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Taming the Untamed: The Portuguese University Student Movement In decline (2005-2015)

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Para a minha Mãe,

RESUMO

O ativismo estudantil universitário encontra-se historicamente vinculado a processos de mudança sociopolítica. Nas duas últimas décadas, uma vaga de ativismo estudantil universitário com geografias várias vem contestando regimes políticos, instituições, políticas ou idiomas culturais, deste modo captando a atenção de investigadores(as) interessados(as) na reemergência, após as históricas campanhas de mobilização nos períodos revolucionários de 1848 e da década de 1960, dos movimentos estudantis enquanto atores políticos. Os padrões contemporâneos de atividade de protesto estudantil demonstram que a contestação emerge dentro do campo do Ensino Superior e se expande para além dos muros da Universidade, permitindo que os movimentos universitários estudantis se constituam enquanto movimentos iniciadores em ciclos de contenção mais vastos através de processos de alinhamento de quadros interpretativos com outros movimentos sociais. A trajetória e atividade contemporâneas dos movimentos universitários estudantis portugueses, após a luta antipropinas da década de 1990, encontra-se ausente da literatura. A presente dissertação pretende contribuir para a resolução desta ausência através da reconstituição das respostas dos estudantes universitários portugueses face à reconfiguração da Universidade, promovida por um conjunto de políticas de âmbito nacional e europeu, e à austeridade, de modo a compreender se o movimento universitário estudantil terá re-mobilizado e contestado essas mudanças internas e externas ao campo do Ensino Superior, ou desmobilizado e entrado em declínio.

De modo a identificar a trajetória contemporânea do movimento universitário estudantil português, foi construída uma base de dados contendo 233 eventos de protesto para o período entre 2003 e 2005, identificando os principais atores, reivindicações e alvos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Movimento Universitário Estudantil; PEA; Teoria dos Campos; Estrutura de Oportunidades; Anti-Austeridade

ABSTRACT

University student activism has historically been associated to socio-political change. Over the last two decades, a second wave of worldwide University student activism have challenged political regimes, institutions, policies or certain cultural idioms, thus gathering the attention of social movements scholars interested on the re-emergence, after the historical mobilisations in the revolutionary periods of 1848 and the 1960s, of student movements as political actors. Contemporary patterns of student protest activity reveal that contention often unfolds within the Field of Higher Education and expand beyond the boundaries of the field and the University walls, allowing University student movements to act as initiator movements in broader cycles of contention through processes of frame alignment with other social movements. Notwithstanding, the contemporary trajectory and activity of the Portuguese University student movements, after the anti-tuition fees struggle in 1990s, is currently lacking from the literature. This dissertation aims to contribute to the overcoming of the latter by grasping the Portuguese university students' contentious responses to the reconfiguration of the university's role and purpose, propelled by a set of national and European policies, and to austerity, in order to understand if the University student movement have remobilised and contested these intra-field and extra-field configurational changes or demobilised and declined.

To identify and discern the trajectory of the Portuguese University student movement, a database containing 233 protest events for the period between 2003 and 2015 was built, identifying its main actors, claims and targets.

KEYWORDS

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ACRONYMS

FHE – Field of Higher Education

GJM – Global Justice Movement

WTO – World Trade Organisation

IMF – International Monetary Fund

EHEA – European Higher Education Area

HE – Higher Education

EU – European Union

BP – Bologna Process

UNAM – Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

GàR – Geração à Rasca

LOU – Ley Orgánica de Universidades

FOS – Field Opportunity Structures

POS – Political Opportunity Structures

PEA – Protest Event Analysis

RMT – Resource Mobilisation Theory

NSM – New Social Movements

PPM – Political Process Model

CP – Contentious Politics

MoU – Memorandum of Understanding

NPM – New Public Management

RJIES – Regime Jurídico do Ensino Superior

ABIC – Associação dos Bolseiros de Investigação Científica

QLT – Que se Lixe a Troika

AAC – Associação Académica de Coimbra

FAP – Federação Académica do Porto

UC – Universidade de Coimbra

PEC – Programa de Estabilidade e Crescimento

Evangelizemos: propaguemos: nas reuniões dos amigos, nas correspondências,

aqui, fora daqui, no Club Académico ou na botica da aldeia,

falar, falar sempre

expor o estado em que estamos, as reformas que pedimos:

criemos assim uma opinião na Academia, e depois em todo o país, no sentido da nossa ideia:

Façamos soar aos ouvidos de todos o lúgubre som de nossas algemas, sacudido numa ânsia de aflição.

Antero de Quental, *Sociedade do Raio* (1863)

Ci è stato detto che sappiamo soltanto dire no, che non abbiamo proposte.

Niente di più falso: proprio le occupazioni e le assemblee di questi giorni, stanno costruendo una nuova università, un'università fatta di

conoscenza, ma anche di socialità, di sapere ma anche di informazione, di consapevolezza.

Studiare è per noi fondamentale, próprio per questo riteniamo indispensabili le proteste:

occupare per poter fare vivere l'università pubblica, dissentire per poter continuare a studiare o fare ricerca.

Appello nazionale dalla Sapienza occupata, Rome (22/10/2008)

Together we organize the world for ourselves, or at least we organize our understanding of it; we reflect it, refract it, criticize it, grieve

over its savagery and help each other to discern, amidst the gathering dark, paths of resistance, pockets of peace and places whence hope

may be plausibly expected.

Marx was right: The smallest indivisible human unit is two people, not one; one is a fiction.

From such nets of souls societies, the social world, human life springs. And also plays.

Tony Kushner, *Angels in America* (2013)

CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

"A fter 20 years, where did the associative movement go?" (Pinto, 2011), "Where is the student movement?" (Escada, 2017), "Where is Student Activism?" (Estanque, 2019a, 2019b). These questions converge on the identification of the same problematic: the contemporary paths of the Portuguese university student movement remain uncertain and lacking an up-to-date study. This work seeks to partially contribute to the overcoming of the latter by grasping the Portuguese university students' contentious responses to the reconfiguration of the university's role and purpose and to austerity.

Over the last three decades, contention in the field of higher education (FHE) gained a worldwide reach (Della Porta, Cini and Guzmán-Concha, 2020). University students from Europe to Africa, and from the Americas to Asia, have been at the forefront of some of the most relevant protest waves of this period – from the European anti-austerity protest cycles to the Arab Spring, and from the Occupy Movement to the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong or the student protests in Iran. These thematic and geographically different experiences, alongside the mobilisations for global justice, find as a common element the call "for a more just and inclusive society" (Della Porta, 2019, p. 1408), challenging the perceived inadequacy of existing regimes, institutions, policies or certain cultural idioms.

Against this background, student movements were able to remobilise and to articulate themselves with new and broader movements (González, 2014, p. 190; Della Porta, 2005, p. 9, 2010, p. 11). The experience of the Global Justice Movement (GJM) challenged hitherto hegemonic consensus and paved the way for the emergence of new spaces and modalities of social and political critique (González, 2014, p. 190). These material and symbolic spaces, stemming from the World Social Forum gatherings in Porto Alegre and Mumbai, the 1999 protests in Seattle contesting economic globalisation, or the European Social Forum in Florence, Paris or London (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, p. 4), challenged the power of transnational corporations and of international organisations such as the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank, "as well as the neoliberal policies of the States and the European Union" (Assembly of Movements, 2006). These were also important loci of political socialisation and of transnational network constitution for students (Andretta and Sommier, 2009, p. 111; Della Porta, 2009, p. 11), who constituted the majority of activists (54,7%) of the first European Social Forum (2002), held in Florence (Della Porta, 2005, p. 17). From the shared experience and the example provided by the European Social Forums, structures aiming to coordinate different European student groups emerged and led to the constitution of the European Student Forum, which called for coordinated protest actions and written documents against the Bologna Process and the constitution of an European Higher Education Area (EHEA).

The transnational European coordination of student groups was only reinforced by the similarity of European Higher Education (HE) systems, where the push towards the increased autonomy of institutions is followed by the imperative to seek budget efficiency through the diversification of funding sources, and by the redefinition of University's management modalities through the introduction of external figures with particular interests in the governance structure of universities and the concentration of decisional power in the figure of the dean/director (Caruso *et al.*, 2010, p. 40). The promotion of "Knowledge Economies" has also led the redefinition of the University's traditional role and purpose, of the boundaries between the FHE and the economic field and of national particularities and traditions of HE systems. This convergence has been stimulated by the European Union (EU) and by the Bologna Process (BP).

Nevertheless, these dynamics also stem from the redefinition of the rules governing the political field, increasingly permeable to the logics and dynamics of the economic field. In all European HE systems, the introduction of a justification economy grounded on efficiency and competition principles concurs with the disinvestment in public HE (ibid.).

The last waves of student mobilisations were ultimately related to an economic dimension. From the symbolic mark provided by the 1999 strike of UNAM students, in Mexico, against the university's decision to increase the value of tuition fees until the 2015 *#FeesMustFall* movement in South Africa, university students have been contesting budget cuts and disinvestment in public HE. Albeit increasingly visible and dramatic after the 2008 financial and economic crisis, often articulating their protests with broader social movements and protest cycles, the mediatic outburst of university student movements must not overlook their activity in between cycles of contention.

Analysing the cases of Italy and Spain, Zamponi and González (2017) argue that by building on the legacies and discourses against the commodification of the university that emerged in the 1990s – and were actualised between 2006 and 2007 against the implementation of the BP – student movements were able to emerge as brokers of contention in the context of the 2008 financial and economic crisis by transforming the "anti-neoliberal discourse into an anti-austerity discourse" (ibid., p. 67). The authors suggest that these considerations may also extend beyond their case studies and cite the example provided by the Portuguese case and the 12 March 2011 demonstration called by *Geração à Rasca* (GàR) as seeming to attest the influence of "a dissenting youth […] to open the field of opportunities for broader mobilisations" (ibid., p. 77).

In Italy and Spain, university students' activism has been able to contest a series of configurational changes in the FHE. Student mobilisations have challenged their national government's push towards "university reform" through the notion of "university autonomy", conveying an impetus towards financial autonomy, privatisation and public disinvestment in HE systems. In Italy, the 1989 *Legge Ruberti* – also known as *Legge dell'Autonomia* (Autonomy Law) – embodied these principles of university reform and was first contested by students from the University of Palermo, who occupied several faculties during a couple of weeks. Inspired by these events, Italian university students

organised, between 1989 and 1990, several initiatives in institutions throughout the country to discuss and contest the university reform proposed by the government. These student mobilisations would be known under the label of *La Pantera* ("The Pantera") and would constitute an hallmark for future mobilisations (Zamponi, 2018). In Spain, the "university reform" was advanced by *Informe Universidad 2000* and the *Ley Orgánica de Universidades* (LOU), in 2001, and was also contested by Spanish students (González, 2014, p. 243). The *Informe Universidad 2000* explicitly referred that university reform implied a change in the traditional mission of the university, now accountable in terms of its social and economic impacts.

Besides the national governments' pressure towards the reform of the university, the latter was reinforced by the BP, after the Bologna Declaration signed in 1999 by 46 countries. In Spain, in the aftermath of the anti-LOU mobilisations, student assemblies and collectives reframed their discourse and challenged the implementation of the BP. The Spanish anti-Bologna mobilisations were particularly relevant between 2005 and 2009 and had its apex in December 2008 when students occupied the University of Barcelona for four months. Again, after the implementation of the Bologna Process and the decline of the anti-Bologna movement, student assemblies and collectives reframed their activity towards the critique of austerity, mainly through the platform *Juventud Sin Futuro*, in 2011, which was instrumental for the emergence of the 15-M movement (Zamponi and González, 2017, p. 69; Flesher Fominaya, 2015; Portos, 2016). In the same period, anti-Bologna mobilisations were also present in France, Germany and Italy.

In Italy, these were coeval to the *Onda Anomala*, which broadly contested the reform of Italian HE system proposed by Mariastella Gelmini, the minister of education, in two moments between 2008 and 2011 – the "Anti-Gelmini" cycle (Zamponi and González, 2017, p. 68). The first, between 2008 and 2009, opposed the Law 133/2008. Regarding HE, it concerned two aspects: university's funding and governance (Caruso *et al.*, 2010, p. 19). On the former, it postulates the progressive reduction of HE public funding alongside the possibility to further articulate it in accordance to efficiency criteria of expenditure (ibid.). On the latter, it allows universities to become private foundations, while also introducing a series of changes to the functioning of the Academic Senate and the composition of the Administrative Council, which must include a significative quota of "external" elements (ibid., p.20; Zamponi and González, 2017, p. 68). The second, after 2010, opposed the Law 240/2010 – the "Gelmini Law" –, which entails a radical change on governance principles of Italian universities, "proposing […] the introduction of external members onto university boards, the introduction of student loans in a system traditionally based on scholarships, and the abolition of tenure for researchers" (Zamponi and González, 2017, p. 68). In this second phase of anti-Gelmini cycle, and in the context of the 2008 crisis, claims, issues and the social composition of the movement broadened and were "kept together by a shared anti-austerity and anti-neoliberal discourse. The broad, inclusive and apolitical identity of the Onda became increasingly defined, while the target of the mobilisation shifted from the defence of the public university to opposition to austerity and neo-liberal globalisation" (ibid., p. 69)

These same contested dynamics can also be found in the case of Portugal but had hardly met the same resistance. Albeit finding a contentious legacy of university students' opposition against an authoritarian regime that lasted 40 years (Cardina, 2008; Accornero, 2016b), and the university's commodification in the 1990s (Drago, 2004; Machado Pais, 2014), mobilising against the government's decision to implement tuition fees, the Portuguese student movement seem to be in decline ever since.

Contrary to Zamponi and González's suggestion, Portuguese youth was not a dissent one and the activist culture of the past may have given place to other modalities of collective engagement (Estanque and Bebiano, 2007). Instead of accepting a generic culturalist hypothesis for the decline of the Portuguese student movements (cf. Estanque and Bebiano, 2007), this dissertation draws from Ancelovici's concept of *field opportunity structure* (FOS), a theoretical renewal of the concept of Political Opportunity Structure (POS). Following Sidney Tarrow's definition, political opportunities are a "consistent – but necessarily formal or permanent – dimension of the political environment that provides incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations of success or failure" (Tarrow, 2011, p. 163). Ancelovici moved beyond the emphasis on the *political* environment and opportunities through Bourdieu's field theory, admitting that societies are composed of multiple fields of activity, each one finding its own opportunity structure. For the author "shifts in the FOS can contribute to the emergence, growth and *decline* [emphasis added] of mobilization and contention" (Ancelovici, 2019).

We argue that changes in the opportunity structures of the FHE and in its boundaries and broader configurational arrangement may explain the emergence and decline of student movements.

This dissertation aims to analyse the decline of the Portuguese university student movement following the mobilisations held in the 1990s by focusing on the critical juncture provided by the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle (Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2015; Carvalho, 2018; Fernandes, 2017; Estanque, Costa and Soeiro, 2013; Portos and Carvalho, 2019). The singularity of the Portuguese case stems from the fact that "as it displays different contentious configurations, even if displaying similar conditions for protests to arise" (Carvalho, 2018, p. 54).

The study of student movements in Portugal agrees with the general research trends regarding the study of social movement in Portugal. According to Accornero (2016a, p. 361), research on specific social movements in Portugal is scarce and existing analysis depict these as "shooting stars, appearing only to quickly disappear, apparently unrelated or lacking continuity in their specific history". If recent works have started to challenge the latter (see Fernandes, 2017; Carvalho, 2018; Rodrigues and Fernandes, 2018; Della Porta *et al.*, 2018), a fragmented image of collective action in Portugal portraying social movements as sudden eruptions or sporadic events persists.

This work breaks with the lack of studies on the contemporary trajectory of the Portuguese university student movement through a longitudinal analysis of its protest activity. Drawing from Zamponi and González, our hypothesis posits that by shedding light into the patterns of university student movements protest activity prior to the anti-austerity protest cycle one may discern the

progressive decline of the Portuguese university student movement, rendering it unable to act as an initiator movement in the anti-austerity protest cycle. Moreover, its absence from the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle confirms the centrality of traditional labour organisations and of frames related to labour issues in the latter (Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2015; Fernandes, 2017; Carvalho, 2018).

The dissertation will be structured as follows. The next chapter presents the research design. The third chapter presents the theoretical framework on which this dissertation is grounded. The fourth chapter presents a brief outline of the contemporary Portuguese FHE, summarising the main transformations that characterised it throughout our time scope. The fifth chapter contains the main findings of the Protest Event Analysis. The sixth chapter discusses the empirical data from the previous chapter against the context provided by the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle. Finally, the seventh chapter concludes this work by reflecting on its main findings and its contributions for the literature on social movement studies, while also identifying its limitations and advancing possible avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2:

Designing the Research

2.1. Research Problematic

This dissertation aims to analyse the decline of the Portuguese university student movement following the mobilisations held in the 1990s against the implementation of tuition fees. Portuguese students were forerunners in advancing a critique against the retrenchment of welfare provision and the privatisation of public services in the 1990s. Besides this, however, they seemed unable to reactivate, actualise and expand to a larger audience their prior anti-neoliberal discourse to the particular changes occurring within the University and the broader reconfiguration of the social and political contexts propelled by the economic and financial crisis of 2008 and the subsequent implementation of austerity measures. Unlike their Southern European counterparts (i.e., in Italy and Spain), which, by building on existing anti-Bologna student organisations and networks, have emerged as initiator movements in anti-austerity protests (Caruso *et al.*, 2010; Zamponi, 2012; González, 2014; Zamponi and González, 2017), the Portuguese student movement's absence from the anti-austerity protest cycle might be better understood and explained through a diachronic analysis of its activity.

To account for trajectories of demobilisation and decline implies thus a break with both an ontological and epistemological bias of social science research that privileges *positive* social action and performance (see Croissant, 2014; Zamponi, 2012) – actions and performances that are spoken, public and successful. Nonetheless, to integrate absences and silences in social science research may provide a full account of social and political processes. In the interstitial space mediating between the public/visible and private/invisible spheres of social life, various forms of invisible and silencing practices operate, rendering certain thoughts, actions and practices "unthinkable", "unspeakable" or

unreasonable under certain cultural idioms or discourses (Baumgarten and Ullrich, 2016) and discursive fields (Snow, 2013b).

Research on social movements has been able to account for the epistemological bias associated with visibility[1] and public performance by studying intra-movement practices of decision-making, framing negotiation and strategic action, and by acknowledging the maintenance of movement culture and collective identity (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 147) in periods of relative latency (Melucci, 1989, p. 70) or abeyance (Taylor, 1989), when movements retreat in accordance to changes in the broader socio-political environment.

However, the "academic habit of studying only successful mobilisations" seems to prevail (Zamponi, 2012, abstract). Indeed, studies focusing on examples of failed mobilisation or movements in decline are scarce (e.g. Messinger, 1955).

This research sought to break with the latter by building on the case of the Portuguese university student movement, seemingly in decline after the last cycle of student protest held in the 1990s against the implementation of tuition fees in public HE (Drago, 2004; Seixas, 2005) and the mobilisations throughout the 1960s and 1970s against *Estado Novo* (Cardina, 2008; Accornero, 2013, 2016b) and unable to sustain a continuous campaign against the contemporary transformation of the University.

Student movements are intrinsically dynamic and are embedded in the FHE, characterised by its relational configuration, where different institutional and non-institutional actors occupy different positions and struggle for the power to define the specific principles, organizing criteria, interests, meanings and rules of the field itself. Likewise, it is necessary to map and draw a brief genealogy of the Portuguese FHE to define its opportunity structure (Ancelovici, 2009, 2019). The latter is quintessential, we argue, to identify and understand why the Portuguese HE students' contentious responses to (i) the reconfiguration of the university's role and purpose and to (ii) austerity differed from the cases of Spain and Italy (Cilleros and Betancor, 2014; González, 2014; Zamponi and González, 2017).

2.2. Research Design

This research aims to answer the question: "What have been the Portuguese university students' contentious responses to the discourses and policies transforming the university's role and purpose and to austerity?".

The study of the contemporary trajectory of the Portuguese university student movement suggests a case study research strategy. Indeed, the singularity of the Portuguese case stems from its deviance from the worldwide wave of student mobilisations identified by the literature (Pechar, 2012; González, 2014; Cini, 2017a, 2017b, 2019; Cini and Guzmán-Concha, 2017; Zamponi and González, 2017;

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[1] The ontological and epistemological consequences of this "myopia of the visible" (Melucci, 1994, p. 107) for social movement research is the emphasis on the novelty and spontaneity of mobilisations, underestimating movement continuity between periods of active mobilisation (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 148).

Ancelovici and Guzmán-Concha, 2019; Della Porta, 2019; Della Porta, Cini and Guzmán-Concha, 2020).

According to Snow (2013a), to account for the singularity of a particular movement, process or event requires a case study research strategy, however necessarily embedded in an implicit comparative framework (Lijphart, 1971, p. 691) and with a comparative scope to contribute to theoretical generalisation[2] (Snow, 2013a, p. 3). Moreover, a case study research strategy generates a "thick" analysis, understanding and description of the "phenomenon and the context in which it is embedded" (Snow, 2013a; Geertz, 1973), thus locating the singularity of the phenomenon within the cultural and socio-political context of national configurations (Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2015, p. 493). Therefore, "a case study is a research strategy, based on the triangulation of various data sources and data-gathering procedures, that seeks to generate rich, detailed, contextualized accounts of social phenomena that are interesting in their own right" (Snow, 2013a, p. 3).

