statland de Lopez. "Mexico's National University Is Free of Strikers, but Hardly at Peace". *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* February 18, 2000.
[184] Mexico City is technically a separate Federal District that does not belong to any state.
[185] Michael Radu. "Mexico: Slouching toward Normality". *The Washington Quarterly.* 23, no 3. (Summer 2000), 44.
[186] Marouf and Fiorito. "Successes and Shortcomings of the Student Strike".
[187] IBID.
[188] IBID.

while student protests in Québec have historically been supported by whatever political party happened to be in the opposition seat.[189]

In the case of student protests at the UC, although there were many supporters of affirmative action policies,[190] these potential allies declined to join ranks with the students and instead voiced their opinion directly to the Board of Regents. As a result of their inability to forge alliances with actors within either the UC system or the greater Californian political arena, student protest leaders felt they had no choice but to recruit an outside intellectual elite to support their cause. Therefore, Student Regent Ed Gomez and the ACSA officially invited Reverend Jesse Jackson to address the Board of Regents.[191] This one alliance did significantly improve the mobilisation efforts of student protest leaders: according to Brian Pusser, "Jackson's entrance further galvanised student interest and student support for affirmative action at the UC, as it increased student organisation, resistance, and protest."[192] Furthermore, this alliance with a social elite finally allowed the student movement to be seen as a social issue as opposed to merely a case of deviant students protesting university policy:[193]

> "The invitation [of Reverend Jackson] further shifted media and public perceptions of the contest from an institutional policy debate to a deeper conflict, one that encompassed American's long and continuing struggle over race and equality. The invitation turned attention to the role of education in a

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[189] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Protest,* 158 and 161.

[190] A list of interest groups favouring the preservation of affirmative action included the California State Employees Association; The California African American School Superintendents; the Northern California Ecumenical Council; the Inland Empire Women's Summit; the California Federation of Business and Professional Women; the Association of Asian and Pacific American in Higher Education; the University of California Black Alumni Club; the Filipino Civil Rights Advocates; the Human Rights Commission of the City of San Fransisco; the Vietnamese Community Health Promotion Project; the Mexican American Bar Association of Los Angeles County; the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; and the Alumni Associations of the University of California. (see Pusser, *Burning Down the House,* 122).

[191] Pusser, *Burning down the House*, 120.

[192] IBID.

[193] However, Jackson's presence ultimately proved detrimental to the student movement. First, as he was invited to speak *on behalf* of the students, he reduced the number of student voices heard by the board and made the students who did speak seem less legitimate. Second, by replacing the students' voice instead of allying with them, Jackson shifted the framing of the movement from a student/university issue to a national political debate, thus increasing the number of oppositional interest groups that affirmative action supporters had to face.

national effort to redress racial inequality and to the ongoing linkages between education and income inequality."[194]

More political opportunity structures were available to student protestors in the Québec and Mexican political environments because political elites, trade unions and other institutionalised political actors viewed the students as legitimate political actors and saw an opportunity to join in a common social cause. In part, this is because the elite student status in these two nations implies that students themselves can serve as useful allies in a political conflict. For example, in Mexico, university administrators have used students as allies when faced with conflicts among the faculty or deans, while faculty members have incited students to protest in support of their own educational objectives.[195] Trade unions and opposition political parties similarly find it useful to make alliances with students when protests are aimed at challenging social policy and when these parties can find common cause with the students; this is why Québec student unions take part in election campaigns by aligning with political parties and lending their support. This rationale for alliance building is only available in an educational environment where students are seen as a politically-efficacious social group, a criteria which is not consistent with the American institutional framework. In the United States there is an utter lack of integration between the world of student politicians and national, state or municipal government:[196] Weinberg and Walker claim that this causes student activists to tend to be conflict oriented and alienated as opposed to attempting to form alliances.[197]

SUMMARY

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[194] IBID.
[195] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge*, 371.
[196] This is in marked contrast to many other countries, including Mexico, Britain and Canada, where members of student governments are often recruited into the political job market. (see Weinberg and Walker, "Student Politics and Political Systems", 82).
[197] Weinberg and Walker, "Student Politics and Political Systems", 82.

This chapter examined the extent to which variables generated from political process literature facilitate student protest success in the context of Québec, California and Mexico. Its findings are that the status of students in society plays a significant role in determining protest success. Societies that have a distinct and unified student identity that is associated with an elite status and with political competence see greater incidences of successful student protest. Elite and politically-efficacious student status is derived in part from a historical precedent of successful student protests. Therefore, a history of successful student protest is also a variable likely to improve prospects for student activists; and, besides reinforcing student status, a successful history of protest creates repertoires of tactics and systems of alliances that students can renew to support future movements.

Additionally, institutional frameworks that centralise education policy while at the same time devolving power to campus authorities create an opening for student protests because no authority is readily available to quell protests. A centralised education system also helps students mobilise, as it provides an easy and logical target for students attempting widespread social change and helps create a united student identity. Student protests in centralised systems can therefore mobilise multiple university campuses and address general social issues as opposed to merely campus policy.

Finally, political opportunity structures that allow for the formation of alliances between student and non-student groups are also helpful for student protestors. As such opportunities are more likely in systems where student status is well developed and imbued with a political flavour, it is clear that all four political process variables are significant and interrelated. A summary of the influence of these variables in the three empirical case studies of protest is represented in Figure 4.

Unfortunately, the interdependence of the four variables implies that they are likely to be either all present or all absent in any given political context. Ian Weinberg and Kenneth Walker describe the process that leads to this utter lack of political opportunities and student consciousness in the United States. They note,

> "In a decentralised political system such as the United States, which is federal, highly democratic, and in which the division of powers involves the constitutional development of a strong executive, the system linkages involve a decentralised funding of higher education, political interference with university autonomy, and no expectation that a career in student politics leads to a career within the political system itself. Consequently, national student unions are nonexistent or weak, as are student branches of the national political parties. The former are weak because there is no centralised authority entrusted with national control of higher education with which to bargain. The latter are weak because recruitment to political careers is not tied to high visibility of performance in student branches of national political parties. The most important types of student political organisations, therefore, are university student governments, which negotiate with administrations over basic student facilities and are generally nonpolitical."[198]

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[198] Ibid., 84.

Figure 4: A summary of the cases

Cases	Target	Issue	Student Status	History of Success	Education System	Alliances
Québec	Provincial government	Increase access: Reverse the decision to convert grants to loans	United across the province	Many instances of student activism, most of them successful	Centralised under the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport	Political opposition parties, trade unions, unified student unions
Mexico	University governing board	Increase access: Reverse the decision to increase tuition	United across the country	Many instances of student activism, most of them successful	Centralised under the Secretaría de Educatión Pública (SEP)	Opposition parties, trade unions, faculty group, families, and student groups
California	University governing board	Preserve access: Prevent the elimination of affirmative action policies	Distinct for every individual college	Many instances of student activism, few successful at producing social change	Decentralised: lack of state policy, strong boards and university administrations	Lack of alliance-building with potential partners.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to examine the role of institutional frameworks on the ability of student protestors to successfully bring about political change. In particular, this study examined the socio-political and educational frameworks of Québec, California and Mexico in order to isolate the differences in these environments that influenced protest outcomes in three cases of student activism.

In order to approach this analysis, student protest was examined as a form of collective political activism, making it possible to utilise social movement theory to frame the discussion. Political process theory, the subset of social movement literature that most directly addresses the influence of external factors of movement outcomes, generated a set of four hypotheses about the relationship of institutional frameworks and protest outcomes. Specifically, it was hypothesised that student protests were more likely to succeed in environments where student status is strong on a society-wide scale; where past student protests have successfully influenced politics and where students have a history of fruitful political participation; where educational structures are decentralised and provide institutionalised avenues for student participation; and where student groups have access to a variety of political allies.