This dissertation's research design is built on a case study and its time scope extends from 2005 until 2015. This temporal framework was defined to include the main transformations that defined the political field and the FHE (i.e., the implementation of laws concerning the funding, autonomy and juridical statute of public HE institutions and the transformations that followed the adherence to the Bologna Declaration) in contemporary Portugal. The decision to articulate, within the same time scope, the political field and the FHE was twofold. The first motivation was of theoretical order, since the contemporary configuration of the latter is assumed to depend – at some extent – on the dynamics of the former. The second followed the need to provide an empirical gaze on the relationship between student movements and broader socio-political cycles of protest (González, 2014; Zamponi and González, 2017; Della Porta, 2019; Tarrow, 2011).

According to Zamponi and González (2017), student movements, in the cases of Italy and Spain, emerged as initiator movements (see McAdam, 2013a) in the anti-austerity protest cycle by reframing and expanding (Snow *et al.*, 1986; Laraña, 1994) the anti-neoliberal discourse – mainly contesting the perceived marketisation of Universities – that characterised the student struggles of the 1990s and 2000s (Zamponi and González, 2017, p. 67). Central to their argument is the "relevance of discursive continuities in collective action and the fundamental role of specific factors in ensuring them, in a dialectic relationship with the changing structural context" (Zamponi and González, 2017, p. 77). The authors suggest that these considerations may also be found in the Portuguese case (Zamponi and González, 2017, p. 77), where "the influence of a dissenting youth was also key in order to open the field of opportunities for broader mobilisations" that would constitute the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle.

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[2] As Snow argues against the inability of case studies to "engage in theoretical generalisation" (2013a, p. 3), theoretical or analytical generalisations are "the kind of generalisation case studies are well-suited to pursue", instead of statistical generalisations.

Thus the decision to start in 2005 with the election of the Portuguese Socialist Party's (PS) majority government led by José Sócrates – marking the beginning of a new political cycle – and to conclude in 2015 with the reconfiguration of the political field and of party alliances that followed the end of the anti-austerity protest cycle. Additionally, this temporal framework corresponds to the one studied by Zamponi and González (2017), overlapping with the mobilisations, in Spain, against the implementation of the Bologna Process, and, in Italy, against the laws 133/2008 and 240/2010, which accordingly implied the public disinvestment in public HE and a governance reform of HE institutions.

To understand why the outcome in Portugal differed from that found in Italy and Spain requires a within-case empirical analysis built around a negative case (Emigh, 1997; Snow, 2013a) to test the applicability of Zamponi and González's model to the Portuguese case and to propose a "minimally sufficient explanation" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013, p. 3) for the particular case by identifying how the articulation or configuration[3] of different elements may have led to the outcome.

In Zamponi and Zamponi and González's work (2017), the student mobilisations in the cases of Italy and Spain, prior to the countries' anti-austerity protest cycles, seem to have followed the relative opening of the field of higher education's opportunity structure. Since these mobilisations were mainly driven by endogenous or context-specific factors related to the FHE (González, 2014, p. 123), this work builds on Ancelovici's concept of *field opportunity structure* (Ancelovici, 2009, 2019) to account for the emergence and decline of student mobilisations.

Thus, to discern the patterns of university students' protest before and during the anti-austerity protest cycle, and identify the main changes that defined the Portuguese FHE and the contentious responses that these may have generated, a Protest Event Analysis (PEA) was done, providing a longitudinal and relational understanding of collective mobilisation over the time period under study.

Following Zamponi and González's take on the role of discourse between cycles of mobilisation (2017), the PEA was quintessential to account for the effects of macro-level changes within the Portuguese FHE not merely on the quantitative dimension of protest activity and collective action (e.g.., demonstrations, strikes, disruptive actions, written demands) of university students, but also on the qualitative elements of contention, by identifying the claims advanced and the issues at stake, their targets and action repertoires. Therefore, the PEA allowed us to answer to our secondary questions, stemming from our primary question: "Which patterns of university students' protest activity existed before and during the anti-austerity protest cycle?"; and "Which transformations shaped the contemporary Portuguese field of higher education?".

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[3] Literature on the process-tracing method tends to subscribe to an epistemological model based on the identification of causal dynamics (i.e., causal mechanisms and/or causal chains) to account for historical outcomes. Accordingly, the latter seems to inform the explanatory schemata of the political process model and of the contentious political research program (e.g., Tilly and Tarrow, 2015). This Dissertation, however, is ontologically and epistemologically structured around the dialogue between Archer's critical realism and Bourdieu's field theory.

The PEA is a technique that emerged in the field of social movement studies (Hutter, 2014, p. 335), and allows a diachronic reading of protest by identifying protest events and protest cycles, actors, targets and claims. Accordingly, the PEA implies a particular modality of content analysis of written sources that, under certain research design arrangements, allows both a quantitative reading of protest – by "[turning] words into numbers" (Hutter, 2014, p. 336; Soule, 2013) – and of collective mobilisation, and a more qualitative analysis of protest by collecting and understanding the meaning mobilised in the protest claims, hence articulating elements from the political process approach and political discourse analysis (see Koopmans and Statham, 1999).

Briefly, this technique consists on the systematic and regular collection of data related to protest events for a given time period from one or more written sources and its subsequent coding in accordance to a set of predefined set of dimensions and variables. The coding of protest events often identifies dimensions such as the actors responsible for the event, the claims or issues at stake, the type of action (i.e., demonstration, strike, occupation/boycott and petition) and the its target.

Newspapers are often chosen as the PEA's preferred source due to its ability to meet these criteria (Earl *et al.*, 2004; Hutter, 2014, p. 335). Newspaper records are therefore systematically coded and analysed to build the PEA's database.

However, critiques of this technique identify at least two methodological bias: the *selection bias* and the *visibility bias*. According to Soule (2013), larger, more intense events are more likely to draw media attention, as are events closer to the source. Similarly, one must bear in mind the tendency of certain events to be over-reported, particularly under certain media attention cycles. Moreover, the reporting of events in newspapers is also influenced by editorial policies and the newspaper's political leaning (Soule, 2013, p. 2). Media selectivity thus might bias the results and deliver a fully-fledged portrait of reality. The *visibility bias* follows the technique's inadequacy to cope with the non-public or invisible element of social movement activity (Tarrow, 1990, p. 20).

Since the concepts of "protest" and of "event" are at the core of the PEA, it was quintessential to provide a coherent definition and to delimitate their scope to properly build our database. Regarding the concept of "protest", whose broad contextual usage has led to the concept's ambiguity (Opp, 2009, p. 33), we take Karl-Dieter Opp's definition proposal, where "*protest* is defined as joint (i.e., collective) action of individuals aimed at achieving their goal or goals by influencing decisions of a target" (Opp, 2009, p. 38). The PEA's units of analysis are events, defined as a "collective public protest act where the actors must – explicitly or not – advance a grievance, critique or claim to change the society"[4].

Beyond its conceptual delimitation, it was also necessary to clarify what was to constitute one single event or multiple events. An event is always defined by the existence of, at least, one actor. Consequently, whenever a different actor organises an event this constitutes a different event.

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[4] The delimitation of what constitutes an event was drawn from the guidelines provided by the Brief Event Guide of the project "Dynamics of Collective Action in the U.S., 1960-1995". See Methodological Appendix.

Regarding questions of space and time continuity, it is one event when it is continuous, located in the same city or same part of the city and includes the same (or subset of the same) participants with the same goals.

Since the PEA's units of analysis are events, the public dimension of collective action remains relevant and newspaper records remain thus an important source (Tarrow, 1990, pp. 20–21). Likewise, and "[d]espite not being wholly representative, this technique helps to envisage the whole sequence of events in a clear and systematic way and take into consideration the plurality of protest actors, claims and repertoires in the field." (Carvalho, 2018, p. 62).

To acquire a proper and adequate picture of reality a comprehensive and systematic source was to be chosen. Newspapers are often chosen as the PEA's preferred source due to its ability to meet these criteria (Earl *et al.*, 2004; Hutter, 2014, p. 335). Newspaper records are therefore systematically coded and analysed to build the PEA's database. Hence, a single large-scale circulation and daily newspaper with an online edition was chosen due to a combination of time constraints and time scope.

Using the PEA methodological framework, our dataset was collected from *Público*, one of Portugal's leading newspapers, with nationwide coverage and distribution, founded in 1989 and often described as having a liberal[5] political orientation. *Público*'s online edition[6] had between ten and twenty million[7] visits, making it the third most visited daily newspaper website alongside *Diário de Notícias* (see Accornero, 2018). To ease the collection of protest events that were directly related to the field of higher of education, a keyword search on the *Público*'s electronic archive was conducted. Articles were sorted in accordance to the keyword "estudantes" (students). *Público*'s electronic archive research engine automatically reported merely the articles – newspaper's news and material from the Portuguese agency news *Lusa* – containing the keyword "estudantes" for the selected time span.

The decision to choose a keyword with a broad range of contextual and etymological uses – such as "estudantes" – was informed and justified to mitigate the number of possible missing events due to unusual framing of the event by the newspaper (Earl *et al.*, 2004, p. 75).

Events were coded[8] by actor category (i.e., general category; student movement organisation, collective or association; and specific; and specific student movement organisation, collective or association involved in the organisation of the event), the claim or issue at stake, the type of action (i.e., demonstration, strike, occupation/boycott and petition) and its target. Also, when available, a set of

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[5] The characteristics of news agencies are worth taking into consideration when accounting for the need to minimise the *selection bias* (Earl *et al.*, 2004), "the fact that newspapers *selectively* report on protest events, and do not provide a representative sample of all events taking place" (Hutter, 2014, p. 338). The decision to choose *Público*, described as having a liberal orientation, was justified since "liberal or extreme left newspapers are less selective than conservative papers" (Hutter, 2014, p. 351).

[6] https://www.publico.pt

[7] https://www.eurotopics.net/en/148761/pblico

[8] Our data collection and coding procedures followed the works of Accornero and Ramos Pinto (2015, pp. 494–495) and Carvalho (2018).

event characteristics were also coded: location, length, number of participants involved and whether violence had taken place.

A database with 233 events, spreading from January 2003[9] until September 2015, was created, containing actors from the (i) *Ensino Básico e Secundário* (Basic and Secondary Education) and from (ii) *Ensino Superior* (Higher Education). Actor categories associated with HE – *Public University students* and *Research Fellows* and *Research Fellowship Candidates* – were responsible for approximately 74 per cent of the events (172). The database is composed of four dimensions with the corresponding variables[10], drawn and adapted to cope with the particularities and objectives of this dissertation from the works of Accornero and Ramos Pinto (2015) and Carvalho (2018). Therefore, and albeit departing from a pre-established and pre-existing model and codebook, several of the variables had to be redefined and adjusted[11] throughout the codification process of the protest events.

To complement the PEA and acquire a more fine-grained reading of the Portuguese student movement's protest activity against the background of the major configurational changes within the political field and the FHE, a Chronology[12] containing the main socio-political and economic events between 2005 and 2015 was constructed. The analysis of the transformations in the Portuguese FHE, was complemented with secondary data sourced from State Budgets Reports concerning the funding of HE (2005-2015) and *Pordata* and is presented in Chapter 4. A set of documents was also consulted and analysed to complement the diachronic analysis of the political field: the 2011 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), and the manifestos from the main political parties for the 2005, 2009 and 2011 general elections. Additionally, data from the Eurobarometer and a brief quantitative analysis of a set political behaviour variables – for the cohort between 15-39 years old – from the *European Social Survey* (rounds 2-8) was collected and can be found in the Appendix of this Dissertation.

2.3. Reflection around the crafting of a research object

The research object of this dissertation is the contemporary trajectory of the Portuguese university student movement. The craft of a research object and the definition of a research design is bounded to a reflection around the meaning, purpose and the social embeddedness of the scientific practice and of the practitioner. This section presents the ontological principles of critical realism and how these

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[9] To properly grasp the patterns of university students' protest activity prior to the anti-austerity protest cycle, while considering the main configurational changes defining the contemporary Portuguese FHE, events were collected from January 2003 to include the university students' activity following the implementation of the Law 37/2003 ("Estabelece as bases do financiamento do ensino superior").

[10] A Methodological Appendix, containing a detailed account and description of the dimensions and variables and the Codebook used to build the Protest Event Analysis (PEA), was done and can be found at the end of this Dissertation.

[11] Following Koopman and Statham's suggestion, actors and topics were not coded in accordance to a pre-defined and closed categories but, instead, "on the basis of 'open' code lists that could be extended […] each time a new actor [or topic] appeared" (Koopmans and Statham, 1999).

[12] See Appendix II.

dialogue with Bourdieu's field theory and the study of social movements; and the epistemological principles guiding this study and how these informed our methodological choices and empirical work.

2.3.1. Relational Standpoint: Critical Realism, Field Theory and Social Movement Studies

Student movements are intrinsically dynamic and are embedded in the FHE. To grasp the paths taken by the former calls thus for the analysis of the configurations of the latter, since the possibility of student movements to take a position is relationally dependent on their position within the FHE. In turn, the autonomy of the FHE is also subject to external pressures stemming from the political and economic fields.

Subscribing to a critical realist approach is to ontologically adhere to a stratified understanding of reality, rejecting the flat ontology and epistemic neutrality of positivist approaches and the idealist understanding of reality advanced by hermeneutic traditions of thought. Social reality, ontologically, exists independently of one's experience[13] and has a double existence – it is both "material *and* mental" (Brante, 2001, p. 14).

Critical realism suggests a dynamic, processual and relational understanding of social life that dialogues with Pierre Bourdieu's sociological grammar (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, pp. 127–128) and with the dynamic and relational elements of the political process model's and contentious politics (Tarrow, 2011, p. 33) research programs .

Critique, claim-making and mobilisation are hardly unidirectional or monolithic but contextually and historically embedded and imply more dialogical features that those of a monologue. Social movements have, accordingly, a relational ontology (Neveu, 2005, p. 10), since to "mobilise '*for*'" is to "mobilise '*against*' [emphasis added] an adversary" (Neveu, 2005; Honneth, 2011).

Decisive for this dissertation's argument is the concept of *field*, explicitly drawn from Bourdieu, which implies a break with a "realist representation [of interaction]"[14] (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 192) through a social reading of the functioning modalities of electromagnetic fields (Martin, 2003): social fields are "space[s] of potential and active forces" that are relationally-bounded, configurational and dynamic, and every social field or sub-field is also a "*field of struggles* aimed at preserving or transforming the configuration of these forces" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 101), meaning that, like repulsion and attraction forces influence particles in a magnetic field, social fields are mediating structures defined by contingent configurations that inform and actualise both the individuals' positions and practices within each one of the manifold social fields that constitute modern differentiated societies. Bourdieu's field

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[13] Central to critical realism is the assumption that reality exists independently of one's experience and that "it is *differentiated*, *structured* and *stratified*" (Danermark *et al.*, 2002, p. 25),. Critical realism is ontologically realist (i.e., there is an underlying reality that exists independently of one's experience) and epistemological relativist.

[14] According to Martin (2003), Bourdieu's field theory builds on the electromagnetics' understanding of the *field* as a mediating system of emergent potentialities that is built against a realist interpretation of interaction, "just as the Newtonian theory of gravitation could be developed only by breaking away from Cartesian realism, which refused to recognise any mode of physical action other than shock and direct contact" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 192).

theory suggests a relational nature of social reality that operates both intra-field and inter-fields, i.e., within each field and among relatively autonomous social fields, but also a diachronic definition and understanding of the internal dynamics that define each field and which presupposes a certain degree of historicity (see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 102).

2.3.2. Scientific Practice: Social embeddedness and knowledge production in social sciences

The problem of what 'science' itself is has to be posed.
Is not science itself 'political activity' and political thought, in as much as it transforms men,
and makes them different from what they were before?

(Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 1971: 244)

Following Gramsci's words, scientific research – "is primarily a concrete, practical, social activity among others, aiming in one way or other at influencing – transforming, improving, modifying, manipulating – the reality of which it is itself a part" (Danermark *et al.*, 2002, p. 24). Scientific research is thus a practical and transformative social practice (Marx, 2008). An epistemological break[15] secured by theoretical work (Bourdieu, Chamboredon and Passeron, 1991, pp. 29–30) is what ultimately distinguishes scientific knowledge from common sense knowledge (albeit its relevance for the ordeal functioning of society as practical and embodied knowledge).

Being aware of the social conditions of production of scientific knowledge leads one to reflect not only about her position and trajectory within the social space but also about one's *interested* – for engaged and implicated – position both, for the object and purpose of this research, within the scientific field and the field of higher education (Bourdieu, Chamboredon and Passeron, 1991, p. ix). Therefore, "[t]he sociology of knowledge […] is *eo ipso* a political sociology" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 15) in its invitation to reflect about the material, social and ideational conditionings[16] of the researcher[17] and of her research, while also reflecting about the internal dynamics of the scientific field and the role of scientific practice as a social practice. If the *métier de sociologue* is the examination of the taken-for-granted and apparently natural elements of everyday life, then, drawing from Bauman (2019, p. 8), to think sociologically leads one to agree with the statement that "social science cannot be neutral, detached, apolitical" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 51).

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[15] This epistemological rupture with the *doxic* understanding of reality (i.e., common sense) seems to be a distinctive feature of a social sciences' scientific project, rooted in a primary *defamiliarization* movement (Bauman and May, 2019, pp. 8–9) and subsequent explanation of social facts by social facts.

[16] Scientific research is historically and socially conditioned. A distinctive feature of social scientists is their relationship with their research object due to their social embeddedness. Accordingly, only a certain procedural degree of neutrality can be achieved (Weber, 2004; Bauman and May, 2019, p. 6), since even methodological choices are hardly neutral (Bourdieu, Chamboredon and Passeron, 1991, p. 41).

[17] Bourdieu's sociology may be understood "as an attempt to transform the principles of vision whereby we construct, and therefore may rationally and humanely shape, sociology, society and, ultimately, our selves" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 59).

Consequently, our research consciously sought to minimise the influence or bias stemming from any normative positioning by adopting a research strategy that grants a certain detachment towards the object. The latter was ultimately achieved through the Protest Event Analysis.

CHAPTER 3:

Literature Review

3.1. Social Movement Studies and Student Movements

Social movement studies have always taken student movements, in different historical and geographical contexts, as their objects of inquiry (Caruso *et al.*, 2010, p. 29). This has been the case particularly from the 1960s onwards, seemingly influenced by the student mobilisations that first emerged within north-American universities (Lipset, 1993) and would inevitably spread to different national contexts, from Brazil to Iran (see Jian *et al.*, 2018). Indeed, the hotbed of student activism provided by the Free Speech Movement protests in Berkeley during the 1964-1965 academic year animated a set of foundational works in social movement studies, advancing a series of conceptual tools related to the biographical impacts of activism (see McAdam, 1986, 1990; also Whalen and Flacks, 1990; McAdam, 2013a). Similarly, the student mobilisations that took place in several Italian cities and Paris in 1968 gathered the attention of scholars interested in the emergence of *youth* as a political subject, calling for a broader sociocultural change. And of student movements as conveyors of a *new* type of social movement, seemingly rooted in a different social and cultural cleavage – i.e., the "value cleavage" (Kriesi, 1998, p. 166) – that opposes materialist and post-materialist orientations; or in a specific configurational societal arrangement or type of society, linked to a new type of social life where the cultural field and sociocultural issues were perceived to be increasingly relevant (Touraine, 1985, pp. 777–784). These considerations shed light into the inevitable historicity of social movements, ultimately bounded and contingent to their time and conditions of emergence.

The historical juncture and context of the mobilisations of the 1960s – where student movements were merely one of manifold social and political agents emerging at the time, alongside movements such as the women's rights, New Age, ecologist and peace movements – led to the redefinition of the conceptual frameworks and analytical tools hitherto used to study social mobilisation.

Old psychosociological approaches to the study of social action and social mobilisation were unable to cope with the seeming novelty – in terms of constituency, claims and types of action – of these movements. Rooted in a functionalist understanding of society and of social dynamics, stemming from Gustave Le Bon and Gabriel Tarde's works on crowd psychology to the eminently North American classical strain model and the collective behaviour perspective (McAdam, 2013b) that emphasised the role of sociopsychological elements as sources of political action, this paradigm described social mobilisation in terms of system malfunction, misalignment and relative deprivation. The insufficiency of these approaches to provide a cogent account for the emergence of these new socio-

political agents with new modalities of collective action paved the way for a paradigmatic shift both in North American and European intellectual traditions (Johnston, Laraña and Gusfield, 1994, p. 3).

In the United States of America, the Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) would build on a utilitarian and economic understanding of individual and collective action to understand how mobilisation unfolds or what prompts mobilisation. Briefly, the RMT accounts for collective action by pointing out the existence of three factors: the availability of resources, of organisational forms and the political opportunities provided by the political context for mobilisation (González, 2014, p. 50). In Europe, the New Social Movements (NSM) approach sought to understand the singularity and account for the specificity of these new modalities of collective mobilisation, whose grievances and mobilising factors "tend to focus on cultural and symbolic issues that are linked with issues of identity rather than on economic grievances that characterised the working-class movement" (Johnston, Laraña and Gusfield, 1994, p. 7). For the NSM approach, privilege was conceded to questions of motivation instead of processes of mobilisation. However, if the former seems to neglect the role of cultural and symbolic aspects for mobilisation, the latter, by excessively focusing on the autonomy and cultural production processes of social movements, underestimates their relationality and interaction with institutional domains (González, 2014, p. 52).