These four variables all help explain the different outcomes of the protests in Québec, California and Mexico. Mexican and Québec protestors had access to student support from many universities because their decentralised education systems homogenised student interests, while students at the UC did not see the formation of a statewide student movement because student identity in California and the United States in general is defined at the campus level. Mexican and Québec protestors also formed direct alliances with professors, trade unions, political parties and other community organisations because student

political participation is more institutionalised in their environments and because students have a history of influencing politics and hence a recognised political status. These differences helped students in Québec and Mexico form a stronger movement and therefore improved their chances of successfully changing policy. Although the presence of any one of the four institutional variables identified would have theoretically helped strengthen their movement, all four of the variables are interrelated a hence likely to manifest themselves simultaneously in any political context, or not at all.

Because the state of California is not characterised by any of these four institutional features, nor is it exceptional in this respect compared to other American states, the immediate implication of these findings is that the United States, comparatively speaking, discourages student activism. This finding helps explain observations made by historians of student protest such as Bereday, Altbach and Lipset, all of who noted the relative lack of effect of American student activism. However, it challenges conventional views that describe the American policy as open to social movements.[199] A more positive possible implication is that the obstacles to activism in the American system have encouraged activists to explore non-conventional, individualised means of protest in order to influence policy: for example, lawsuits, municipal legislation, and internet-based petitioning.

Although this study limited itself to examining three cases of student protests, its findings should be quite generalisable to similar cases of protest elsewhere in the world. The four institutional frameworks examined here should encourage student protest outcomes in any environment.[200] The important questions, though, are whether these frameworks are

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[199] Kischelt, for example, argued that post-WWII American society was encouraging of social movements and produced assimilative collection action strategies that integrated challengers into the conventional political arena, thus giving them a political voice. (see Amenta and Young, "Democratic States and Social Movements", 154).

[200] The probability of other nations having similar socio-political and educational environments is high because European models of higher education were exported to their colonies. For example, the Mexican model of

present and, if so, whether there are any other external factors not present in Mexico, Québec or California that might take precedence. For example, as previously mentioned, external factors such as state repression and internal factors such as the goals of the movement also have a great influence.

In fact, there are a host of unexamined institutional determinants of student protest outcomes that were not comparable in this study. For example, the geographic location of universities influences movement potential, as rural locations have less access to political institutions and large populations. General cultural and social differences such as respect for politicians and activists, levels of deference to authority, and definitions of what constitutes a political issue might also come into play.[201] These unexplored factors represent avenues for possible future research.

However, perhaps the most influential factor excluded from this study was the role of public opinion and media coverage. Unfortunately, this variable could not be studied thoroughly without conducting an in-depth content analysis of the news articles, speeches and manifestos published during the protests, a task which must also be reserved for future researchers. Nevertheless, public opinion was an important variable identified by political process theory, because public support provides student protestors with moral encouragement, increases opportunities for them to form outside alliances, and decreases chances for university or government authorities to repress their movement.[202] Furthermore,

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higher education derives from the Mediterranean model of Spain and Portugal and thus is similar to that of other Latin American countries. The Canadian and American higher education systems both stemmed from the British model and thus share features such as "institutional autonomy in appointing staff and selecting students and a commitment to general, even classical, education for future public administrators" with countries as diverse as India, Jamaica and Ghana. (see Clark, *The Higher Education System,* 227-228).

[201] As these factors all theoretically influence the number of protestors likely to join in political activism, and as each case did see extremely high levels of mobilisation for their respected contexts, these variables probably had little effect on the compared outcomes of the three cases. Therefore, the impact of these variables can be assumed to be controlled for in this study.

[202] For a more detailed description of how this public opinion influenced student protests in Mexico, India, Japan, and Columbia, see Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Protest,* 471.

public opinion is an important determinant of social movement outcomes in democratic states in particular because elected governments are responsible to their citizens.[203] Public support can thus make decision-makers more responsive to the protestors' demands and greatly influence the effectiveness of their movements. Public opinion is often determined by media coverage, and media scholars such as Edward Herman and Benjamin Singer note the "enormous power" news media has over public opinion. By selecting sources, emphasising certain perspectives, choosing stories and framing issues, the news media can "[distort] the social reality perceived by individuals in a society, alter their standards of judgement and hence their frame of reference toward what is normal and expected in such a society."[204] Therefore, the amount and character of media coverage that student protests receive may influence their rates of success by swaying general opinion. It may also influence protest outcomes by either encouraging or discouraging potential student participants from joining a particular movement.