Nonetheless, contemporary theoretical developments in the realm of social movement studies have advanced alternatives to these approaches. The Political Process Model (PPM) (see McAdam, 1999) – which can be broadly understood as a change from within the RMT – stresses the importance of taking into account "three explanatory factors" (McAdam, 2013b), which, when combined, would allow one to grasp the emergence and development of social movements. For McAdam (2013b), these factors are: (i) expanding political opportunities, which render established political regimes or institutions receptive to challenges from social movements; (ii) established organisations or informal networks, which may act as mobilising structures; and (iii) the sociopsychological process of "cognitive liberation", the *de facto* trigger of individual and collective action by acting as a mediating operator linking opportunities (on the structural/supply side) and action (on the agential/demand side).

From McAdam's original model formulation, academic focus was increasingly directed towards the concept of political opportunities (ibid.). Ever since Eisinger's (1973) first reported usage of the concept of POS as the set of institutional dimensions of political systems that could account for the frequency and success of certain modalities of political behaviour, the concept of POS was essentially described as heavily structuralist and not open to the creativity of non-institutional actors in the interaction with their political environment. Over time, the concept was used to explain why social movements emerge under certain political configurations. However, and more recently, the POS model has been revised through a relational conception of political opportunities. The latter, accordingly, "are not structurally insensitive stocks that exist prior to action; rather, 'they are continuously updated through the relationship with movements'" (Fillieule, 1997, p. 55, cited in Accornero, 2013, p. 1038).

Yet, critiques of the PPM "revolve around the definition and identification of political opportunity, the state-centeredness that marginalises some social movements, and ignoring or misunderstanding the relationship between culture, identity, and structure and movements" (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008, p. 74). The PPM also failed to specify "how contentious actors interacted with each other and with others" or to identify the processual interconnection of the model's different elements (Tarrow, 2011, p. 28).

The Contentious Politics approach (CP) sought to move beyond the inefficiencies of the PPM. As an analytical framework based on a theoretical synthesis, CP build on PPM and articulated "with insights from other branches of social movement theory" (i.e., repertoires of contention, the role of networks and mobilising structures, the construction of opportunities, the role of culture and framing approaches) to properly address the dynamic and processual features of contention (Tarrow, 2011, pp. 28–34).

However, the PPM and CP approaches are rooted in an essentially narrow understanding of power dynamics in modern societies, which emphasises the role of political and economic structures and underestimates the role of culture and of non-State institutions as possible targets (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008). The PPM assumes that the activities of social movements take place in a seemingly unified and hardly differentiated socio-political space – the *polity* model of society, composed by "members" and "challengers", prescribing an elitist and state-centric view of society. Alternatively, Armstrong and Bernstein argue that the contemporary study of social movements must adopt a multi-institutional perspective of politics, departing from the narrow understanding of modern politics underlying the PPM and contentious politics approaches.

Building on Armstrong and Bernstein's perspective (2008) and on the work of Crossley (2002, 2003), Ancelovici sought to expand the explanatory model of the PPM and, in particular, of the concept of POS by drawing on Bourdieu's field theory and forging the concept of *field opportunity structures* to assess "how shifts in the FOS can contribute to the emergence, growth and *decline* [emphasis added] of mobilization and contention" (Ancelovici, 2019). Accordingly, to properly grasp the student mobilisations of the 1960s (Ancelovici, 2009, pp. 51–52; cf. Bourdieu, 1988) and those from the last decades a comprehensive theoretical framework must be drawn.

Besides their inevitable historicity, student movements are bounded to a particular temporality, intertwined with the singularity of its constituency and the possibilities of its emergence, due to a combination of ephemerality and spatial and temporal fragmentation (Della Porta, 2010, p. 10; González, 2014, p. 12; Rootes, 2013; Zamponi, 2018). Following Gillan and Edwards (2020, p. 3), "identifying the 'times' in which a movement 'moves' aids in the explanation of the characteristics and dynamics of that movement". These "times" are macro-structural and historical, but also the "regular and quotidian schedules". Student movements are inextricable related to time. The regular, patterned and scheduled academic calendars influence the activity of student movements (Gillan and Edwards, 2020, p. 8; Cilleros and Betancor, 2014).

After the student mobilisations of the 1960s, literature on student movements – on the form of singular case or comparative studies, and under synchronic or longitudinal perspectives – mobilising the theoretical framework and conceptual apparatus of social movement studies remained "episodical and circumscribed" (Della Porta, 2010, p. 9; González, 2014, pp. 11–13), thus limiting a proper and historically sustained understanding of the meaning of recent student mobilisations (González, 2014, p. 13). Ultimately, research on student movements seems to paradoxically mirror the challenges faced by student movements between cycles of student protest: instead of relying on relatively stable structures that ensure continuity and reinforce identity, it seems to "start from scratch every time" (Zamponi, 2018, p. 226).

Nevertheless, and over the temporal framework of this work (2005-2015), a worldwide wave of student mobilisations that challenged governments, institutions, HE policies and broader socio-political configurations and cultural idioms, and mobilised from issues endogenous to the fields of education and HE to the generalisation of youth unemployment and precarity, contributed to the renewal of academic interest on university activism (Klemenčič, 2012, 2014) and university student movements (see González, 2014, pp. 14–15; Pechar, 2012; Cini, 2017b, 2017a, 2019; Cini and Guzmán-Concha, 2017; Zamponi and González, 2017; Ancelovici and Guzmán-Concha, 2019; Della Porta, Cini and Guzmán-Concha, 2020). This work is, accordingly, embedded in this second wave of studies about student movements.

3.1.1. Student Movements as Social Movements

From the works of Caruso *et al.* (2010) and Della Porta *et al.* (2020), the recent waves of student mobilisations may be considered as a broader student protest wave characterised by thematic fluidity and interaction, socially and temporally interconnection towards a shared goal and sustained by a broader network of social ties between individual activists, groups of activists and other activist networks. From the latter element, regarding the identification of network of actors or group of actors responsible for the emergence and development of these student mobilisations, one roughly gets an approximate and operative conceptual contemporary definition of what is a student movement and how it dialogues with the disputed concept of social movement.

The concept of student movement is rooted in an etymological haziness: due to the heterogeneity stemming from the images of *student* and *studentship*, it may refer to networks of informal interactions between primary school, secondary school and/or university students. To circumscribe our object and clarify its conceptual meaning, the focus of this work is on the university student movement as "the organised forms that develop in the context of university education and acquire the form of a social movement, it is to say: that have a political orientation and a will towards socio-political transformation" (González, 2014, p. 77).

Student movements constitute a singular experience of social movement. Due to its fluidity and in-and-out of the field activity, student movements are "fields of actors" and hardly unified entities

(Gamson and Meyer, 2008, p. 283). This definition agrees both with Diani's synthetic definition of the concept of social movement as a "network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (1992, p. 13) and with Snow's definition of social movements as "collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part." (2004, p. 11).

Albeit disputed and lacking an universal definition, Caruso *et al.* (2010) point out that four characteristics of the concept of social movement are shared by works of manifold theoretical traditions and geographical provenances: "(i) a [social] movement is a network of informal relations between individuals, groups and organisations; (ii) a [social] movement implies a shared belief about the reality, the creation of a collective identity and solidarity between its members; (iii) a [social] movement implies the existence of a conflict and, therefore, it mobilises on conflictual themes; (iv) a [social] movement implies the frequent recourse to protest and to non-conventional forms of action".

Within the FHE, many and different organisations, more or less institutionalised and formalised, with different orientations and purposes, coexist, such as sports teams, cultural groups or student unions (Crossley and Ibrahim, 2013; Brooks, Byford and Sela, 2015, 2016; Cini, 2017b, p. 7). What distinguishes student movements from other student-led collectives or organisations operating within the FHE seems to be its (i) broader reach and impact, stemming from more locally, institution-wise or specific corporate policy issues to the general critique of socio-political configurations: (ii) fluid and networked composition, composed by individual activists, groups of activists and other activist networks; and (iii) a tendency to articulate non-conventional and disruptive forms of action – such as sit-ins, building occupations, academic blockades, demonstrations, interruption of official and decision-making meetings, student strikes and written demands – with lobbying and coalitional building strategies with relevant and powerful insider actors within Universities to increase its impact (see Cini, 2017b, pp. 7–10).

Indeed, student movements may include institutional and insider organisations such as local, regional or nationwide student unions or platforms, but are hardly confined to university walls. Literature on student movements emphasises its centrifugal dynamic and activity, moving beyond the University and endogenous factors to the FHE and willing to align with other social movements and to constitute itself as a political actor, distinguishing itself from other groups (González, 2014, pp. 80–81).

Drawing from Vaquero, the student movement would then correspond, on the one hand, to "a collective agent that intervenes in the process of university transformation, promoting, inhibiting or cancelling a change" (Vaquero, 2002, p. 155, *apud* Fernández González, 2014, p. 62). On the other hand, "it may intervene in a process of direct [political] transformation when it considers that the university transformation is only possible within broader changes of the political parameters" (Vaquero, 2002, p. 156, *apud* Fernández González, 2014, p. 63). For Rootes (2013), this latter political dimension

of student movements is one of its defining features, since student movements have been historically perceived as critique carriers of political order.

This has been the case in Portugal[18] and Spain[19], where incipient – but already modern (cf. Tilly, 1978) – modalities of student movements have organised and challenged, already in the 19th century, both the inertia of Iberian Universities and the countries' political regimes. Over the course of the 20th century, Portuguese and Spanish student movements were also relevant opponents of the countries' authoritarian regimes (Cardina, 2008; Accornero, 2016b; Oliver, 2008; Fernandes, 2015), and, later on, of a set of educational policies and reforms (Drago, 2004; Zamponi and González, 2017; Zamponi, 2018).

Time influences students. From macro societal processes to organisations and individual actors. If the "biographical availability" of students was once said to justify their activism (McAdam, 1986, p. 70), the acceleration of time within the neoliberal temporal regime (Gillan, 2018) reinforced the transitory and fragmented/plural identity of the *student*, particularly following the increase of HE costs and the generalisation of student debt. The latter dynamics pose challenges to the future of student activism within increasingly competitive university environments. However, the concept of biographical availability seems to retain its explicative power when applied to the study of the recent Fridays For Future mobilisations, whose cohort is mainly composed by high school students. Moreover, student activism is not only fostered by biographical availability, but political socialisation and involvement, network building and social interaction within these experiences of student activism have long-term socio-biographical impacts (McAdam, 1986; Whalen and Flacks, 1990; Fillieule, 2013b; Fillieule and Neveu, 2019). Drawing from the anthropological work of Turner (1995), experiences of student activism may, therefore, be defined as liminal or transitional experiences "in-between well-defined structures" (Boland, 2013), granting these a certain freedom from social structures that renders space for critique.

The singularity of student movements stems from (i) its discontinuous character (see Section 3.2.), precipitated by its constituency's "ephemeral belonging" (González, 2014, p. 82); its (ii) exclusive constituency, solely composed of students; but also by (iii) the shared temporal and physical spaces of its constituency, which could operate as facilitator resources for mobilisation on the basis of a certain homogeneity and shared experience.

In the Portuguese case, with the exception of the student mobilisations of the 1960s (e.g., Cardina, 2008; Accornero, 2016b), the trajectory of student movements only scarcely gathered the attention of social movement scholars and was essentially focused on the student mobilisations in the 1990s against the government's decision to implement tuition fees in public HE (Drago, 2004; Seixas, 2005). The

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[18] Albeit a consistent historiographic account of the activity, prior to the 20th century mobilisations, of incipient forms of student movements is currently lacking in Portugal, Palacios Cerezales refers that, already in 1864, students from the University of Coimbra organised meetings to defend their privileges (2010, p. 31; see also Estanque and Bebiano, 2007, pp. 26–28).
[19] See González Calleja (2009).

absence of recent literature on the topic for the Portuguese case contrasts with the Spanish (González Calleja, 2009; Cilleros and Betancor, 2014; González, 2014) or Italian cases (Cini, 2017b, 2017a; see also Della Porta, Cini and Guzmán-Concha, 2020). This might be the prognostic of a declining movement, seemingly unable to remobilise even when critical moments unfold, opportunities for mobilisation exist and the socio-political environment is undergoing a cycle of contention, "a phase of heightened conflict across the social system, with rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilised to less mobilised sectors" (Tarrow, 2011, p. 199), as in the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle.

3.2. The Temporality of Student Movements: Mobilisation, Demobilisation and Decline

Social movements are commonly perceived through a metonymic scheme rooted on the centrality of public performance, spontaneity and creativity (Neveu, 2005, p. 4) – or, recently, seemingly fuelled by online social networks and platforms (see Barassi, 2017, pp. 407–410). However, as Verta Taylor argues in her quintessential account on the abeyance structures existing in the women's movement between cycles of mass mobilisation in the United States, social movements are hardly spontaneous creations (Taylor, 1989, p. 772). Taylor's article consists in a brief socio-historical exercise that identifies processes of movement continuity between cycles of mobilisation, thus overcoming the shortcomings of dichotomic models opposing active phases of mobilisation and inactive or declining phases of social movements. Indeed, "movements do not die but scale down and retrench to adapt to changes in the political climate. Perhaps movements are never born anew. Rather, they contract and hibernate, sustaining the totally dedicated and devising strategies appropriate to the external environment" (Taylor, 1989, p. 772).

In Taylor's work, the contraction of social movement's activity is foremost a strategic retrenchment and not an immediate effect of individual or group demobilisation (cf. Fillieule, 2013a), or even of internal polarisation and disintegration. Movements are firstly strategic and adaptative entities aware of its embeddedness and interconnectedness with the external environment. It is this awareness of the possibilities and constraints stemming from opportunity structures and discursive fields (Snow, 2013b) that explain the emergence of social movement abeyance structures, "capable of sustaining collective challenges under circumstances unfavourable to mass mobilisation" (Taylor, 1989, p. 765) by relying on a set of different external and internal factors to the movement. As the author writes, if "externally, a discrepancy between a surplus of activists and a lack of status opportunities for integrating them into the mainstream creates conditions for abeyance", at the internal level "structures arise that permit organisations to absorb and hold a committed cadre of activists" (Taylor, 1989, p. 772), by articulating a set of internal practices, such as fostering the exclusive commitment of its members, centralising leadership or developing the movement's culture.

Like Taylor (1989), Melucci rejects the 'switching' logic of social movement's activity. Yet, for Melucci, instead of "abeyance structures" that ensure the continuity of social movements, what matters

are the "submerged networks that produce information, self-reflection and symbolic resources" between cycles of mass mobilisation or visible activity. Accordingly, to understand social movement's mobilisation one needs to consider that it "assumes a double-level form of visibility and latency" (Melucci, 1989, p. 68), being the latter an essential phase prior to mobilisation, even if no overt challenges to authority are taking place. In latency phases, these submerged and informal networks "constitute subcultural oppositional dynamics" (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, p. 131) where activists reinforce their symbolic dimension and collective identities. For the author, "these networks make possible such mobilisations and from time to time render them *visible*" (Melucci, 1989, p. 70), since movements have a latent potential which merely unfolds episodically and for limited periods of time under "specific circumstances" (Melucci, 1989, p. 71).

The role of informal and submerged networks on identity constitution and cultural production dimensions of social movements' activity in periods of latency grants them a more agential role. The cultural component of student movements is essential, since these "act in the context of structural constraints which not only have to do with material resources but also with cultural ones" (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, p. 66). Against the structuralist and static understanding of opportunity structures as being given and independent of movements' activity, the work of Melucci, by stressing their productive aspects and cultural and symbolic dimensions, can be articulated with framing perspectives (e.g., Snow *et al.*, 1986; Gamson and Meyer, 2008). Framing approaches, influenced by the work of Erving Goffman, are built around the notions of *framing*, as a socio-cognitive process, and *frame*, an interpretative scheme that reduces the complexity of social world, attributes meaning to social actions and allows social actors to act. For social movement studies, these interpretative frames aggregate social phenomena, attribute meaning and convert these into a generalised social problem.

This framing activity of social movements is (i) relational, identifying those responsible for a certain social problem, while also "showing the connections with other events or with the condition of other social groups"; (ii) expansive, seeking to align their interpretative orientation with other social movements, networks and individuals; and (iii) potentially creative, since the activity of movements and their ability to identify and generalise a social problem or controversy can create opportunities for a broader socio-political action, as "opportunities may shape or constrain movements, but movements can create opportunities as well" (Gamson and Meyer, 2008, p. 276).

According to Gamson and Meyer, "the movement framing process concentrates on the volatile end of political opportunity" (2008, p. 284), which "are at the heart of explanations of mobilisation and demobilisation that emphasise the interaction between movement strategy and the opening and closing of those […] windows of opportunity" (2008, p. 277). Tarrow (2008) distinguishes between the POS static/stable and dynamic/volatile dimensions. If the former links political opportunities to institutional regularities (i.e., institutional structures and party systems), the latter allows the specification of political opportunities for different actors and sectors by essentially focusing on elite alignment and public policy changes (cf. Meyer, 1993), being more useful "when the focus turns to change over time" (Gamson and

Meyer, 2008, p. 278). The dynamic/volatile dimension of the concept of POS is useful, therefore, to understand "the process of interaction between the opening and closing of political space and the strategic choices to movements" and "movement outcomes as involving structures which shape and channel activity while, in turn, movements act as agents that help to shape the political space in which they operate" (Gamson and Meyer, 2008, p. 289).

Therefore, and besides their conceptual apparatus, what substantially distinguishes the arguments of Taylor and Melucci stems from (i) their definition and understanding of social movements, which illustrates the lack of dialogue between North American and European intellectual traditions mentioned in previous sections; from (ii) the way their conceptual framework dialogues with processes of mobilisation and demobilisation and (iii) movement cycles. Both authors agree on the importance of understanding social movements in their activity over time and in their relationship with the external socio-political context, but slightly diverge on the identification of *how* they sustain that activity and *what* drives their continuity.

In Taylor (1989), the emphasis is on the organisational dynamics within social movements that sustain their activity in nonreceptive political environments, acknowledging the importance of considering the role of discursive fields and opportunity structures to understand social movement's activity. The concept of abeyance structures is useful to understand the trajectory of social movement organisations "undergoing a process of demobilisation" (Fillieule, 2013a), as "the logical counterpart of the initial recruitment and mobilisation processes" (Fillieule, 2013a) following cycles of contention. Abeyance structures are, according to Fillieule, a route chosen by social movement organisations experiencing demobilisation, driven by (i) changes in the macrosocial context; by (ii) voluntary disbanding of its members, the general decline of a cause or repression; or by (iii) individual disengagement (see Fillieule, 2013a, 2013b).

In Melucci (1989), the activity of social movements depends on submerged networks, which make mobilisation possible and visible by forging a shared collective identity in periods of latency. Continuity is mainly sustained by cultural and symbolic elements developed by submerged and informal networks. Likewise, the concept of latency conveys the idea of latent potential for mobilisation to be enacted under receptive political environments or "specific circumstances" (Melucci, 1989, p. 71), when windows of opportunity for mobilisation exist. In the FHE, the latter may result from the ability to ally with traditional institutional allies (political parties or unions) or mainly from shifts in education policy, as with the mobilisations in the 1990s against the government's decision to implement tuition fees or, more recently, the recent worldwide waves of student mobilisation.

Movement continuity in student milieus "is produced not only by the persistence over time of organisations but also through the endurance of some cultures that allow protest movements to reemerge" (Laraña, 1994, p. 215; Zamponi, 2018, p. 229),. However, due to the transitory condition of *student* there is a tendency of student movements "towards discontinuity" (Laraña, 1994, p. 216; Cilleros and Betancor, 2014) and to rapid and frequent turnovers (Zamponi, 2018, p. 208). Its

discontinuous character is illustrated by "low levels of student associative practices in phases of latency" and a "debile organisational continuity" over time (Della Porta, 2010, pp. 10–11) that often renders student movements unable to create and sustain a movement memory (Della Porta, 2010, p. 11). This tendency towards discontinuity may, in certain cases, lead to the decline of student movements.

If mobilisation and demobilisation processes in movement cycles are well documented in social movement studies' literature, declining processes or studies focusing on declining movements are scarce. In fact, it may be argued that these exceptional works often refer to "decline" as logical semantic counterpart of a movement's rise or emergence (cf. Messinger, 1955; and Meyer, 1993), without advancing a proper explanation or hypothesis to account for the phenomenon. If the study of declining movements necessarily implies a certain temporal distance, it is methodologically possible to suggest and advance a tentative image of movement's decline through a longitudinal analysis of its activity before, during and after certain critical junctures or cycles of contention (Tarrow, 2011, p. 199).

3.3. On the interactive dynamics of contention: Fields, Frames and Cycles of Contention

University student movements are, according to Zamponi (2018, p. 216), "essentially a post-ideological movement, since students act as students on university-centred issues". These issues stem from materialist vindications (e.g., regarding spaces and infrastructures) to cultural ones, from local to national issues. The role of corporative themes and issues for student mobilisation is also mentioned in the works of Cilleros and Betancor (2014) and Fernández González (2014) on student movements in Spain in the 21st century, and by Caruso *et al.* (2010) and Cini (2017a) for the Italian case.

Three main drivers of student mobilisation were identified by Fernández González (2014, p. 123): (i) exogenous factors, i.e., issues non strictly related to education; (ii) endogenous factors, i.e., issues strictly related to education; and (iii) reactive factors, i.e., stemming from episodes of repression and/or violence. The last worldwide wave of student mobilisations seems to have followed a singular pattern: students begun to mobilise on behalf of endogenous factors to the FHE – contesting the increasing costs of HE and financial burden over their families, educational reforms or policies – and have gradually shifted their attention and expanded their discourse and critiques to include broader socio-political issues or exogenous factors to the FHE. This trajectory allowed the Spanish and Italian student movements to act as initiator movements "that [have] set in motion" (McAdam, 2013a) their countries' anti-austerity protest cycles (Zamponi and González, 2017).