In some respects this study is also limited in its ability to explain student protests in Québec, Mexico and California. Because this study utilises an ahistorical methodology, comparing the institutional frameworks across countries but not across time, it does not take account of changes in these societies that may be altering the presence and pertinence of the variables examined. For example, Mexico and Canada have both been subscribing in recent years to the decentralisation of higher education, moving toward the privately-funded, consumer-based model advocated by the IMF, the WB, and NAFTA harmonisation efforts. Such changes may eventually alter the institutional frameworks that characterised these two countries at the time the protests occurred; already, universities founded in Mexico in the

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[203] Guigni, "Was it Worth the Effort?", 379.
[204] Singer, Benjamin D. "Violence, Protest, and War in Television News: The U.S. and Canada Compared". *The Public Opinion Quarterly.* 34, no. 4. (Winter, 1970-1971), 616 and Edward Herman. "The Media's Role in US Foreign Policy". In *The Myth of the Liberal Media.* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

1990s are being been placed under state instead of federal supervision, and the private sector has expanded from 10% of national enrolment in 1980 to over 30% in 2000. Similarly, the provincial governments of British Colombia, Alberta and Ontario have announced measures to develop private universities with more autonomy and higher tuition rates.[205]

Despite these limitations, it is hoped that this study added to the literature on student protest by providing an example of how the outcomes of such movements can be analysed, and by providing an initial foray into the world of cross-national comparisons of such issues. It is also hoped that scholars of student protest and protestors themselves can utilise the findings of this study to better understand and plan their movements.

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[205] Richardson and Kent, "Government Policies and Higher Education Performance," 8.

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APPENDIX A: RESOURCE MOBILISATION VARIABLES

I. HYPOTHESES AND VARIABLES
Variable 1: University size
Hypothesis: Large university communities aid student protests

According to social movement theory, protests occurring at large universities should have a higher probability of success than those occurring in smaller locales because of the larger sources of human capital that are available in such settings. In fact, large populations are cited as an important criterion for all forms of insurgency, including revolutions as well as social movements.[206]

This hypothesis is supported by numerous scholars of student protest who cite empirical evidence demonstrating that student protest in the United States tends to take place at large-scale institutions,[207] as well as at institutions where there is a higher density of students.[208] For example, Nella van Dyke found that large schools were twice as likely as small schools to have experienced significant student activism in the 1960s.[209] This observation is partially explained by the higher absolute head-count of students at large universities that increases protest recruitment. It is also a result of the important presence of non-students and part-time students who live in the vicinity of large universities and who have more time resources than undergraduates and therefore participate more in protests. These individuals maintain ties to the college and form links between students and the outside world, thus increasing the potential external inflows of resources.

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[206] Jack A. Goldstone. "A Demographic/Structural Model of State Breakdown". In *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics.* Edited by Doug McAdam and David Snow. (Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company, 1997), 5.

[207] See Stevenson, *Social Control in Institutions of Higher Education*, 90; Califano, *The Student Revolution*, and Van Dyke, "Hotbeds of Activism", 217.

[208] For example, private liberal arts colleges also have high incidences of student protest despite their small populations.

[209] Van Dyke, Nella. "Hotbeds of Activism". 212.

Variable 2: Time and money
Hypothesis: Affluence and free time aid student protests

Free time and financial resources are also emphasised by resource mobilisation

scholars as prerequisites for successful protest: As William Gamson notes:

> "What is important about people is not their sentiments or the meanings they give
> the world, but whether they have discretionary time and money to spend on social
> movements. College students at elite schools have a lot of both, and, hence, form
> a central constituency for a number of different social movement industries."[210]

In studies of student protest in particular, Bakke and Califano note the importance of

financial support from other student or non-student groups and the fact that upper-middle-

class students are often at the forefront of the student protests.[211] Needless-to-say, affluent

students also have more time resources, as they are not obligated to support their studies with

part-time jobs. Meanwhile, a 1969 study by the Urban Research Corporation found, rather

unsurprisingly, that "the longer the protests, the more likely the protestors were to get

demands granted."[212] This finding implies a relationship between time resources, financial

resources and protest outcomes.