The cross-field trajectory and frame extension of the Italian and Spanish student movements that paved the way and have set in motion two relevant protest cycles can be better understood by articulating the Bourdieusian field theory with works on frame alignment processes (Snow *et al.*, 1986) and cycles of contention (Tarrow, 1990, 2011). This theoretical exercise builds on Ancelovici's formulation of FOS and seeks to complement and articulate it, at the meso-macro sociological levels, with frame alignment perspectives. Fundamentally, frame extension and frame bridging processes

imply the cross-field trajectory of social movements, stemming from intra-field frames (whose meaning and amplitude is contextually bounded to the field) in less autonomous fields to broader and more abstract frames (master frames) in dominant fields. The cross-field nature of student movements allows them to create opportunities both intra and across adjacent social fields, eventually paving the way for a broader cycle of contention.

The concept of *field* has a long[20] trajectory in social movement studies[21], without however figuring as a central or essential concept for the discipline's grammar. The concept of *field* is bounded, within Bourdieu's sociology, to an understanding of society as ultimately being a complex fabric of almost unlimited fields and sub-fields. Instead of social systems, or social spheres, Bourdieu thinks of modern differentiated societies in terms of co-existing, interdependent and relatively autonomous[22] (i.e., containing a particular and self-referring *nomos* or fundamental law, hence *auto-nomos*) social fields (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 83–84, 1994).

Bourdieu never provided a clear definition of field, having solely stated that its limits "are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 100). A field is characterised by its relational configuration, defined by the overlapping of a system of position (given by the volume of capital) and a system of oppositions (or space of position-takings), where different institutional and non-institutional actors occupy different positions and struggle for the power to define the specific principles, organizing criteria, interests, meanings and rules of the field itself. The functioning and temporal reproduction of fields is rooted on the notion of *illusio* (see Bourdieu, 1994), understood as individual investment or ontological commitment to what is at stake in a given field: "wanting to undertake a revolution in a field is to accord the essential of what the field tacitly demands, namely that it is important, that the game played is sufficiently important for one to want to undertake a revolution in it (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 78)

Indeed, "in a field, agents and institutions constantly struggle, according to the regularities and the rules constitutive of this space of play (and, in given circumstances, over those rules themselves), with various degrees of strength and therefore diverse probabilities of success, to appropriate the specific products at stake in the game. Those who dominate in a given field are in a position to make it function to their advantage but they must always contend with the resistance, the claims, the contention, 'political' or otherwise, of dominated" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 102).

Retrieving the central elements and the explanatory logic and schemata of the PPM, Ancelovici (2009) sought to explain the emergence and decline of contentious mobilisations in non-state spheres by adopting the field-society image of Bourdieu. Accordingly, if modern societies are composed by manifold social spaces of struggle (i.e., fields), the concept of POS can only grasp a small part of

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[20] In an article published in 1985, Touraine (1985, p. 751) vaguely cites the concept of *field* and, as one finds in Bourdieu, conflates it with social conflict.

[21] For a historical genealogy of the concept of *field* in social movement studies, see Ancelovici (2019)

[22] According to Bourdieu's diagnostic, the autonomy of fields is always relative and subject to "*économisme*" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 128), meaning that the laws that reign within the economic field worth for every field.

contemporary social movement activity (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008). Ancelovici thus proposes the reformulation of the notion of POS into field opportunity structure (FOS) (Ancelovici, 2019, p. 8). Indeed, "the idea of different fields (e.g., economic, judicial, journalistic and intellectual) enables us to consider openings and transformations not only in political structures […] but also in other types of social spaces, which may be just as important to social movements" (Husu, 2013, p. 267). According to Ancelovici, "to the extent that there is a multitude of fields that coexist within a given society and across societies, there is always a multitude of FOS" (2019, p. 8), the latter being the product of intra-field relations and interactions and thus, in part, of mobilisations themselves.

FOS are characterised by the persistence of stability. However, this does not entail a conservative understanding of social life and of social dynamics. The FOS mimicries the POS distinction between static/stable and dynamic/volatile dimensions (Ancelovici, 2009, 2019), adapting it from the work of Bourdieu. Likewise, its static dimension is defined by (i) the hierarchy and by an unequal distribution of the field's specific forms of capital; (ii) "the opening and repressive capacity of dominant actors", which influence the tactics of challengers in accordance to their capacity to access to the decision-making processes of dominant actors; (iii) "the formal and informal rules of a given field", codifying the practices of social actors and defining those "who may legitimately participate in the field" and challenge its dominant actors; and the "space of position-takings", as a relational configuration of antagonistic action modalities and repertoires that condition the position-takings that social actors may adopt and "the collective action frames that they can formulate and use" (Ancelovici, 2019, p. 9).

Change can happen from factors endogenous to the field (Ancelovici, 2019, pp. 10–11), such as the (i) "relative depreciation of valuation of the dominant form of capital of a given field" (e.g., May 1968 in France), the (ii) redistribution of the dominant form of capital (i.e., concentration *versus* dispersion of capital), (iii) "the degree of division or coherence among the dominant actors in the field" (e.g., potential for alliances and mobilisation), (iv) "a realignment of position-takings" or the (v) "reform of the rules of the field" (i.e., cost of entry, membership criteria and redefinition of field boundaries). Yet, it is often propelled by the dynamics of adjacent fields, mainly from the invasion of outside challengers (Ancelovici, 2019, p. 11). When external actors enter the new field, "their […] presence contributes to its transformation, and consequently, affect the dynamic of conflict: they do not only modify the structure of competition and power relations, but also potentially alter the relative value of the forms of capital of the field as well as the spaces of position-takings and the cohesion of dominant actors" (Ancelovici, 2019, p. 12). Major sources of change in the opportunity structures of a given field tend, therefore, to be exogenous, albeit always necessarily mediated by the field.

This cross-field trajectory of social movements, identified by Fligstein and McAdam (2011) and Landy (2015), is quintessential for this work. According to Ancelovici (2019, p. 11), social movements move across fields according to a logic of expansion, "when trying to convert and invest somewhere else the capital they accumulated in their field of 'origin'". This expansion is seemingly more likely to

occur when fields are proximate to one another (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011, 2015). Moreover, we suggest that cross-field trajectory is followed by frame alignment processes (see Figure 3.1.).
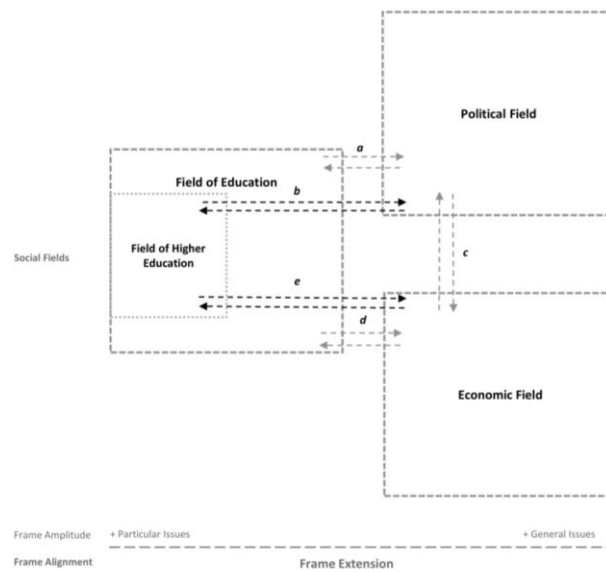
Figure 3.1. Combined Model of Inter-Field Dynamics and Frame Extension

Source. *Own elaboration*

Laraña's work (1994) on the student mobilisations of high school and university students in Spain, between 1986 and 1987, against *Selectividad* (i.e., the entrance exams required to all applicants to Spanish public universities) emphasises the role of frame alignment processes for student movements. In his work, the author was interested on the relationship established between high school and university students. For Laraña (1994, p. 223), processes "of frame bridging and frame extension […] produced the generalisation of the movement throughout the country by linking the dissatisfaction with education, with its importance in contemporary societies, and with socio-political implications of the selection system to enter universities". Further, "the rejection of this system became an issue of social justice that propelled the transformation of a specific demand – for more efficiency in the educational institutions – and a restricted frame into a broader one that had important political implications and generated widespread support in high schools, at some universities, and among parents of students" (Laraña, 1994, p. 223). The same can be said of the student mobilisations in Portugal against the *Prova Geral de Acesso* and tuition fees, bridging the initial claims and frames of high school and university students (Seixas, 2005; Mendes and Seixas, 2005; Drago, 2004).

Accordingly, in Laraña's work, the Spanish student movement expanded beyond their field of origin's frame – *intra-field frame* – through a process of "frame expansion", "[incorporating] interests and points of view that were incidental to its primary objectives, but of considerable salience for potential adherents" (Snow *et al.*, 1986, p. 472). Moreover, Caruso *et al.* (2010), on their study on the Italian *Onda*, argue that the latter was the expression of manifold grievances affecting different actors

of the university world (ibid., p. 20): there was a process of "frame bridging" linking the defence of the public education system and the widespread youth concern regarding uncertainty in occupational terms, "reaffirming a will of critique and of political influence". For Caruso *et al.* (2010) and Zamponi and Fernández González (2017) these processes of frame alignment (and namely of frame extension) were essential in the period prior to the anti-austerity contestation in Italy.

Frame alignment processes rely on processes of "frame bridging" and "frame extension", but also on frame amplification and frame transformation (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, p. 82; Snow *et al.*, 1986). *Frame bridging* refers "to the linkage of two of more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" (Snow *et al.*, 1986, p. 467), while *frame extension* refers to the process where the specific concerns of a movement or organisation relate to a more general and abstract goal, in contexts where the connection might not be at all evident, which may be followed by the broadening of the movement's constituency (ibid., p. 472).

In the Italian case, the process of frame extension operated from an initial slogan centred around the motto "Education is not for sale" (i.e., university reform and the reduction of public funding to HE) to the slogan "We won't pay for the crisis", linking itself to a broader context and alluding to a broader audience (Zamponi and González, 2017). Likewise, "[…] it seems reasonable to hypothesize that some movements function early in the cycle as progenitors of master frames that provide the ideational and interpretative anchoring for subsequent movements later on in the cycle [of contention]" (Snow *et al.*, 1986, p. 477).

The articulation between the concept of cycle of contention and framing approaches is often achieved through the concept of "master frame" (see Benford, 2013). Since most collective action frames are context-specific or field-contingent, it then extends to a master frame to sprawl a cycle of contention. A resonant master frame may account for the emergence of protest cycle even when the structural conditions do not seem conducive to (ibid.).

According to Tarrow, single-issue cycles do not overlap with society-wide cycles of contention "but aggregate to form them" (2011, p. 199). The author also argues that "the early demands that trigger a cycle [of contention] are often narrow and group-specific" (ibid., p. 202) and accomplish three fundamental goals: (i) demonstrate the vulnerability of authorities; (ii) challenge the interests of other contenders; (iii) suggest convergences. This happens since "bold new movements make claims on elites that parallel the grievances of those with less daring and less initiative" (Tarrow, 2008, p. 58).

Opportunities open for and are created by "early-risers" (or McAdam's "initiator movements" [McAdam, 2013a]), whose claims must resonate with those of "significant others" (Tarrow, 2011, p. 202). These early risers may, through collective action, create opportunities by expanding these for others, by "putting issues on the agenda with which others identify" through a process of frame alignment by frame extension (Tarrow, 2008, p. 59). For Snow *et al.* (1986), "[…] it seems reasonable to hypothesize that some movements function early in the cycle as progenitors of master frames that provide the ideational and interpretative anchoring for subsequent movements later on in the cycle"

(ibid., p. 477). Benford argues that master frames' "[…] articulations and attributions are sufficiently elastic, flexible, and inclusive enough so that any number of other social movements can successfully adopt and deploy it in their campaigns" (Benford, 2013).

For Snow *et al*. (1986, p. 477), "perhaps the occurrence, intensity, and duration of protest cycles are not just a function of opportunity structures, regime responses, and the like, but are also due to the presence or absence of a potent innovative master frame and/or the differential ability of social movement organisations successfully exploit and elaborate the anchoring frame to its fullest". Therefore, "a decline in movement protest activity when the structural conditions remain fertile may be partly due to the failure of social movement organisations to exploit and amplify the anchoring frame in imaginative and inspiring ways. In either case, latent structural potential fails to manifest itself fully" (ibid.).

Drawing from Ancelovici (2009, p. 57), to understand mobilisation dynamics in increasingly less autonomous fields one must take into account the "factors external to the field". This can be achieved by drawing a brief social topography of the field and identifying its inter-field dynamics (see Figure 3.1.). The integration of inter-field dynamics with frame alignment processes offers a dynamic model comprising the cross-field movement's activity and frame extension processes that may account for mobilisation pattern previously identified: students begun mobilising on behalf of endogenous factors to the FHE and gradually direct their discourse and critiques towards broader socio-political issues or exogenous factors to the FHE. This trajectory allowed Spanish and Italian student movements to act as initiator movements in anti-austerity demonstrations (Zamponi and González, 2017).

The FHE is defined as follows. Internally, the FHE is composed by institutional and non-institutional actors and has its own defining set of rules, norms and specific modality of capital – the *university capital*, a compound capital that potentiates economic, cultural, symbolic and social capitals (see Mineiro, 2015). Externally, the FHE is relatively autonomous albeit historically under tension with the political field and economic fields (Bourdieu, 1988, 2016) (see Figure 3.1.). Therefore, the study of contemporary student movements must be able, on the one hand, to (i) grasp the internal configuration of the FHE and how institutional (universities, national and European governmental authorities and agencies) and non-institutional actors (students) interact and make for the definition of the broader role and meaning of HE and the particular role of HE institutions and students; and, on the other hand, exogenously, to (ii) take into account "the changing relationship between political and economic institutions over the last 40 years" (Carvalho, 2018, p. 14) (Illustrated by *c* in Figure 3.1.).

CHAPTER 4:

The contemporary Portuguese FHE: Between Autonomy and Heteronomy

Contention in HE is related to the configurational arrangement of the FHE (Della Porta, Cini and Guzmán-Concha, 2020). Following Bourdieu (1992, p. 102) and Ancelovici (2019, pp. 10–11), changes on the configurations or structures of several national FHE faced resistance.

Drawing from these considerations, and assuming the internal and external dynamism of the Portuguese FHE (see Figure 3.1.), one may expect that similar changes on the structure of the latter – conveyed by shifts on the relationship between the political and economic fields and on the justification economy where political discourses are grounded – would met akin responses. Therefore, which transformations shaped the contemporary Portuguese field of higher education?

4.1. On Public Higher Education: From post-war expansion to privatisation

From the 1980s onwards and following a period of generalised expansion of HE systems – in terms of first-time and total enrolled students, institutions and departments – in the post-war period, political discourses have gradually focused on its "inefficiency". The shift of political discourses' justification economy from a civic order prescribing education as a modern social right towards a market order that, under the criteria of efficiency portrays education as a service (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello, 2018). This shift was coeval with an historical period where international institutions (i.e., IMF and World Bank), through policy documents and/or structural adjustment programs in certain countries, promoted the transformation of the relationship between political and economic institutions.

In a 1994[23] publication, the World Bank called for the reform of public HE systems in a context of widespread fiscal constraints. Accordingly, public HE systems were described as inefficient. The path towards reform stressed the need of HE systems to differentiate and expand the private provision of HE; to foster autonomy and diversify the sources of funding (e.g., referring to "*cost-sharing* with students" and to public funding answering to performance indicators); and, lastly, to a broader redefinition of "the role of government in higher education". Further, this reform strategy also implied a change of HE's traditional role and function, rooted on the image of European research universities, by "[making] higher education systems more responsive to changing labour market needs".

4.2. Prelude of War: Tuition Fees and the Anti-Neoliberal Discourse in the 1990s

The autonomy between the political and the economic fields has shifted towards a quasi-heteronymic relationship as a new government rationality that reproduces the market model as the ultimate "site of veridiction" and *efficiency* emerged (Foucault, 2010, pp. 60–61) and led to the redefinition of the post-war social contract rooted in welfare provision, on which social rights and contemporary understandings

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[23] See the World Bank report *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience* (1994).

of citizenship were built (Carvalho, 2018, pp. 51–52). This new government rationality is identified by Foucault in the neoliberal intellectual project, "a political rationality that tries to render the social domain economic and to link a reduction in (welfare) state services and security systems to the increasing call for 'personal responsibility' and 'self-care'. In this way, we can decipher the neoliberal harmony in which not only the individual body, but also collective bodies and institutions (public administrations, universities, etc.) […] have to be 'lean', 'fit', 'flexible' and 'autonomous': it is a technique of power" (Lemke, 2001, p. 203).

In Portugal, the successive governments of Cavaco Silva, leader of the *Partido Social Democrata* (PSD, social-democratic party), between 1985 and 1995, carried a series of reforms in the fields of education and HE. For Drago (2004), it was under Cavaco Silva's governments that public disinvestment in HE began, mainly after the approval of the Law 20/92, introducing in the Portuguese FHE the figure of *tuition fees* and, subsequently, a modality of public funding of HE based on the idea of *cost-sharing* between the State and the students (Cerdeira, 2008).

After an authoritarian regime that lasted 40 years, the expansion of the Portuguese HE system followed the country's democratic transition (1974). In the aftermath of the Portuguese democratic transition, access to free education was portrayed and defined as a constitutional right. At the time, levels of educational attainment were historically low and, therefore, educational credentials were the property of a minority: education and university capitals were unevenly distributed and were seemingly articulated with political and symbolic capital (Tavares de Almeida and Costa Pinto, 2003). Its social rarity granted educational capital in general and university capital in particular the status of highly socially valued forms of capital (cf. Mineiro, 2015). The late expansion and democratisation of access to the education system in all its levels, in a largely uneducated social structure, implied a change on the structure of the Portuguese FHE through a redistribution of these forms of capital, which implied a realignment of position-takings/practices and a reform of the field's rules and boundaries.

The Law 20/92[24], establishing the tuition fees' system, changed the previous and relatively stable post-democratic transition configuration of the Portuguese FHE by again reforming the rules of the field: costs of entry increased and membership criteria were bounded to the ability to finance the cost of tuition fees. Moreover, the boundaries of the field vis-à-vis the economic field and its defining principles and organising criteria became less salient. The access to the highly socially valued university capital was at stake and university students mobilised against the Law.

The contentious activity of students managed to suspend the implementation of the Law 20/92 (Drago, 2004). Following the Law 108/88 on the University Autonomy, the State was the sole source of funding of universities and the participation of students on the governance bodies of HE institutions was established. Under the principle of democratic management of institutions, the *Assembleia da*

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[24] The *Lei n.º 20/92* established an annual cost of frequency of public higher education institutions, to be financed by students. This value would constitute the institutions' own resources to be channelled to social action policies and projects willing to promote educational success.

Universidade (University Assembly) was the definitive governance body, responsible for the discussion and approval of institutions' statutes and for the Dean's election and dismissal. For this collegial body, professors, researchers, students and employees were elected; and students and professors were equally represented. This granted students a pivotal role on the governance of HE institutions, a relative strength within the FHE's hierarchy and the ability to emerge as a political actor (Mineiro, 2015, p. 16), calling for demonstrations and payment boycotts.

However, tuition fees would be implemented in 1997 through the Law 133/97, which "established the principles of higher education funding" in a three-party relationship comprising the State, the HE institutions and students. Tuition fees' value was fixed in accordance to the national minimum wage and the State, "on its relationship with the student"[25], called for itself the responsibility to "grant the existence of a social action service"[26] to assure that "no student would be excluded from the higher education subsystem due to financial inability"[27]. This law would last until 2003, being replaced by the Law 37/2003, which entailed a major increase of the tuition fees' value – defining a minimum (corresponding to 1,3 of the national minimum wage) and maximum value[28] (corresponding to the 1941 value indexed to inflation) to be fixed by HE institutions (Mineiro, 2015, p. 16). The value of tuition fees increased from a maximum of 348€ in 2002, for a minimum of 464€ and a maximum of 852€ in 2003. This prompted a reconfiguration of the Portuguese FHE by again reforming the rules of the field: costs of entry increased, and membership criteria was bounded to the ability to finance the cost of tuition fees. The access to the highly socially valued university capital was at stake.

4.2.1. The Public Decapitalisation of Portuguese HE in numbers, 2005-2015

Over the temporal framework of our analysis, the public decapitalisation of the Portuguese HE system identified in the previous section was assessed through the longitudinal analysis of four indicators: (i) the tuition fees' value; (ii) the state expenditure in public HE, through the analysis of state budget reports; (iii) the funding sources of the social action service in public HE; (iv) the evolution of social action grant beneficiaries.

If the Law 37/2003 was indeed responsible for the major increase on the value of tuition fees, it was in the 2014/2015 academic year that its value historical peaked at 1067.85€. Between 2005 and 2015, the value of tuition fees went from 880.12€ in the academic year of 2004/2005 to 1067.85 in 2014/2015, an increase of 187.73€ in a period of fiscal constraints and austerity measures, particularly after 2010 and the parliamentary approval of the *PEC I* (austerity package), proposed by the Socialist Party's government, for the period between 2010-2013.