Affluence may not, however, be as direct a factor as these studies seem to suggest. In

a study of locations of student protests in the United States, Nella van Dyke finds that

economic resources do not directly explain high incidences of protest at elite schools.

Instead, protest is more likely encouraged by the fact that faculty at selective schools tend to

be more politically involved and students may be more likely to come from politically active

and powerful families. These connections and alliances with outside elites constitute a form

of political opportunity structure that is examined as a separate political process variable in

this study.

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[210] McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. "Introduction". In *Social Movements in an Organizational Society: collected essays.* Edited by Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1987), 7.
[211] Bakke and Bakke, *Campus Challenge,* 471 and Califano, *The Student Revolution,* 46.
[212] Levine and Naisbitt, *Right On!*.

II. RESOURCE MOBILISATION FACTORS IN THREE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

Based on the three cases examined, it appears that resource mobilisation theories of student protest outcomes are only half accurate. While an education system with more free time does seem to provide more opportunities for sustained and successful student demonstrations, the affluence of protest participants does not appear to be an accurate predictor of protest success. Furthermore, a highly and densely populated university environment may be a prerequisite of large-scale student protest, but student body size does not correlate directly to high rates of movement success.

The successful cases of student protest in Montréal and Mexico City did take place among the largest university communities of Québec and Mexico, respectively. In fact, with over 270,000 students, UNAM is the largest university in North America.[213] In addition, over 30,000 teachers and researchers and more than 31,000 administrative manual workers take part in Mexican university life. Because this population is divided among 38 UNAM campuses, student protestors simultaneously have access to the centres of political power in Mexico City as well as the ability to mobilise populations across the country. This geographic decentralisation also makes military and police containment of student protests more difficult. Although the number of alumni living in close proximity to one of UNAM 38 campuses is impossible to estimate, it is clear that UNAM has an enormous population of individuals who could be mobilised to participate in a movement.

Similarly, with 160,000 university students in the greater metropolitan area, Montréal boasts the second largest number of students per capita of any city in North America. [214]

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[213] Brian Pusser and Imanol Ordorika. "Bringing political theory to university governance," 181.
[214] Peggy Curran. "University City: The riches of education". *The Gazette*. January 15, 2006.

This evidence seems to support the prediction that large densities of students positively influence the success of student protests. However, the UC also has an extremely large student population and one of the most vital university communities in the United States, yet student protests there failed to save affirmative action policies. The UC awards over 27 thousand bachelor's degrees and over 11 thousand advanced degrees every year.[215] There are over 160,000 UC students, and almost as many university employees.[216] And although this population is distributed among eleven campuses, it is clear that the UC is by no means lacking in population: in fact, as in Mexico the separate campuses might actually be a population plus factor for protestors, because each UC campus is surrounded by a satellite university community of individuals who are involved in university life. Neil Smelser described this process of community formation and mobilisation in his study of protest at Berkeley in the 1960's:

> Ecologically, the Berkeley campus is conducive to the mobilisation of mass protest. The south campus area has a population of indeterminate size, consisting of a shifting mixture of culturally alienated (bohemians, beatniks, hippies), politically active and transient youthful people. Readily mobilisable by pamphlet and word of mouth, this population has moved in and out of alliance with student activists depending on the issue at hand. Also available in times of crisis was a "gloating" group of easily mobilised people around the Bay Area, most from other campuses in the urban area, some from San Francisco's enclaves of cultural and political alienation, and some from the student bodies of local high schools.[217]

It is therefore clear that the UC has a large, dense, and active university community that protestors can draw from and that all three cases support the hypothesis that population size influences student protest mobilisation. Quantitative analyses of university protest in the United States have already confirmed that all of the so-called "hotbeds" of student activism

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[215] Patricia J. Gumport and Brian Pusser. "A Case of Bureaucratic Accretion: Context and Consequences". *The Journal of Higher Education.* 66, no. 5. (Sep.-Oct., 1995), 494.