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[25] Lei n.º 113/97, de 16 de Setembro, Capítulo IV, "Da relação entre o Estado e o estudante"
[26] Lei n.º 113/97, de 16 de Setembro, Artigo 15.º, n.º 1
[27] Lei n.º 113/97, de 16 de Setembro, Artigo 15.º, n.º 2
[28] Lei n.º 37/2003, de 12 de Agosto, Artigo 16.º, n.º 2
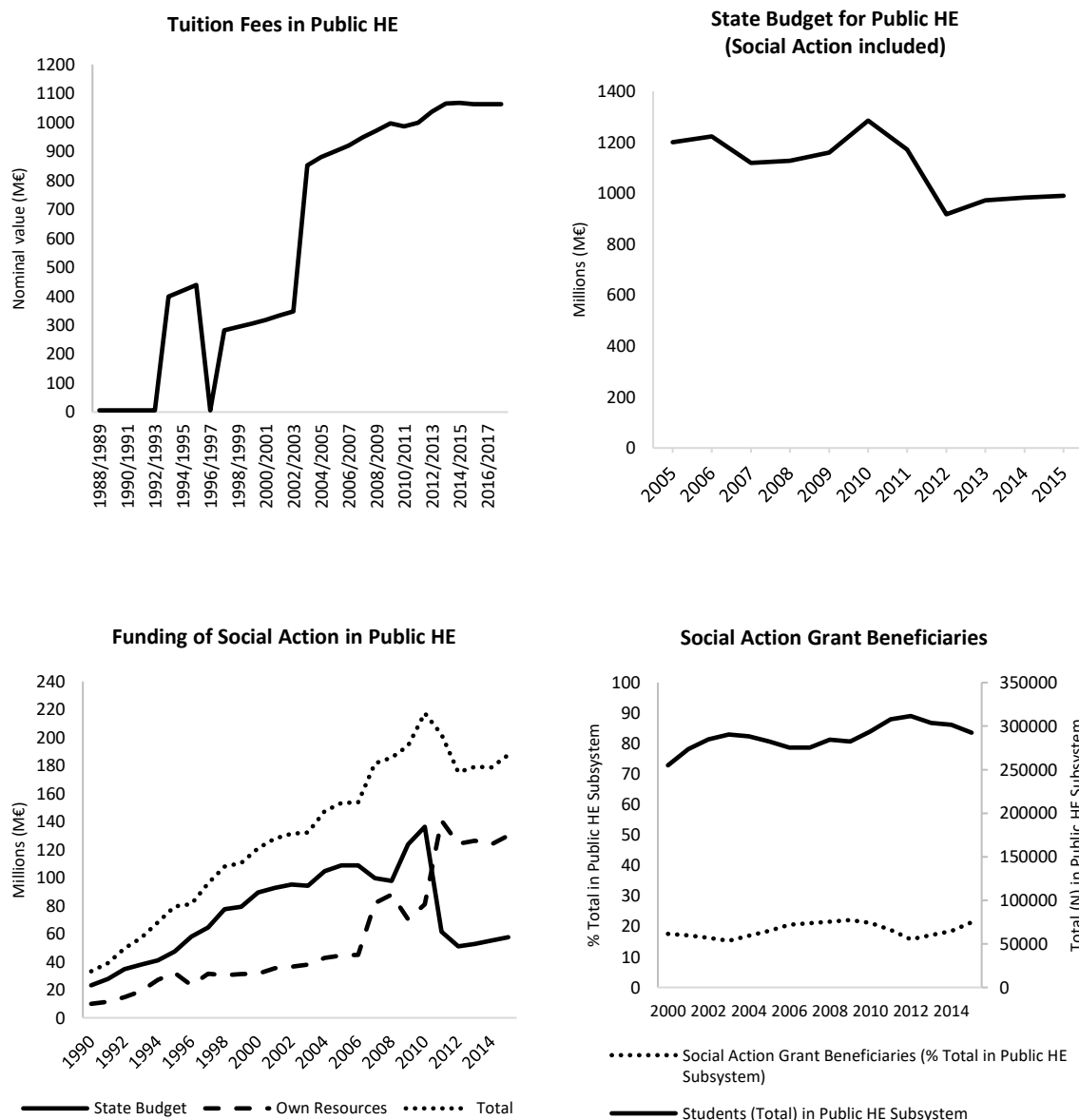
Figure 4.1. Trends in the funding of the Portuguese Public HE system

Source: *Morgado (2018)* [top-left], State Budget Reports (2005-2015) [top-right], *Pordata*

The year of 2010 emerges from our analysis as a turning point regarding the funding of the Public HE system. After 2010, there was a substantial reduction on the state budget funds allocated to public HE as the effect of fiscal constraints and austerity measures on public expenditure, with major impacts on the social action service, henceforth heavily dependent on HE institutions' own resources stemming from tuition fees. Additionally, the fraction of 'social action' (*acção social*)[29] beneficiaries in the public

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[29] The concept of 'social action' refers to the *Serviço de Acção Social*, briefly consisting on the State's responsibility, on its relationship with the student, to ensure that every citizen, independently of their economic condition or other, can effectively benefit from their constitutionally-granted right to education and access the public education system in all its levels. This service is structured on the basis of the principle of non-exclusion and operates *directly* through the attribution of study grants, and *indirectly* by ensuring the access to a free or affordable meal service and to accommodation for those displaced. See Lei n.º 113/97, de 16 de Setembro, Capítulo IV, "Da relação entre o Estado e o estudante".

HE system have slightly declined after 2010 due to cuts in social action grants following the Decree-law 70/2010, introducing familiar fiscal debt as exclusionary criterion from the access to social action grants. This same logic extended to other social benefits.

The public disinvestment on the public HE system was reinforced in 2011, in the context of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), approved and signed by the Social-Democratic Party's government led by Passos Coelho and the *Troika* (IMF, European Commission and European Central Bank). Under the MoU, the Portuguese government agreed to reduce public expenditure on education by 195 million euros "to increase efficiency in the education sector". Education has traditionally been an issue with low political salience[30] and, in times of fiscal constraint, governments "can appeal to the necessity of sacrificing the interests of these actors to produce greater benefits for other more important policy fields and for society as a whole" (Cini, 2017a, p. 315; Moury and Standring, 2017). These depoliticising strategies operate under a given discursive field's configuration and render issues with low public salience less politically worthy and urgent, thus constraining the ability to ally with institutional political actors. Indeed, the low public salience of education (and HE) in our time period is confirmed by the small attention conceded by the main political parties – through an analysis of its electoral manifestos – to HE.

The configuration of the Portuguese FHE has substantially altered between 2005 and 2015. Again, the rules of the field changed: costs of entry became higher, and membership criteria remained essentially bounded to the ability to finance the cost of tuition fees, particularly after the Decree-law 70/2010. Analogous to what was occurring on the Portuguese political field, the boundaries of FHE vis-à-vis the economic field became less prominent. Chiefly after 2010, the access to university capital was again at stake.

4.3. Economy and Society: Knowledge Production and the redefinition of Public Universities

The privatisation and decapitalization of public HE, and the increasing penetration of economic actors within the FHE boundaries, must be understood within the broader redefinition of the role and purpose of public universities, inextricably related to a change on the meaning of *public* occurring within the intellectual framework provided by neoliberal governmentality and the New Public Management (NPM). Briefly, the latter implies the generalisation of the market's management and competition model, principles and justification economies to the public sector, privileging the privatisation and/or elimination of public services, the centralisation of leaderships, the adoption of organisational modalities of internal governance, monitoring and discipline to increase "efficiency" (Mineiro, 2015, pp. 33–34; Foucault, 2010). According to Klemenčič, "[b]y incorporating management practices from

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[30] See Appendix B.

the private sector to public services, the aim is to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of institutions by giving them more autonomy while demanding more accountability" (2012, p. 641).

4.3.1. Bologna Process

Besides the national governments' pressure towards university reform, the latter was reinforced by the Bologna Process, after the *Bologna Declaration*[31] signed by 29 countries in 1999. Bologna changed European HE systems, now seemingly harmonised and convergent, apt to foster the mobility of students, researchers and academic professionals in the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), launched in 2010. Besides curricular and title reforms (i.e., introducing a three-cycle structure, bachelor/master/doctorate), *Bologna* implied the change of the mission and role of universities, through its social and economic mission, and of the status of the student itself.

This social and economic mission is often referred to as the University's "Third Mission", which broadly posits the articulation between university-based research and external social and economic spheres by monitoring and quantifying the university's contributions to society (Bacevic, 2017). The latter implies the development of mechanisms to measure productivity and assess the social and economic impact of research (ibid.). The notion of "quality assurance" emerges, alongside an "audit culture" operating as a "mechanism of governmentality", materialised on the figure of evaluation and accreditation systems (ibid.) and of external accreditation agencies.

In Portugal, the national agency for quality assurance, and evaluation and accreditation of HE, emerged as a private foundation on the Decree-law 369/2007. The *Agência de Avaliação e Acreditação do Ensino Superior* (A3ES) is an external agency, embedded in the *European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education* (ENQA), responsible for the evaluation and accreditation of HE institutions and their programs.

Further, the harmonisation of study programs throughout the EHEA was achieved through the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), rooted on student working hours, instead of teaching hours. Accordingly, this would symbolically be understood as an academic training and shared collective experience for future workfare in post-industrial societies. In knowledge societies, educational capital and credentials act as instruments that grant individuals the access to the economic system and to the labour market (Caruso *et al.*, 2010, p. 41). With the temporal compression of degrees under Bologna, the time availability of university students to engage in collective action reduces substantially.

The implementation of the Bologna framework happened, in Portugal, in the academic year of 2006/2007, following the Law 49/2005, which introduced onto the Portuguese legal framework the new configuration of the Portuguese HE system.

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[31] The *Bologna Declaration* was preceded by the Sorbonne Declaration, which advanced some of the pillars of Bologna, signed by the British, French, German and Italian ministers in 1998. See http://www.ehea.info/page-ministerial-conference-bologna-1999; also Curaj *et al.* (2012)

4.3.2. RJIES

The *Regime Jurídico das Instituições de Ensino Superior* (RJIES) was established by the Law 62/2007 and broadly entailed the redefinition of University's governance structures and management modalities through the creation of the figure of the General Council (integrating the functions hitherto belonging to the University Assembly and the Academic Senate), the introduction of external figures in the governance structure of universities and the concentration of decisional power in the figure of the dean. Moreover, RJIES allows universities to become private foundations.

This transformation of HE institutions' structure of internal governance and management has reduced the students' representativeness in governance bodies and included external elements onto the organisational structure through the creation of the juridical figure of the *Conselho de Curadores*[32] (Council of Curators).

From these transformations, not only are we witnessing the "re-conception of students, but also [the] transformation of student representation. The trend is towards conceiving students as customers and professionalising and de-politicising student representation to play a role in institutional quality assurance and student services" (Klemenčič, 2012, p. 646).

The *RJIES* is the Portuguese version of similar reforms on the governance of public universities implemented in other European HE systems. The Spanish *LOU* and the Italian Law 133/2008 convey similar legal frameworks for the contemporary management and governance of public HE institutions.

4.4. A Heteronomous Field?

The NPM redefined the inter-field dynamics between the political, economic and HE fields. The ebbing of the boundaries between these fields has consequences for the FHE (Mineiro, 2015, pp. 33–34): (i) institutions' activity of shifted towards competition, operating under quasi-market logics and competing to attract students and private capital; (ii) the end of representativeness and collegiality of internal governance bodies, replaced by centralising leaderships, where deans assume managerial functions, and by new bodies with external members; (iii) the commodification of the campus; (iv) "access to university has ceased to be seen as a citizenship right but as a service through consumption".

Policy changes (Gamson and Meyer, 2008, p. 281) and the penetration of external actors and different logics from adjacent fields into the Portuguese FHE changed its configuration (Ancelovici, 2019, p. 12), modifying its competition structure, power relations and the relative value of the university capital. This transformation changed the distribution of capital in conformity with the reform of field rules and boundaries – public disinvestment and the implementation of tuition fees altered the field's membership criteria, but also its organising principles; the political discourses advancing this configurational change relied on a market order, privileging efficiency and the accountability of HE institutions vis-à-vis society and the labour market. If this has rendered the Portuguese FHE increasingly

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[32] Lei n.º 62/2007, de 10 de Setembro, Artigo 131.º

less autonomous, its internal dynamism has nonetheless granted it a relative degree of autonomy, and loci and spaces of resistance towards the *tyranny* of the economic and political fields (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 221) may still emerge.

CHAPTER 5:

Creating Spaces for Dissension? University Students' Protest Activity (2005-2015)

The activism of Portuguese university students has been responsible for important moments of socio-political struggle, under the country's authoritarian rule and in democracy. As shown in Chapter 4, over the last decades, student organisational structures – in the form of academic associations, federations and institutionally-based unions – and networks have remobilised and contested the implementation of education policies directly targeting the *access* to the education system in all its ranks. This was the case in the 1990s, with secondary students contesting the *Prova Geral de Acesso*, a required exam to enter Portuguese universities, and university students contesting the implementation of tuition fees.

The activism and protest activity of Portuguese university students after the decade of 1990s has become less prominent and bounded to sporadic and ephemerous appearances (Estanque, 2016). However, no account of the protest activity of university students exists after 2002 (Mendes and Seixas, 2005). The period between 2003-2015 was characterised by important configurational changes in the Portuguese FHE, and, following the examples provided by Spanish anti-Bologna and Italian *Onda Anomala* student movements, these may have been challenged by university students, creating new spaces for political socialisation, fostering new networks of activists or created organisational structures with some temporal continuity. These experiences proved essential for the socialisation of a new generation of activists and the creation of discursive opportunities for further anti-austerity demonstrations (e.g., *Juventud sin Futuro*). Were Portuguese university student movements to have challenged these configurational changes, and the same logic could be found in the Portuguese case, fostering and socialising new networks of activists or creating organisational structures that could have been essential in the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle. Therefore, which patterns of university students' protest activity existed in Portugal before and during the anti-austerity protest cycle?

5.1. Patterns of Students' Protest Activity, 2003-2015

For the period between 2003 and 2015, the protest activity of *Basic and Secondary* and *Higher Education* students reveals a declining tendency. The data gathered for this dissertation, summarised in Figure 5.1., advances an interesting finding: after its peak in 2003, the protest activity of actor categories associated with HE no more registered similar values.
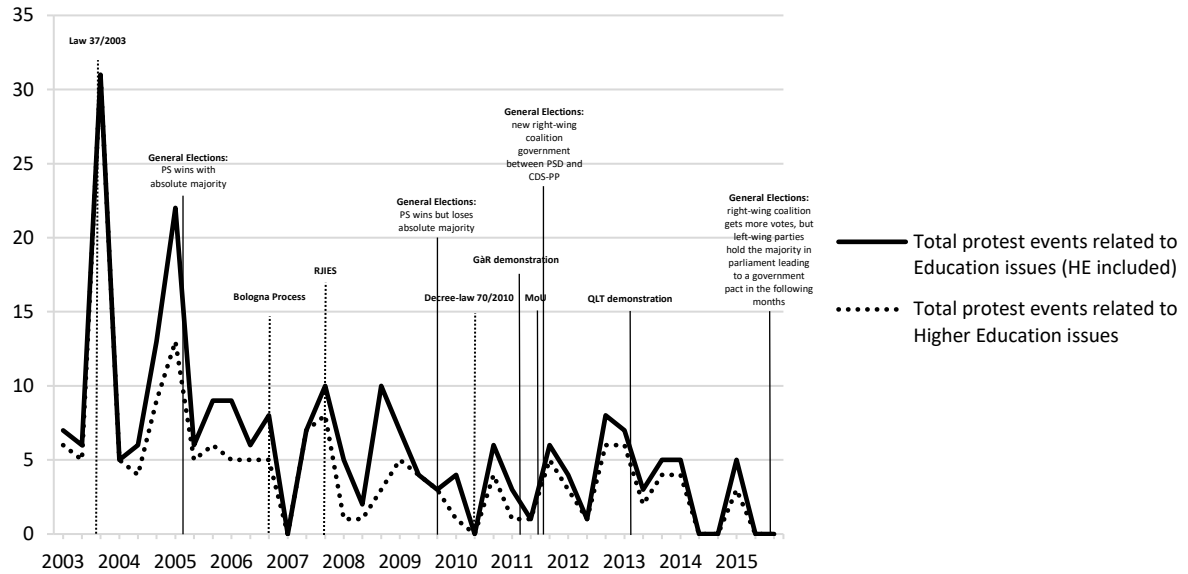
Figure 5.1. Protest events related to Education and Higher Education issues, 2003-2015
Source. *Data retrieved from Público (N=233). Own collection and elaboration.*

If actor categories associated with Higher Education were responsible for 74 per cent (N=172) of total events (N=233), HE students alone were responsible for 73 per cent (N=170). The one per cent variation is justified by the inclusion of two events called by the *Associação dos Bolseiros de Investigação Científica* (ABIC) between 2013 and 2014. This finding must, however, be taken cautiously: the prominence of protest events related to HE issues and organised by HE actor categories can be more the result of an increased sensibilisation of media towards this education level than a de facto distinctive pattern of protest activity of these actor categories.

Over our temporal framework, two trends can be identified: protest events have a seasonal distribution throughout the year, in accordance with the rhythm of the academic calendar (Mendes and Seixas, 2005, p. 115); a peak and trough pattern of protest activity emerges, where the temporal oscillation of protest activity is seemingly synchronised with education policy changes and, particularly after 2010 and the approval of the first austerity package, with configurational changes on the political field (ibid., p. 114). These peaks often correspond to protest events contesting policy changes. The 2003 peak, comprising a total of 31 events in the fourth trimester of the year, derives entirely from the widespread demonstrations against the implementation of the Law 37/2003, which entailed a major increase of the tuition fees' value. As shown in Figure 5.2., tuition fees were, between 2003 (74%) and 2004 (56%), the main claim advanced by HE actors in protest events.
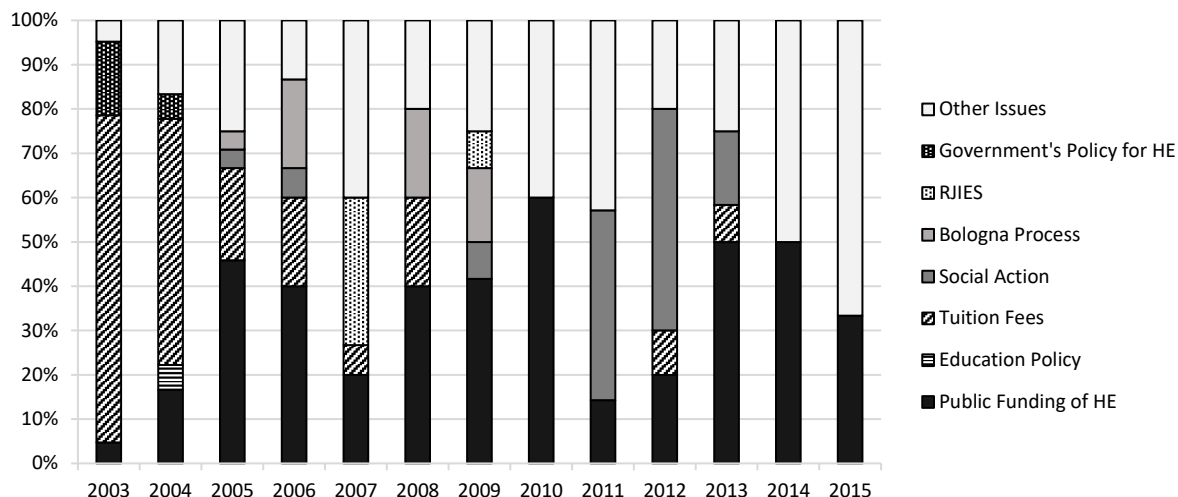
Figure 5.2. Claims of Protest Events called by Higher Education actors, yearly (%)

Source. *Data retrieved from Público (N= 172). Own collection and elaboration*

After 2010 and following the approval of the Decree-law 70/2010, introducing familiar fiscal debt as exclusionary criterion from the access to social action grants, "social action" emerged as an essential claim between 2011 and 2013. Accordingly, the "social action" claim was the prevalent one in protest events called by HE actors in the Portuguese austerity period (2010-2013). This confirms the cross-field dynamic of student movements, where a change in the configuration of the FHE, promoted by this policy change, altered the field's structure of opportunities. Students contested the FHE's new arrangement, since entry costs became higher and membership criteria remained bounded to the ability to finance the cost of tuition fees. After being contested by university students, social action grants were withdrawn from the Decree-law in 2014. This positive policy impact is illustrated in Figure 5.2. through the disappearance of the "social action" claim already in 2014. This example suggests that, instead of given and static, opportunity structures are dynamic and constantly changing in the interaction with social movements (Accornero, 2013, p. 1044).

However, no sustained mobilisation followed these events – the protest activity of University students remained contingent and episodical. At the beginning of the anti-austerity protest cycle, these events could have had a different immediate impact on the political field if sustained and articulated with claims on precarity and rising levels of youth unemployment[33], following a cross-field trajectory through a process of frame extension (see Figure 3.1.).

Moreover, protest events explicitly contesting the application of the Bologna Process in Portugal were relevant in 2006 (20%), 2008 (20%) and 2009 (17%), while 2007 was essentially defined by protests contesting RJIES (33%). However, the total protest events in these years was roughly one-third of 2003 numbers (42) – 2006 (15), 2007 (15), 2008 (5), 2009 (12).

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[33] See Appendix D.