[216] Martin Trow. "Governance in the University of California: The transformation of Politics into Administration". *Higher Education Policy.* (March 1998), 1.

[217] Neil J. Smelser. "Berkeley in Crisis and Change," 53.

are large universities located in large university communities;[218] it seems then that this finding can be extended to cover international comparisons of student movements as well.

Nevertheless, as evidenced by the failure of the many marches and mass protests at the UC to influence the decision of the university's Regents, the three case studies imply that population does not necessarily impact the outcomes of student movements. To be sure, a large population is a benefit for student protestors attempting to initiate societal change; a liberal arts college of 2,000 students is not going to change government policy even if 100 per cent of the student population goes on strike, and it is notable that the two cases of successful student protests in Montréal and in Mexico City both took place among the single largest university communities of Québec and Mexico. However, the case of protest at the UC demonstrates that a large or densely populated student body is not sufficient to produce effective protests. This finding makes intuitive sense because if population were a determining factor then protest would never succeed at small colleges and would virtually always succeed at large ones: this is simply not the case. Therefore, the three case studies imply that population is not as important a determinant as resource mobilisation theory predicts.

Furthermore, affluence also had an unclear influence on the three cases examined. First, affluence is primarily a function of the individual resources of protest participants, and as such data was never collected in any of the three cases, its effects are difficult to measure. However, it is likely that Van Dyke's conclusion about the relative unimportance of affluence was correct: protestors in Québec and Mexico utilised less-costly tactics than students at the UC. Specifically, the principle differences were strikes by Québec and Mexican students, and legal action by Californian students.

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[218] Van Dyke, "Hotbeds of Activism," 6.

The importance of free time seems to be supported by the cases examined, but again the time constraints experienced by students in the three different nations is difficult to compare. Like other American universities, the UC uses a cumulative GPA system where frequent examinations and assignments throughout the semester require students to commit themselves to constant studying. In contrast, student grades in Québec and Mexico depend far more on final exams, leaving students with more time during the semester to engage in other pursuits.

Furthermore, the pressure to graduate in a timely fashion is far more present at the UC. The UNAM and universities in Québec both have significantly high levels of part-time students enrolled in their programs. For example, at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), 31% of the total student population was part-time in Fall 2005, while 33% were part-time in the spring semester.[219] While UNAM does not document the number of part-time students in attendance, in Mexico the practice of taking many years of part-time study is so common that long-term students who take light course-loads have acquired an affectionate sobriquet: they are referred to as "fossils" and are often noted to participate with higher frequency in student organisations. Because the cost of attending university is currently so low at UQAM and UNAM, it is normal for students to take more than the minimum four years to finish their undergraduate degree. In contrast, there are fewer students at the UC- and in the American system in general- who do not take full course loads.

SUMMARY

This section examined the extent which the three variables generated from resource mobilisation literature facilitate student protests in the context of Québec, the United States and Mexico. It was found that variables relating to the size and affluence of universities and

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[219] *La population étudiante de l'UQAM: Statistiques d'inscription 2004-2005.* (Montréal: Université du Québec à Montréal, August 2005), 14.

the student body are not reliable predictors of student protest outcomes, although populated university communities do see higher incidences of large protests overall.

On the other hand, education systems that provide students with increased amounts of free time and less stressful academic and social environments do see increases in successful student protest. This is due in part to the fact that protest leaders can utilise this additional time to devote themselves to researching and planning strategies of activism. Furthermore, a greater number of students are likely to participate in direct action events such as sit-ins, strikes, marches and rallies in environments where academic and social obligations are not constant. Finally, universities with relaxed academic schedules see greater incidences of successful protest because activism can be sustained for longer periods of time without interfering too irreversibly with the graduation plans of participants.