After 2004 and the policy defeat of university students, the tuition fees claim increasingly intertwined with the call for more or the critique of insufficient public funding of HE. Moreover, the analysis of the claims advanced by HE actors over the time period under analysis allows one to identify the gradual shift from broader claims to more particular and local-based claims represented by "Other issues", particularly relevant at the final stages of the Portuguese austerity period.

The centrality of exogenous factors to FHE as drivers of student mobilisation, namely regarding education and HE policies, allows one to understand the persistent reference to the Minister/Ministries as the main target in protest event. As the Figure 5.3. shows, in the austerity period, there was a broadening of targets through references to "Government" and to the "Prime Minister" (Pedro Passos Coelho), the latter being particularly targeted on two occasions in the months of February and March 2013 when visiting the Law Faculty of the University of Lisbon (27/02/2013) and the *Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas* (18/03/2013). These episodes were located at the peak of the Portuguese austerity protest-cycle, in the antechamber of the *Que se Lixe a Troika* (QLT) demonstration (02/03/2013). University students were not only broadening the targets of their claims but setting their pace with the broader cycle of political contention. Actors from the political field were being challenged by those from the FHE. Albeit attesting and confirming the cross-field dynamic of university student movements, these episodes were again unable to be sustained and articulated with broader claims.

In 2014, Pedro Passos Coelho was, alongside the Government and the President Aníbal Cavaco Silva, the target of the *Complaint's Book of Higher Education*, a symbolic initiative organised by the Associação Académica de Coimbra (AAC) and the Federação Académica do Porto (FAP) that contested the cuts in public HE funding. The AAC and FAP were the most active student associations in our analysis, respectively organising or being involved in 16% and 5% of events related to HE issues (N=172).
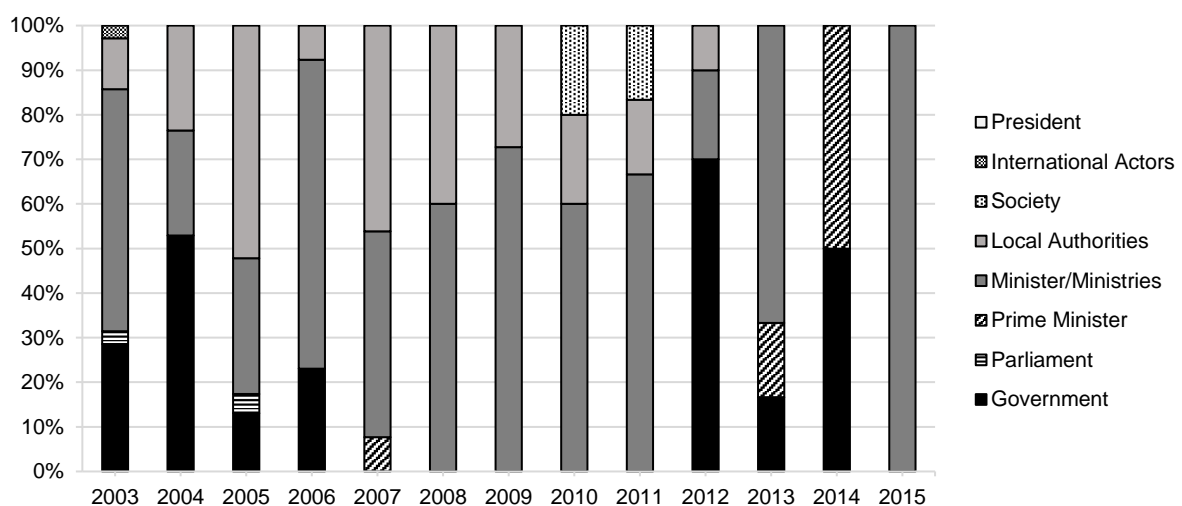

Figure 5.3. Targets of Protest Events called by Higher Education actors, yearly (%)

Source. *Data retrieved from Público (N= 172). Own collection and elaboration*

The types of action and repertoires mobilised by university students in their protest activity between 2003 and 2015 were mainly the demonstration (43%), disruptive actions (24%), symbolic actions (16%) and written demands/documents (12%). Demonstrations are still the university student's favoured type of action (Mendes and Seixas, 2005, p. 118). Disruptive actions, mainly through the locking of buildings and minor occupations, were the second most common type of action mobilised by university students, drawing on its traditional repertoire of actions (ibid.). Throughout our temporal framework, university students in Italy (Sapienza, 2008) and Spain (e.g., University of Barcelona, 2009) have also occupied their faculties or universities. The relative height of "symbolic actions" in protest events called by HE actors is closely related to its constituency, but also to the affirmation of distinctiveness: these often imply the creative redefinition and expression of grievances and claims and articulate different types of action within the same event to increase its public visibility and foster student participation. Throughout our temporal framework, these (N=27) were mainly located in Coimbra (44%) and involved, for example, the delivery of Christmas gifts by University of Coimbra's (UC) students to Coimbra's Civil Governor to contest the UC's Dean and Government's HE policy (14/12/2005) or the offer of "train tickets to Bologna" to UC's professors and students, contesting the transformation of the Portuguese public HE into a "system for the elites" (01/03/2006).

Figure 5.4. Types of Action of Protest Events called by Higher Education actors (% total)
Source. *Data retrieved from Público (N= 172). Own collection and elaboration*

The geographic distribution of the university students' protest activity is uneven and essentially related to the historical development of the Portuguese HE system, but also to the relative demographic height of the country's major HE poles. As identified by Mendes and Seixas for the period between 1992 and 2002 (2005, p. 116), 71 per cent of events took place in the areas of Lisbon (34%) and Oporto (13%) and in the district of Coimbra (24%). If students from the University of Coimbra are increasingly less oriented by socio-centred subjectivities (i.e., socially implicated and aware of collective interests) and more by self-centred subjectivities (Estanque and Bebiano, 2007; Estanque, 2008, p. 26), Figure 5.5. reveals that university activism in Coimbra was nonetheless still relevant in the national context.
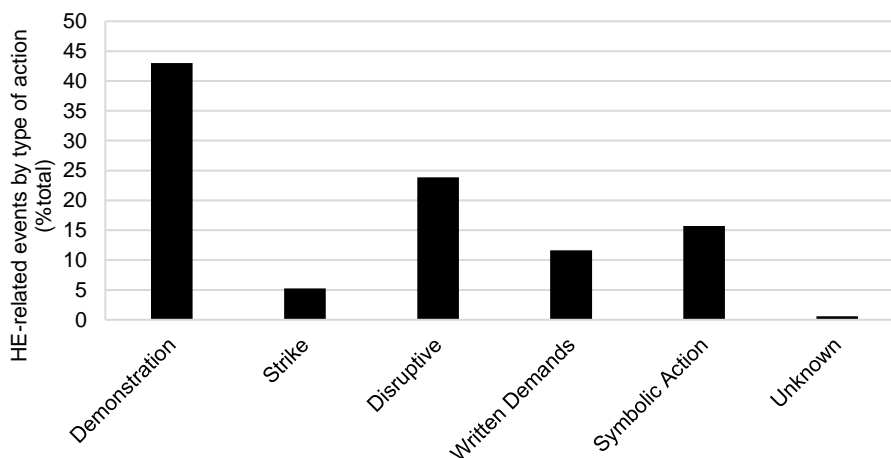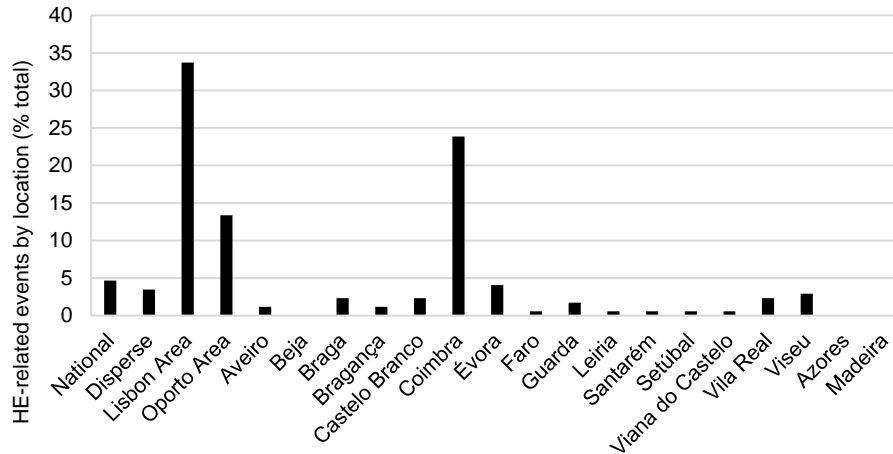
Figure 5.5. Geographical Distribution of Protest Events called by Higher Education actors (% total)

Source. *Data retrieved from Público (N= 172). Own collection and elaboration*

5.2. The Portuguese University Student Movement in Decline?

After the last significant mobilisations against the Law 37/2003, in 2003, the protest activity of Portuguese university students has been declining (Figure 5.1.). Unlike their Southern European counterparts, Portuguese students' mobilisations against Bologna or, following the Spanish anti-LOU struggles or the Italian "anti-Gelmini" demonstrations, against RJIES were short-lived.

On the one hand, the decline of the protest activity of Portuguese university students seems to agree with a seemingly generalised positive attitude towards the state of education in the country[34]. On the other, and comparing Portugal with the cases of Italy and Spain, this declining trajectory of university activism can stem from the absence of autonomous national student unions, groups or networks, but also from the lack of coordination platforms and autonomous initiatives to gather networks of politicised activists, student collectives, unions, associations and federations and collectively discuss strategies and the future of HE in Portugal.

In 2003, the FAP created the "Movimento Académico Nacional" (National Academic Movement), alongside the *Federação Nacional do Ensino Superior Particular e Cooperativo*, the *Associação de Estudantes do Instituto Superior Técnico* and the *Associação Académica do Algarve*, to defend the students' rights. However, the AAC and the Associação Académica de Lisboa, two of the most important student associations of the country, were not included in this platform, hindering its coordination potential. Also, the *Encontro Nacional de Dirigentes Associativos* (ENDA) has proved unable to work as a proper site of democratic discussion and of national coordination of student unions and associations: on the one hand, due to its internal functioning mechanisms, grounded on seemingly inconsequent presentation and discussion of individual motions[35]; on the other hand, due to the

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[34] See Appendix C

[35] https://www.jpn.up.pt/2005/10/03/encontro-nacional-de-dirigentes-associativos-foi-pouco-produtivo/

persistence of internal conflicts[36] between its various actors, also hindering the potential for coordination.

These more or less formalised and institutionalised groups or platforms can work as abeyance structures in between cycles of mass mobilisation (Zamponi, 2018, p. 229). This has accordingly been the case in Italy, where, for example, *Unione degli Studenti* (created in 1992), *Uniriot* (linked to Italian social centres) and *Atenei in Rivolta* (linked to left-wing parties) acted as important mobilising structures of the *Onda*, in 2008. But also in Spain, where the assemblies and collectives that survived the anti-LOU and anti-Bologna struggles, but also local experiences such as Madrid's *Asamblea Contra la Mercantilización* (González, 2014, p. 210), were able to reframe their discourse and focus on the increasing levels of youth unemployment as a condition affecting not only students but a broader generational constituency. This fragmented and "residual" (Zamponi, 2018, p. 183) image of student collectives is inextricably related to the broader functioning of the social movements sector and of youth subcultures in these countries.

In Spain and Italy, over the last decades, youth subcultures have developed in strict articulation with autonomous movements and autonomous social centres (Zamponi, 2018, p. 217). According to Flesher Fominaya, "an autonomous movement can be defined broadly as a movement organized in a horizontal network fashion and underlain by the principles of self-organization, direct/participatory democracy, autonomy, diversity and direct action" (2007, p. 336). These grassroots organisations have been instrumental for the development and expansion of a civic culture in both countries. The nationwide diffusion of these autonomous movements and social centres, in both countries, have acted as important socialising spaces for youngsters (and for students, in particular). If, in both countries, regionalism hinders the possibility of unified and nationwide student movements, the anti-LOU, anti-Bologna and anti-Gelmini struggles relied on the organisational continuity provided by these autonomous spaces (González, 2014; Portos, 2016, p. 191).

This has hardly been the case in Portugal, where the longitudinal analysis of the protest activity of Portuguese university students revealed a declining trajectory. The Portuguese university students' contentious responses to the reconfiguration of the university's role and purpose were sporadic, contingent and short-lived, mainly due to the non-existence of a strong tradition of grassroots organisations that may act as continuous socialising structures or abeyance structures on which networks and bonds are built and resources are acquired; of national students' coordination platforms; or national student organisations. The answer is therefore tautological: the Portuguese university student movement have not emerged as an initiator movement or broker of contention in anti-austerity demonstrations due to its decline. Moreover, its inability to remobilise in the anti-austerity protest cycle (Figure 5.1.) only reinforces its declining trajectory. This will be discussed in the next Chapter.

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[36]https://www.publico.pt/2017/06/14/sociedade/noticia/comentarios-machistas-mancham-encontro-de-dirigentes-associativos-do-superior-1775704

The Portuguese Anti-Austerity Protest Cycle: A Contesting Precarious Youth without a Student Movement

Portugal experienced, in the context of the 2008 international financial and economic crisis and the bailout by the *Troika* (IMF-EU-ECB) in May 2011, exceptional levels of collective mobilisation between 2010 and 2013, illustrated by the increase on the number of demonstrations (Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2015, p. 493) but also by the evolution on the proportion of individuals stating they have attended demonstrations or signed petitions (de Sousa, Magalhães and Amaral, 2014, p. 18). These indicators of political participation generally attest that austerity measures – stemming, firstly, from the successive *Programas de Estabilidade e Crescimento* (PEC), and, after, from the fiscal constraints imposed by the MoU – were contested. According to Accornero and Ramos Pinto (2015, p. 493), "in this period, in common with Greek, Spanish and, to an extent, Italian citizens, the Portuguese have suffered the imposition of drastic measures of fiscal contraction which, aside from worsening the economic situation, have deeply undermined what in the country are considered the 'conquests' of the 25 April 1974 revolution that ushered in Portugal's democracy – a set of social rights in terms of labour law, healthcare and access to education".

The period between 2010-2013 corresponds to the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle, defined as "a phase of heightened conflict across the social system, with rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilised to less mobilised sectors" (Tarrow, 2011, p. 199). This protest cycle has now been widely studied by the literature (e.g., Baumgarten, 2013, 2017; Estanque, Costa and Soeiro, 2013; Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2015; Fernandes, 2017; Carvalho, 2018). This body work, albeit departing from different theoretical and methodological approaches and scope, stresses the continuity and centrality of (i) *labour* issues and (ii) traditional institutional actors (trade unions and left-wing parties) for collective mobilisation in democratic Portugal.

Through a longitudinal and diachronic comparative analysis of protest activity in Portugal and Spain prior to the anti-austerity protest cycle, Carvalho (2018) identifies the period between 2005 and 2011 as an important temporal precursor of mobilisations. The argument of Zamponi and González (2017) seems to corroborate this idea and unfolds as follows. In Italy and Spain, anti-austerity demonstrations were influenced and built on the discursive opportunities for mobilisation created by the activity of university student movements in the same temporal window – broadly contesting the Bologna Process and respective legal proposals for the reform of the public HE system.

These discursive opportunities for broader collective mobilisation were created through the reframing of the movements' critiques and claims, adapting the anti-neoliberal discourse that identified the public disinvestment of HE with the dismantling of the post-war welfare state towards an anti-austerity discourse that integrated the concept of precarity as a "generational key to interpret the

university struggle in the context of a general process, involving issues related to labour relations and welfare cuts in general" (Zamponi and González, 2017, p. 74; Caruso *et al.*, 2010, p. 42). University student movements were able to expand their original intra-field discourses and frames to a broader audience, integrating, in the Spanish case, a "multi-organizational field [composed] of activist networks [that] proliferated and consolidated during the low peak of the mobilization wave, between 2003 and 2010" (Portos, 2016, p. 191).

In Portugal, however, mobilisations in the period between 2005 and 2011 were "restricted to the themes of labour and precarity, without elaborating on the political conditions in which they developed" (Carvalho, 2018, p. 91). Labour issues were consistently reported as being both politically and socially salient, which may have structured the opportunities and constrains stemming from the discursive field. In contrast, education is often reported as a low salience issue. If, on the one hand, the ability to channel grievances and claims related to the field of education seemed structurally conditioned, on the other hand, the inconsistent, sporadic and short-lived protest activity of Portuguese university student movements as autonomous actors (Figure 5.1.) was unable to remobilise in the context of dramatically high levels youth unemployment and of professional and economic uncertainty.

This may have led university students to look for alternative causes for activism, or to channel their grievances through different modalities or structures of collective action. Accordingly, at least from 2007, "students and recently graduated precarious workers" integrated the Portuguese branch of the *MayDay* movement (Soeiro, 2015, p. 187), and have certainly integrated the initiatives called by GàR and *Que se Lixe a Troika* (QLT) platforms.

If the 12 March 2011 and the 02 March 2013 demonstrations respectively called by *Geração à Rasca* ('Desperate Generation') and QLT attracted media attention were responsible for some of the largest demonstrations in Portugal since the revolutionary period of 1974-1975 (Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2015, p. 493), "trade unions constituted the dominant actor throughout the whole cycle of protest" (Carvalho, 2018, p. 142). The latter stems from the inability of GàR and QLT to mobilise consistently beyond these sporadic demonstrations (Accornero, 2016a, p. 361).

Accornero and Ramos Pinto argue that "[i]n part, this may be related to the relative absence of a long-established autonomous infrastructure of civil society" (2015, p. 508). In Portugal, contrasting with the autonomy of Spanish social movements, the social movements' lack of autonomy vis-à-vis institutional actors may account, in part, for the centrality of trade unions and political parties in the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle.

The meaningful, albeit short-lived, experience of the GàR also reveals two relevant aspects. On the one hand, and by explicitly drawing their name from the *Geração Rasca* label attributed to the secondary student mobilisations of the 1994 in an editorial written by the *Público* journalist Vicente Jorge Silva[37] and by being composed by students who had mobilised in that period, it illustrated the

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[37] https://www.publico.pt/2020/09/08/politica/editorial/geracao-rasca-1930820

biographical effects of student activism and of meaningful events for future mobilisations, while also stressing the importance of memory for the study of social movements (see Zamponi, 2018) . On the other hand, its short-lived experience may in part be attributed to the absence of a student movement in between these cycles of mass mobilisation, which could provide the organisational resources and networks that the broader anti-austerity movement seemed to lack to sustain campaigns beyond singular major events.

The discursive construction of the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle based on a generational shared experience of precarity contrasts with the *de facto* centrality of "the politics of labour" and of traditional actors. This lack of autonomous spaces for social movements may also provide a general answer to why "GJM-linked movements never gained much traction in Portugal" (Carvalho, 2018, p. 83) and partially to why the Portuguese university student movement may have declined.

CHAPTER 7:

Concluding Remarks

This dissertation sought to grasp and identify the contemporary trajectory of the Portuguese university student movement. This work is the first to provide a diachronic and detailed account of its activity in 21st century Portugal, articulating it with the literature on student movements in other countries and on the Portuguese anti-austerity protest cycle. By doing this, the meaning of recent student mobilisations calling for climate justice, the right to affordable housing in major urban areas or improved university accommodation, the end of tuition fees and of all sorts of discriminatory practices within the University (based on ethnic or gender issues) can be properly contextualised.

The cycle of contention held in the first half of 1990s against the implementation of the Law 20/92 was referred to as the last sign of the political strength of university activism, thirty years after the academic crisis that had opposed university students to the country's authoritarian regime. Due to the singularity of university student movements as social movements bounded to the transitory condition of its constituency and the discontinuous temporal rhythms of its activity, periods of abeyance and latency in between cycles of visible activity and active mobilisation are an essential component of its vitality and continuity over time. Instead of being constantly mobilised, these movements retreat and interact with the broader socio-political environment, often remobilising and re-emerging to gradually demobilise and retreat.

However, after the 1990s, the Portuguese university student movement was seemingly unable to remobilise or create opportunities for broader mobilisation. The Portuguese case offers an intriguing laboratory for analysis, seemingly in decline in a time period where, throughout the globe, students were again calling for themselves an active role in the stage of politics by first contesting what they perceived to be a reform of the University's traditional social role and mission, by rendering it less autonomous to the pressures from the economic field and the efficiency and accountability principles

from the market order, and then expanding their claims beyond the University walls, broadly contesting increasing social inequalities, youth unemployment and precarity, corrupt and despotic governments and non-accountable institutions.

This in-and-out and cross-field dynamic of University student movements was articulated with the concept of FOS and framing perspectives in social movement studies to diachronically discern if these patterns of activity could be found in Portugal, i.e., if changes in the configuration of the FHE (policies, reforms, pressures or entrance of new actors from adjacent fields) and, later, on the political field (particularly after the 2008 economic and financial crisis) were contested by Portuguese university students. Our analysis reveals a declining trajectory particularly after 2003 and the second policy defeat of university students in a decade, with the increase of the tuition fees' value conveyed by Law 37/2003. As identified in Chapters 4 and 5, even when FOS existed these alone were not enough to remobilise the Portuguese university student movements. An explanation for this can be drawn from the examples of Italian and Spanish student movements for the same period: the lack of organisational structures and activist networks in the Portuguese case. Indeed, the configurational arrangements of fields, inter-field dynamics and FOS matter, but for student movements to mobilise certain abeyance structures must exist, ensuring its continuity in non-receptive environments and mediating and framing its activity in the interaction with the FOS. From a theoretical standpoint, this finding and reflection can contribute to the FOS conceptualisation itself, suggesting that the way FOS are perceived and taken advantage of is also a result of existing networks.

From our work, we can tentatively suggest a set of different hypotheses for the decline of the Portuguese university student movement. On the macro-sociological level, at the level of institutional politics and the political system, the gradual consolidation of *Bloco de Esquerda* (Left Block) in the Portuguese party system, from 1999 onwards, integrating some of the themes and incorporating many of the students who had mobilised in the 1990s, may have shifting the locus of contention from the campus and the streets to the hemicycle, institutionalising the conflict ; and the Socialist Party's (PS) majority government, following the 2005 general election, could have influenced the perception of institutional openness towards the claims and issues advanced by non-institutional actors, such as social movements or other civil society groups. On the meso-sociological level, the inability of intermediate level organisations or platforms (e.g., ENDA) to work as forums for the mobilisation of consensus among the various national student unions may have hindered the potential for coordinated, substantive and sustained actions; the inability of student unions or associations to represent the whole of its constituency, persistently understood as platforms for future political careers of their members; and the decline of student's representativeness within the University's collegial bodies, which proved to be an important resource in the 1990s mobilisations. On the micro-sociological level, the temporal compression of degrees conveyed by the Bologna Process reduced the time availability of students to engage in collective action and university activism.

A proper account of the reasons leading to its decline in the time period under study (2005-2015) would call for a more fine-grained and interview-based qualitative research design. This is clearly a limitation of this work, based on a macro-level identification and analysis of patterns of protest activity, but also suggests an avenue of research for the future.

Finally, the effects of the decline of the University student movements are hard to objectively assess. However, it seems safe to argue that, particularly under the critical juncture provided by the anti-austerity protest cycle, university students were unable to intervene, to fight for their present and for their future condition and conditions, to become political actors on their own behalf.

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Lei 133/97

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Bloco de Esquerda – 2005, 2009, 2011

CDS – Partido Popular – 2005, 2009, 2011

Coligação Democrática Unitária – 2005, 2009, 2011

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APPENDIX A – Research Design

| Research questions		Method	Technique	Source
Primary	Secondary			
What have been the Portuguese university students' contentious responses to the discourses and policies transforming the university's role and purpose and to austerity?	Which patterns of university students' protest activity existed before and during the anti-austerity protest cycle?	Media Content Analysis	Protest Event Analysis	*Público* (newspaper)
	Which transformations shaped the contemporary Portuguese field of higher education?			

APPENDIX B
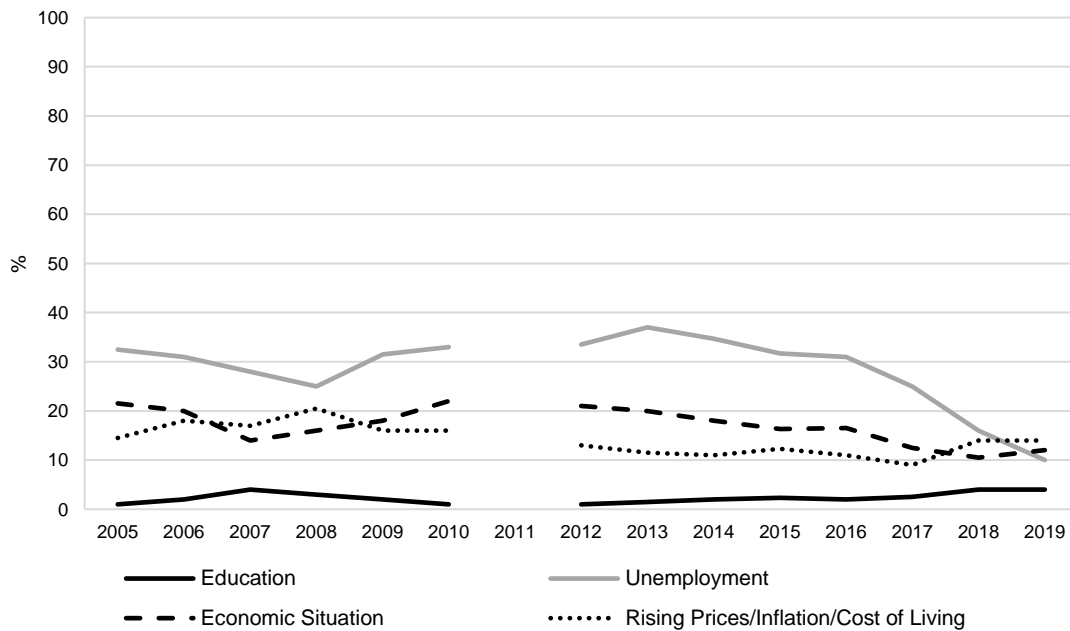
Public Opinion "What are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?", 2005 – 2019 [data for 2011 missing]

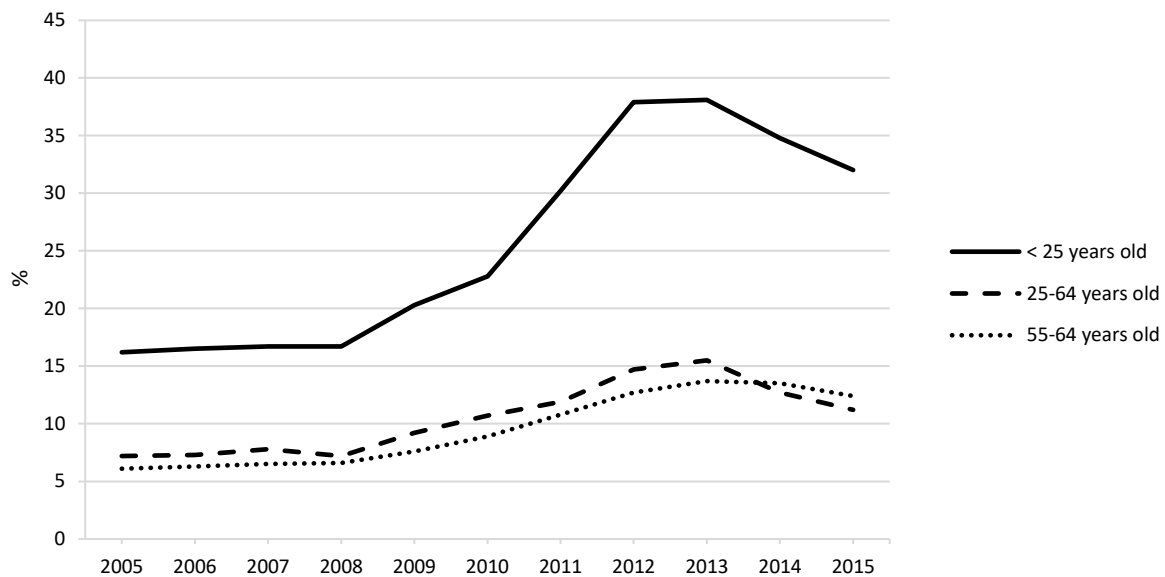Data source: *Eurobarometer (European Commission)*

APPENDIX C
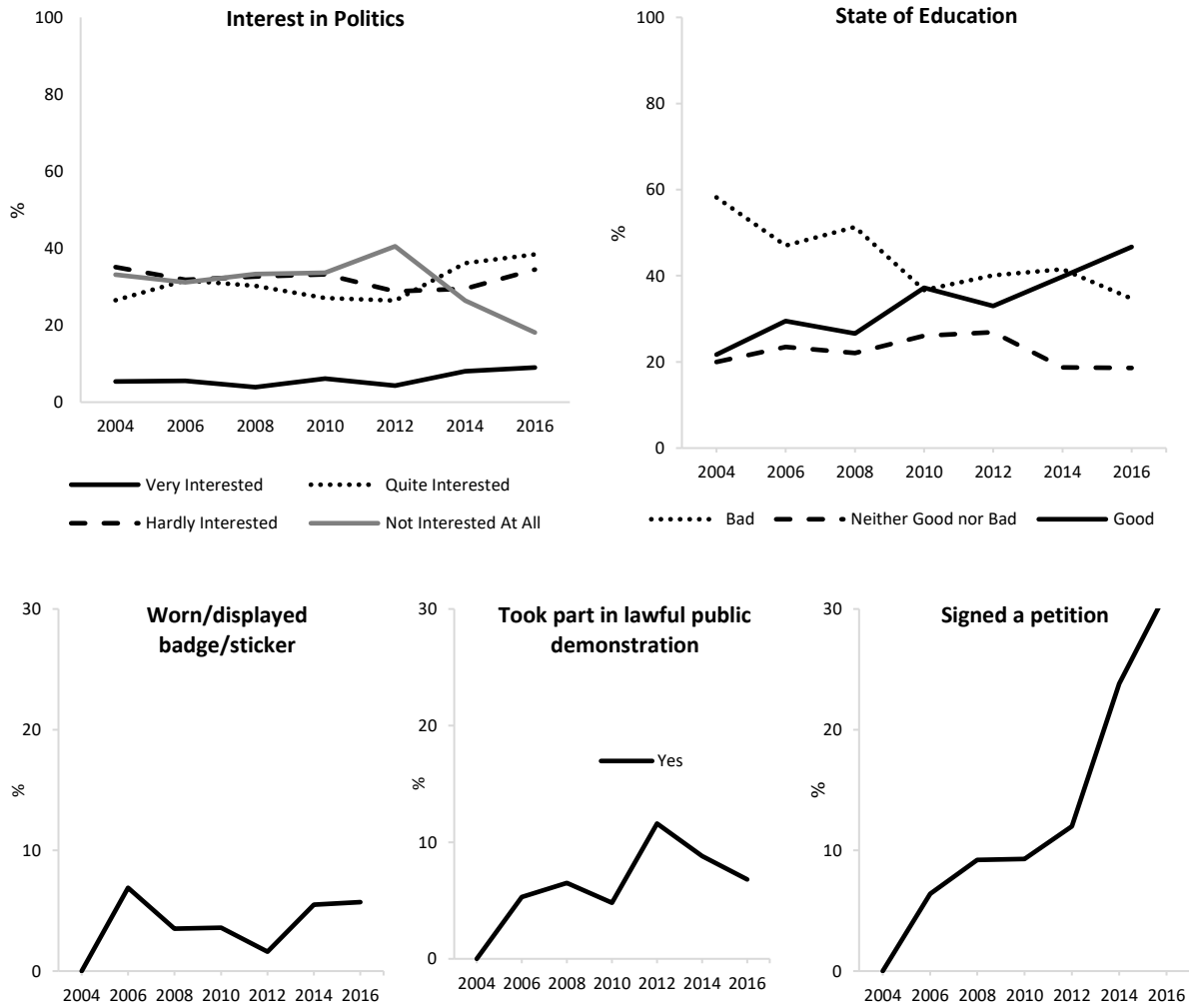
Trends in interest in politics, state of education and political participation in Portugal (%), for the age cohort between 15-39 years old

Source. *European Social Survey (2016)*

APPENDIX D

Unemployment rate in Portugal by age cohort (%), 2005-2015

Source. *Pordata*

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

APPENDIX E - Protest Event Analysis

I. Introduction

The Protest Event Analysis conducted in this Dissertation was built in accordance to a previously defined Codebook, whose guidelines were mostly drawn from previous research (Accornero and Ramos Pinto, 2015; Carvalho, 2018).

Protest and *Event*: Remarks, Delimitation and Coding Procedures

At the core of Protest Event Analysis, we find the concepts of "protest" and of "event". Therefore, it was quintessential to provide a coherent definition and to delimitate their scope in order to properly build our database.

Regarding the concept of "protest", whose broad contextual usage has led to the concept's ambiguity (Opp, 2009, p. 33), we take Karl-Dieter Opp's definition proposal, where "*protest* is defined as joint (i.e., collective) action of individuals aimed at achieving their goal or goals by influencing decisions of a target" (Opp, 2009, p. 38).

Likewise, the delimitation of what constitutes an event was drawn from the guidelines provided by the Brief Event Guide of the project "Dynamics of Collective Action in the U.S., 1960-1995"[38]. Accordingly, an event must be:

a. A *collective act*, in which more than one person in engaged;
b. Public;
c. A protest event and not merely a fundraising activity;
d. A collective public protest act where the actors must – explicitly or not – advance a grievance, critique or claim to change the society;

Beyond its conceptual delimitation, it was also necessary to clarify what was to constitute one single event or multiple events. An event is always defined by the existence of, at least, one actor. Consequently, whenever a different actor organises an event this constitutes a different event. Regarding questions of space and time continuity, the systematic schematisation of Carvalho has used (Carvalho, 2018, p. 214) and is reproduced below:

Same
Actor

Time Continuity

		No	Yes
Space Continuity	No	Different events, e.g.: demo or strike in different time or space	Different events, e.g.: coordinated demonstrations that last several days in a row but that the locations are different
	Yes	Different events, e.g.: strike or demonstrations that happen in the same place, but across time in a coordinated way	Same event, e.g.: strike or sit-down that lasts several days in a row

Therefore, it is one event when it is continuous, located in the same city or same part of the city and includes the same (or subset of the same) participants with the same goals.

II. Protest Event Analysis: Dimensions and Variables

Table II. Dimensions and Variables of the Protest Event Analysis

Dimension	Variables
Time and Space	▪ Location, Country (Portugal) ▪ Date

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[38] Available at: https://web.stanford.edu/group/collectiveaction/cgi-bin/drupal/node/3. Consulted on 14 September 2009.

Actors	**Actor Category**
	Basic and Secondary Education
	▪ Basic Level Students
	▪ High School Students
	Higher Education
	▪ Higher Education Students
	▪ Research Fellows, Research Fellowship Candidates
	Actor(s)
	Examples: AAC, FAP, AEIST, AEFCSH, etc.
Claims and Issues	▪ Tuition Fees
	▪ Public Investment and Funding of HE
	▪ Social Action
	▪ Bologna Process
	▪ RJIES
	▪ Other Issues
Modes of Protest	▪ Target
	▪ Place
	▪ Length
	▪ Violence
	▪ Dimension

1. **Time and Space**: these are quintessential variables since these identify and situate protest events both in time and space, allowing for a diachronic reading that makes for the identification of different moments, rhythms and phases of contention, but also for its geographical distribution.

2. **Actors**: this dimension considers both the general category of students that organised the protest, being divided into four major groups treated as independent variables, but also the specific group or organisation involved in the protest. Several events were organised by more than one actor category (e.g., Basic and HS Students), but in any of these were the actor categories of Higher Education Students and Research Fellows, Research Fellowship Candidates found. Instead, Higher Education Students and Research Fellows, Research Fellowship Candidates only do emerge as the only organising actor category on their respective protest events.

3. **Claims and Issues**: this dimension identifies the major grammars of protest and lines of contention and has been refined along the coding process. Initially, a fine-grained reading of events made for the emergence of manifold claims and issues, leading to an unfeasible load of disperse and incomparable information. Consequently, iteration effects made for the identification of six variables that are in accordance with the major transformations affecting the Portuguese field of HE (Cerdeira, 2008; Mineiro, 2015).

a. Tuition Fees: refers explicitly and exclusively to tuition fees.

b. Public Investment and Funding of Higher Education: broad and generic reference to the Government's or responsible Ministry's funding policy of the Portuguese public HE, with claims ranging from the critique of disinvestment, the vindication of more public funding to public HE to the call for better infrastructures.

c. Social Action: refers explicitly and exclusively to social action (i.e., social action grants, scholarship applications' regulation, transportation allowances).

d. Bologna Process: refers explicitly and exclusively to the Bologna Process.

e. RJIES: refers explicitly and exclusively to the *Regime Jurídico das Instituições de Ensino Superior* (RJIES) and to its discussion within HE institutions and its application and/or subsequent effects.

f. Other Issues: contains diverse claims, from institutional, administrative and local matters to general issues concerning education policy (e.g., the call for the implementation of the discipline of Sexual Education in High School curricula).

4. **Modes of Protest**: refers to a set of variables "referring to non-symbolic features of the protest" (Carvalho, 2018, p. 66), allowing the identification of the target, place, duration and dimension of protest, while also dealing with the occurrence or not of episodes of violence.

APPENDIX F - Codebook[39]

Variable	Description	Measurement
Origins of the Information		
Event code	Code of each event	
Number of Sources	Number of newspaper articles reporting the protest	
Time and Space		
Date	Date of the event	
Location	Location of the Event in Portugal	(1) National; (2) Disperse; (3) Lisbon Area; (4) Oporto Area; (5) Aveiro; (6) Beja; (7) Braga; (8) Bragança; (9) Castelo Branco; (10) Coimbra; (11) Évora; (12) Faro; (13) Guarda; (14) Leiria; (15) Portalegre; (16) Santarém; (17) Setúbal; (18) Viana do Castelo; (19) Vila Real; (20) Viseu; (21) Azores; (22) Madeira; (99) Don't Know;
Actors		
Actor Category	Variable that indicates the general category of actors involved in the organisation of the protest event	(1) Basic and Secondary Education; (2) Higher Education; (9) Don't Know;
Actors - Student Movements or Collectives	Variable that indicates the student movement organisation, collective or	(1) Basic and HS Students; (2) HE Students; (3) Student Association; (4)

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[39] Adapted from Carvalho (2018, pp. 215–217).

- Student Associations	association involved in the organisation of the protest event	Student Collective; (5) Student Organisation; (9) Don't Know;
Actor	Variable that indicates the specific student movement organisation, collective or association involved in the organisation of the protest event	
Claims and Issues		
Issue/Claim	Variable that indicates the presence of these claims and issues in the protest	
Topic	Variable that indicates the general topic to which claims and issues in the protest refer to	(1) Public Funding of HE; (2) Education Policy; (3) Tuition Fees; (4) Social Action; (5) Bologna Process; (6) RJIES; (7) Government's Policy for HE; (8) Other Issues; (9) Don't Know;
Modes of Protest		
Type of Action	Type of Action	(1) Demonstration/march; (2) Strike; (3) Disruptive (e.g., Occupation, Boycott); (4) Written Demands; (5) Symbolic Action; (9) Don't Know;
Target	To whom are the protests directed	(1) Government; (2) Parliament; (3) Prime Minister; (4) Minister/Ministries; (5) Local Authorities; (6) Society; (7) International actors; (8) President; (9) Don't Know;
Lenght	Number of days the event lasted	(1) 1 day or less; (2) 2-5 days; (3) >5 days; (9) Don't Know;
Violence	If there was violence during the event	(1) Yes; (2) No; (9) Don't Know;

APPENDIX G - Chronology

To build a chronology is to recognise that events do not emerge out of an historical or social vacuum, that these events are inherently *historical*, i.e., that these have a certain historicity that a proper socio-historical reading of everyday life must be able to grasp in order to better understand the interaction chains and the configurational arrangements in which certain social phenomena occur. This chronological exercise certainly grants historicity and relationality their due and allows one – by building a comprehensive timeline that presents a set of relevant political and economic ephemerides and events – to provide a more qualitative, fine-grained and detailed interpretation that is able to go "beyond the quantitative reading of the PEA" (Carvalho, 2018, p. 202).

By collecting and covering manifold episodes that have defined the Portuguese political field – comprising both institutional episodes (i.e., directly or indirectly involving the Portuguese government or broadly Portuguese political institutions, stemming from the Constitutional Court to the main political parties and unions) and important episodes or campaigns of contention and critique of political order – this timeline provides a clear insight into the broader social and political environment in which the field of higher education is inherently embedded.

Although a triangulation of multiple sources was used to complete this chronological exercise, the data concerning the events that were unfolding on the Portuguese political field (and also in the broader environment provided by the reference to Europe and the World) was mostly drawn – to cope with time constraints – from a timeline developed by Carvalho (2018, pp. 202–211).

Month	Portugal		Europe/World
	Political Field	Field of HE	
2005			
Jan		Students resign from the University of Coimbra's Assembly (AUC) in protest against the fixation of the Tuition Fees maximum value and deliver a petition to Parliament (*Caderno Reivindicativo da Academia de Coimbra*);	In Germany, the German Constitutional Court deliberates that Universities are now allowed to charge for tuition fees.
Feb	**General Elections**: Socialist Party wins with absolute majority	Students from Instituto Politécnico da Guarda close the institution's gates to contest the delay in social action grants' payment	
Mar		On **Student's Day** (March 24), FAP and AAC send a letter and a "black book of higher education" to the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education to ask for more Public Investment in Education, more Social Action and parity of students' representation in Collegial bodies	
Apr		Students from the University of	

		Lisbon's Faculty of Sciences protest against the Bologna Process and the Law of University;	
May		Students from the University of Coimbra protest against government's policy for HE by symbolically burning the HE Funding Law (Lei das Propinas); Students from FLUL (80) invaded a meeting of the Faculty's Directive Council;	
Jun			
Jul			
Aug			
Sep		Students from ISEP (Instituto Superior de Engenharia do Porto) locked the institution's gates in protest against the increase of tuition fees.	
Oct			
Nov		FAP and AAC demonstrated against the increase of tuition fees.	In Italy, students (50000) demonstrated in Rome against the project of law that reforms the Italian higher education system and changes the juridical statute of university professors.
Dec			
2006			
Jan			
Feb			Beginning of student protests, in France, against the new labour bill under the First Job Contract proposal led by PM Dominique De Villepin (*CPE*, applying to job seekers under 26 years old), allowing employers to sack workers without justification on the first two years of contract (nationwide demonstrations and university occupations will last until April, when the President Jacques Chirac decided not to implement the CPE).
Mar		AAC symbolically protested against the increase of tuition fees ("Train tickets" from Coimbra to Bologna, "reserved to those who can pay") and called for a vigil to contest the implementation of the Bologna Process.	In Spain, the student platform *Plataforma de Estudiantes en Movimiento* is created, promoted by 14 university collectives.

Apr			In Spain, *Asambleas Contra la Mercantilización de la Educación* (ACME) calls for a demonstration against the Bologna Process.
May		Students from the University of Minho and the Escola Superior de Teatro e Cinema called for a parade and a strike to contest the Bologna Process and the increase of tuition fees.	In Chile, high school students organise protests against the education policy followed by the Chilean government (these protests would be later known as *Penguin's Revolution*, an allusion to the school uniforms held by high school students).
Jun		FAP delivered a statement demanding the demission of the responsible for Social Action in HE (Vasco Garcia)	
Jul		AAC wrote an Open Letter contesting the government's policy for HE, demanding more Public Funding of HE and increased Social Action, contesting the Bologna Process.	
Aug			
Sep			
Oct		AAC and students from the University of Oporto and the Instituto Politécnico do Porto and the Instituto Poltécnico de Viseu contested the government's policy for HE, demanding more Public Funding of HE and increased Social Action, contesting the Bologna Process.	
Nov			
Dec			
2007			
Jan			
Feb			In Greece, university students demonstrated before the Greek parliament against the education reform proposal, regulating the funding of universities, advanced by the government.
Mar			In Greece, thousands of university students demonstrated in the cities of Athens (8000) and Salonica following the Parliament's approval of the education reform proposal advanced by the government
Apr			

X

May	"General Strike of CGTP (*Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses*) against the ongoing labour reform"		
Jun		Throughout the country, university students organise different protest actions to contest the juridical regime of higher education institutions (**RJIES**).	
Jul			"Subprime Mortgage burst starting a period of recession in the USA that would lead to financial instability and bank bailouts in 2008 (Great Recession)"
Aug		The juridical regime of quality assurance and evaluation in higher education is approved (Lei n.º 38/2007, de 16 de Agosto), paving the grounds for the implementation of quality assurance in the Portuguese field of HE	
Sep		The juridical regime of higher education institutions (**RJIES**) is established (Lei n.º 62/2007, de 10 de Setembro)	
Oct			
Nov	"State Budget for 2008 is approved; General Strike in the Public Sector (both from CGTP and UGT) against the Government's unwillingness to negotiate wage increases"	**A3ES** (*Agência de Acreditação do Ensino Superior*) is created (Decreto-Lei 369/2007), following the approval (in August) of the juridical regime of quality assurance and evaluation in higher education is approved (Lei n. º 38/2007, August 16).	
Dec			
2008			
Jan			
Feb			
Mar	"FENPROF, teachers demonstration against new		

	regulations (gathering 100000 people in Lisbon)"		
Apr		University of Minho's students collective *Elo Estudantil* demonstrated against the Bologna Process.	
May			In Spain, students' strike and demonstration against the Bologna Treaty (would be a constant throughout the year)
Jun	"Demonstration by CGTP against the Labour reform (200000); Truck Drivers strike"		
Jul			
Aug			
Sep			"Beginning of the Great Recession, after bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers. USA government bailouts several banks and the financial system to avoid the crisis to spread"
Oct			"German, Dutch, Belgian and British governments give support to banks in an approach that in Europe followed public investment" In Italy, the approval of the law 133/2008, cutting state funding to public universities and allowing public universities to become private institutions, led to nationwide student demonstrations and occupations to the commodification of university.
Nov	"Labour reform is approved; Bankruptcy of BPP and bailout by the Government; FENPROF, teachers' demonstration against new regulations (125000 in Lisbon); Bankruptcy of BPN and nationalisation by the Government"		In Spain, university students throughout the country occupy and demonstrate against the implementation of the Bologna Process.
Dec			In Catalonia, university students occupied the rectorate of the University of Barcelona (UB) in protest against the Bologna Process (the occupation would last until March 2009). In Greece, students protested against police violence (particularly intense after the fatal shooting of 15 years-old Alexandros Grigoropoulos) and corruption and advanced broader critiques against the political and socioeconomic order – the University of Athens was also occupied.
2009			
Jan	"Government announces several policies of investment and a *Robin Wood*-like tax to alleviate the		
Feb			

	middle class"		
Mar	"General Strike (one Trade Union - CGTP) against the labour code, plus a Demonstration that gathered 200000 people; Public workers general strike"	Students from the University of Évora organised a symbolic "funeral" of UE's mascot in protest against the cuts in the public funding of HE and the increase of Tuition Fees; On Student's Day (March 24), HE students demonstrated throughout the country against the Bologna Process and value of tuition fees; Students from FBAUP occupied the Faculty in protest against tuition fees;	
Apr			
May	"Teachers protest in Lisbon (between 55-70000 protestors)"	AAC organised a symbolic demonstration showing Universities' "financial asphyxiation" by showing a hanging D.Dinis in protest against the lack of public funding for HE.	
Jun	**European Parliament Elections:** the PSD wins with 31,71% of the votes		
Jul		AAC and AAUL delivered a complaint to ombudsman regarding the unconstitutionality of the RJIES.	
Aug			
Sep	**General Elections**: Socialist Party wins but loses the majority		
Oct	**Municipal/Local Elections**: Socialist Party gets ahead regarding the number of municipalities controlled	Students from FLUL demonstrated against the General Evaluation Regulation framework under Bologna.	
Nov		HE students demonstrated in	In Iran, students are being arrested by governmental authorities to prevent the demonstrations called for

		Lisbon against the Bologna Process and demanding more public funding for HE and increased social action.	the national student's day (December 07), traditionally used as a moment to contest political order.
Dec	"Financial rating cut by international rating agencies"		"Rating agencies pressure both Greece and Portugal"
2010			
Jan	Privatisation of BPN, one of the bailout banks; Government wants to reduce the deficit, following the example of Greek plan to cut deficit advanced in the previous month; government launches investment plan; CDS helps PS approving the budget for 2010;		
Feb	"Suspension of infrastructures investment is announced"		
Mar	**PEC I** (austerity package) for the period between 2010-2013, is approved in Parliament with the abstention of the main opposition party, PSD; new leadership in PSD (Pedro Passos Coelho); Budget revision and the adding of more austerity measures (with the abstention of PSD and CDS-PP); General Strike by both Trade Unions in the public sector (UGT and CGTP); pressure from rating agencies continues	On Student's Day (March 24), HE students demonstrated in Lisbon against RJIES, Bologna Process and Tuition Fees.	
Apr	"European Commission says that austerity measures are not enough, and a new austerity package is negotiated between the PS and PSD"		

XIV

May	**PEC II** is presented and approved in the following month; PCP proposes a vote of no confidence to the government, which was rejected with abstention of the PSD and CDS-PP; Demonstration by the Public Sector Unions (CGTP and UGT) gathering 300000 people;		"European Union creates an emergency fund; Austerity plan in Italy"
Jun			"European Union demands structural reforms to Portugal and Spain"
Jul		Decreto-lei 70/2010, 19 de Julho – **Social Action Grants**: introduction of family's fiscal debts as a criterion of exclusion from the access to social action grant	
Aug			
Sep	**PEC III** is announced (will be approved in November) and the Socialist Party's Government announces cuts in public sector wages	Students from Instituto Politécnico do Porto invaded a ceremony in protest against Tuition Fees and Cost of Education.	
Oct			In France, thousands of students demonstrated against the Sarkozy's government changes to the pension system.
Nov	"General Strike by both Trade Unions (UGT and CGTP) against the wage cuts to public sector workers announced by the government; Budget for 2011 is approved (with the abstention of PSD)"	HE students (6500) demonstrated in Lisbon against Cuts in Social Action, Tuition Fees and precarious funding of HE.	In the United Kingdom, student demonstrations (starting on November 10 and continuing until early December) against the Government's plans to cut the public spending on tertiary education and to increase the maximum value (or cap) of tuition fees begin. In Italy, thousands of university students (400000) demonstrated throughout the country against the proposal for education reform – with the fusion of smaller institutions into larger ones, the centralisation of university leadership, the reduction of power to collegial organs, the managerialization of decision bodies through the integration of "external experts" into the universities' administrative bodies (as a result of Law 240) – proposed by the third Berlusconi government.
Dec			Beginning of the *Arab Spring* with the Tunisian revolt and then spreading to neighbouring countries (e.g., Argelia). In Greece, students demonstrated against austerity measures proposed by Papendreou's government that will lead to cuts in education and in funding of HE, while also expressing solidarity with student demonstrations in the UK.

2011			
Jan	"Cavaco Silva is re-elected as President of the Republic; European pressures for a Bailout"		"Protests start in Jordan, Oman, Egypt and Yemen"
Feb			"Protests in Libya, Kuwait, Morocco, Lebanon and Syria." In Yemen, hundreds of students protested against the Saleh's regime. In Spain, *Juventud Sin Futuro* and *Democracia Real, Ya!* are created.
Mar	**PEC IV** is presented but not approved since the Socialist Party's Government lacked enough support in Parliament following a vote of no confidence by the BE, leading the PS Government to resign; *Geração à Rasca* Protest against precarity reaches a nationwide dimension (gathering around half-million people throughout the country); José Sócrates re-elected as leader of PS	On Student's Day (March 24), HE students throughout the country demonstrated and closed universities (University of Coimbra and University of Lisbon's Law Faculty) in protest against Cuts in Direct Social Action (Grants).	
Apr	"External intervention is asked by the government and negotiations with Troika begin"		In Chile, university students organised demonstrations, strikes and occupations of schools and administration offices against the "sale of the university". In Spain, *Juventud sin Futuro* – created by a series of student associations and collectives from Madrid – calls for a demonstration under the motto "No home, no job, no pension. Youth without fear. Recovering our future. This is just the beginning" ("Sin casa, sin curro, sin pensión. Juventud sin miedo. Recuperando nuestro futuro. Esto es sólo el principio").
May	**Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)** approved and signed, advancing a set of austerity measures; *Acampada do Rossio*, in solidarity with Spain's 15M, lasts three weeks;	The University of Minho's General Council approved the transformation of the institution into a public foundation under the framework provided by RJIES, following the examples of the University of Aveiro and Oporto and of ISCTE.	**15M** emerges in Spain, lasting for several months camped in several squares around the country and organising large demonstrations. In Chile, student demonstrations called by the Confederation of Chilean Students (CONFECH) gathered 15000 students in Santiago under the slogan "there is no future without quality public education".
Jun	**Legislative Elections**: new right-wing coalition government		"Mario Draghi is nominated as President of the European Central Bank"

	between PSD and CDS-PP;		
Jul	"Additional austerity measures announced; António José Seguro elected as the new leader of the PS"		"European Stability Mechanism (ESM) created by the EU"
Aug			In Chile, the Chilean student movement announced a one-week national strike demanding the reform of HE, asking for more public investment and increased funding of the public HE system.
Sep	"Changes to the MoU and announcement of additional austerity measures; Constitutional Court approves measures after some MPs asked for those to be revised"		"New austerity package approved in Italy; Occupy Wall Street in New York (USA) starts a wave of protests all over the country" In Spain, *Marea Verde* starts a "campaign of mobilisations with protests and strikes" demanding 'public school for all' ("*Escuela pública de todos para todos*").
Oct	"Pedro Passos Coelho (PM) announces more cuts to Christmas and Holidays allowance for public workers; Global Demonstration (100000 people); Big demonstration by CGTP" (130000 people)		
Nov	"General Strike by both Trade Unions (UGT and CGTP) against the measures announced by the PM in the previous month; Demonstration by Public Workers Trade Unions (190000); Budget for 2012 approved"	AAUM (*Associação Académica da Universidade do Minho*) delivered a complaint to ombudsman regarding the new criteria regulating scholarship application; HE students demonstrated in Lisbon against Cuts in Social Action and Public Investment in HE, Tuition Fees, Sub-23 Transportation Pass.	
Dec		HE students demonstrated in Lisbon against the new criteria regulating scholarship application and disinvestment on the funding of the public HE subsystem.	*Time* Magazine choses 'The Protester' as the 2011 Person Of The Year: "In 2011, protesters didn't just voice their complaints; they changed the world"

2012			
Jan	Social Concertation Agreement between UGT and Patronal Confederation "reducing unemployment benefits, holidays and collective negotiation rights; Troika insists on the TSU measure that would the private sector contribution to social security while increasing the workers; 15O Protest – confronts with far-right"	HE students have called for demonstrations and for a petition in protest against the end of transportation allowances for students	
Feb	"CGTP Demonstration"		"**Valencian Spring**" (*Primavera valenciana*): in Spain (Valencia), students have organised several demonstrations following the detention of a minor demonstrator and of police violence while asking for the improvement of heating conditions of Instituto Lluís Vives. From the demonstrations in Valencia, a broader and nationwide student movement emerges against the cuts on the public education system. In Hungary, university students demonstrated in Budapest against the HE reform implemented by Órban's government, which intends to reduce the number of public-funded study grants and to introduce a student-loans-based system.
Mar	"General Strike and demonstration (100000 people) by CGTP in response to the January's social concertation agreement; Amending budget is approved"	HE students demonstrated in Oporto against the value of Tuition Fees.	"Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union" In Quebec (Canada), university students have organised strikes and demonstrations against the announcement of a 75 per cent increase in tuition fees, gathering 300000 students on the March 22 demonstration (the largest in Quebecois history).
Apr	"Portugal becomes the first country to ratify the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union"		
May			
Jun	"Vote of No Confidence by the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) to the right-wing coalition government"		
Jul	"Constitutional Court considers cuts on the		Mario Draghi announces that the European Central Bank will do "whatever it takes to preserve the euro"

	Christmas and Holidays (OE 2012) allowances as unconstitutional"		
Aug			In Chile, thousands of high school students have demonstrated for a free and adequate public education system.
Sep	"Additional austerity measures announced (TSU) but retreat after a national Demonstration; Governmental crisis and presidential intervention through a State Council; Demonstration by *Que Se Lixe a Ttroika* (gathering around 1 million people)"	HE students called for a nationwide petition-signing against the new criteria regulating scholarship application.	
Oct	"Vote of no confidence by PCP; Demonstration for Culture in Lisbon (organised by *Que Se Lixe a Troika* and gathering around 100000 people)"	Students from FBAUP demonstrated in Oporto against the end of transportation allowances for students - "Grants yes, Tuition Fess no".	
Nov	"European General Strike (in Portugal against the new budget) - ends with a police charge; PS votes against the budget for 2013; Franscisco Louçã leaves the coordination of the BE"	Students from the University of Coimbra locked the University's 'Porta Férrea' in protest against cuts in public HE funding; HE students (400) demonstrated in Lisbon against the cuts in Social Action.	"European General Strike: coordinated action between Spain, Portugal, Greece and Cyprus."
Dec		In Lisbon, HE students (20) invaded a seminar where the PM was one of the speakers to protest against disinvestment in HE: "Grants yes, Tuition Fees no"; Students from ISCTE-IUL occupied one of the Lisbon's University canteens in protest against its closure.	
2013			
Jan			

Feb		HE students (100) invaded a conference where one Minister (Miguel Relvas) was an invited speaker to protest against disinvestment in HE: "Grants yes, Tuition Fees no"; Students from FDUL showed a symbolic hanging of a rabbit (*Coelho*) in protest against the government of Pedro Passos Coelho.	
Mar	"Demonstration against austerity (organised by *Que Se Lixe a Troika* and gathering around 500000 individuals; Economic Growth Restarts"	Students from ISCSP (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas) demanded the government's demission; HE students (4000) demonstrated in Lisbon demanding more Social Action, more funding for Public HE and against the Bologna Process	"Extension of adjustment programmes approved for Portugal, Ireland and Greece; Crisis and bailout to Cyprus."
Apr	"Vote of No Confidence by the PS; Constitutional Court declares measures proposed at the OE2013 unconstitutional (one of the measures was the suspension of the holidays subsidies in the private sector)"	HE students, following an initiative from AEIST, launched a petition (6500 signatures) against the new criteria regulating scholarship application.	In Catalonia, students have occupied the rectorate of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) in protest against the cuts announced by the Spanish government in the field of HE. In Brazil, demonstrations to protest against increases in public transportation's ticket prices begin, later incorporating broader critiques to corruption, lack of transparency in public administration offices and police brutality.
May		University students placed protest banners across the faculties of the University of Lisbon to protest against the cuts in Social Action and the lack of Public Investment in HE: "No cuts here".	Beginning of Gezi Park protests in Turkey, initially contesting a plan for urban development to be implemented in Taksim Gezi Park (Istanbul) and later incorporating broader critiques to political authoritarianism of Erdogan's government. In Spain, "first General Strike in Public Education against LOMCE (100000)".

Jun	"General strike/Demonstration by Trade Union (CGTP and UGT) against austerity measures and cuts in the public sector; Demonstration against austerity (QSLT) - People's Spring - *Povos unidos contra a Troika*; Amending budget;"		In Chile, students demonstrated and occupied high schools in Santiago demanding the maintenance of free education.
Jul	"Governmental crisis (resignation of coalition partner) which is solved in the end of the month with the coalition being redesigned after PR pushed for a Grand Coalition (PS, PSD, CDS); Vote of no confidence by the Greens"	Research Fellows and Research Fellowship Candidates delivered a petition (4000 signatures), promoted by ABIC (Associação dos Bolseiros de Investigação Científica) contesting the delay regarding the doctoral grant contest and the cuts in Research Funding.	
Aug	"Constitutional Court considers cuts proposed by the government unconstitutional; PM threats with a new bailout"		
Sep			
Oct	**Local elections**: PS winning more Municipalities; CGTP demonstration in Lisbon;	AAC delivered a freezer to the University of Coimbra's rectorate in protest against the increase of tuition fees; AAUBI organised a demonstration (100) and demanded the revision of the new criteria regulating scholarship application regulation.	In France, Parisian high school students have closed 14 schools in protest against the expulsion of students who were illegal immigrants, demanding the demission of the minister of the Interior, Manuel Valls. In Italy, thousands (50000-70000) protested in Rome against austerity. In Spain, "[second] General Strike in the Education sector against LOMCE". Nevertheless, LOMCE is approved.
Nov	"Budget for 2014 approved; Public sector general strike (support from both trade unions) and demonstration (50000)"	Hundreds of HE students demonstrated before the Portuguese Parliament against the cuts in the funding of the	In Ukraine, university students called for a national strike and joined the pro-European rally in Kiev's Independence Square in protest against the President Viktor Yanukovych's decision to suspend the signing of the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement which would lead to a major political crisis (these rallies and demonstrations would be known as *Euromaidan* and would last until February 2014,

		public subsystem of HE – PCP and BE expressed solidarity with the students' cause.	when the Agreement on settlement of political crisis in Ukraine was signed by the President and the opposition leaders). In Spain, "1,7 million signatures are collected against LOMCE".
Dec	"Constitutional Court considers cuts proposed by the government unconstitutional"		
2014			
Jan	"Standard and Poor's takes Portugal out of observation; BE, Greens and PCP ask for supervision of 2014 Budget; Convergence on the left fails; Strike at 'Linha de Saúde 24' (precarious health workers)"	Research Fellows and Research Fellowship Candidates (1000) demonstrated, in a demonstration called by ABIC, against the cuts in doctoral and post-doc FCT grants (*Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia*).	
Feb			The Agreement on settlement of political crisis in Ukraine was signed by the Ukrainian President and the opposition leaders.
Mar		On Student's Day (March 24), AAC and FAP launched the 'Higher Education's Complaints Book' contesting the cuts in the public funding of HE.	In Spain, "a student strike starts with demonstrations in 50 cities, protesting against budget cuts in education, the LOMCE law, the low quality of education and the dismissal of thousands of teachers: about 50 people were detained by police"
Apr			
May	"End of the Bailout programme without additional assistance required; Constitutional Court declares measures proposed at the OE2014 unconstitutional"		
Jun			
Jul	"Constitutional Court approves CES (extraordinary contribution of solidarity)		
Aug	Intervention in *Banco Espírito Santo* (BES), one of Portugal's main banks.		
Sep	"New leadership in the PS (António Costa)"		In Hong Kong, student protests against the Chinese government decision to condition the election of Hong Kong's next local executive chief begin. Initially, students called for a one-week school strike and

			protests have escalated when, from late September, protestors have begun to occupy public squares.
Oct	"Minimum wage rises; Inquiry Commission to the BES starts and lasts until May"		
Nov	"BE convention: Catarina Martins remains the sole coordinator of the party; former PM José Socrates is arrested under the suspicion of corruption"		
Dec			
2015			
Jan			
Feb			
Mar		On Student's Day (March 24), university students (400) demonstrated in Coimbra and demanded for more funding and improved social action for HE.	In South Africa, students from the University of Cape Town demanded the removal of Cecil Rhodes's statue from the campus (this protest movement would later be known as the *Rhodes Must Fall* movement).
Apr			
May			
Jun			
Jul			
Aug			
Sep			
Oct	**General Elections**: right-wing coalition gets more votes, but left wing parties hold the majority in parliament leading to a pact in the following months		In South Africa, the **#FeesMustFall** student movement protested against the increase in tuition fees and demanded more public funding to universities (the student movement managed to force the South African government to retreat in its decision to increase tuition fees for the 2016 academic year).
Nov			
Dec			

Sources: *Carvalho (2018, pp. 202–211); Cini and Guzmán-Concha (2017); Ancelovici & Guzmán-Concha (2019); Cini (2019); della Porta et al. (2020); Público.*