

**Protest Activity in the British Student Movement,  
1945 to 2011**

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2015

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**Word Count: 80,075**

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## List of Acronyms

AAM – Anti-Apartheid Movement  
BME – Black and Minority Ethnic  
CFE – Campaign for Education  
CND – Campaign against Nuclear Disarmament  
GLF – Gay Liberation Front  
IMG – International Marxist Group  
IS – International Socialists  
ISC - International Student Conference  
IUS – International Union of Students  
LGBT – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans\*  
LSE – London School of Economics  
LSESU – London School of Economics Student Union  
MUSU – Manchester University Students’ Union  
NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations  
NLF – National Liberation Front  
NSM – New Social Movement  
NUS – National Union of Students  
PP – Political Processes Theory  
RAG – Raising and Giving  
RCP – Revolutionary Communist Party  
RMT – Resource Mobilisation Theory  
RSA – Radical Student Alliance  
RSSF – Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation  
Soc.Soc – Socialist Society  
SWP – Socialist Workers Party  
SWSS – Socialists Workers Student Society  
UMSU – University of Manchester Students’ Union

UoM – University of Manchester

VSC – Vietnam Solidarity Campaign

AWL – Alliance for Workers' Liberty

## Abstract

This thesis examines the historical pattern of protest activity involving students from the University of Manchester and the London School of Economics between the academic years 1945/46 and 2010/11. Gathered through a protest event analysis of the universities' student press, quantitative protest event data is presented that establishes a continuous pattern of protest activity at both institutions from the mid-fifties onwards. Adding to a small body of scholarship on student activism beyond the sixties epoch, the thesis challenges the assumption that student protest peaked in the late sixties, which currently dominates the student protest literature. The decade's wave of student unrest is widely presented as exceptional and unprecedented, a golden age of student protest, casting non-sixties student generations as politically apathetic. The quantitative data refutes these claims, demonstrating an ongoing history of student protest on both campuses that sets precedent for the sixties mobilisations and undermines the idea that student apathy is pervasive on the post-sixties university campus. Between 1945/46 and 2010/11, University of Manchester students are involved in 840 protest events, while London School of Economics students participate in 505 protest events, a combined total of 1345 protest events.

Using qualitative data drawn from the student press and other archival materials alongside the numeric data, the thesis argues that the British student unrest in the sixties had precedent in the fifties and early sixties, noting tactical and ideological similarities. Further, the thesis refutes the student apathy narrative using protest activity as evidence of student political participation, but also pointing to student engagement in formal and informal political activity, such as political party membership, voluntary action and campaigning for NGOs and pressure groups. Echoing studies on youth political participation, the thesis finds that students remain politically engaged across the twentieth and twenty-first century.

Drawing together social movement theory with insights from the archival materials and student press, the thesis identifies factors contributing to the emergence, decline and survival of student protest activity at the University of Manchester and London School of Economics. The thesis establishes that progressive political and social values, student produced movement frames, access to resources on campus, political opportunities and campus activist networks interact to facilitate the emergence of student unrest. It also demonstrates that political factionalism and some forms of authority responses to unrest are key factors in declines in student protest activity. The thesis argues that attempts at co-optation and repression by the state and the university, normally understood to prompt declines in protest, may actually provoke further activity amongst students. Applying Nella Van Dyke's theory of 'hotbeds of activism' to the British context (1998), the thesis argues protest activity survives across the timeframe, because both universities have developed student activist networks and subcultures that maintain the traditions and practices of activism on campus. Activist expertise is transferred between student generations through the student unions, student societies and informal groupings, ensuring that the campus activist networks are primed to seize opportunities for protest activity on and off campus.



## Declaration

That no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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## Author

The author has completed a BA in Education Studies and English at Keele University and a MSc in Sociological Research at the University of Manchester. Her undergraduate dissertation was entitled 'Gender, Identity and Subject Choice' and explored undergraduate women's subject choice in higher education. Her MSc dissertation was entitled British Student Protest Activity, 1990-2010 and explored student protest at the University of Manchester. Over the course of the PhD, the author has undertaken various research internships and placements with the United Nations.

## Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Nick Crossley and Kevin Gillan, for their support and guidance throughout the PhD process. I have greatly appreciated their constant support, encouragement and assistance in all that I have done over the last five years. This thesis would not have happened without them. Thank you for your patience.

No Sociology PhD at Manchester is ever completed without the support of the wonderful Ann Cronley. I would not have completed without Ann's advice and help. Thank you so much for everything that you have done for me. No amount of chocolate will ever express my thanks.

A special thanks must also go to the University of Manchester Archives team, led by Dr. James Peters, who have pulled boxes of newspapers and materials off the shelves countless times for me. The archives are a very special place, where I have loved working. Thank you for making that possible. I am indebted to Janet Wallwork and Graeme Johnson for their insights into student protest and the British Left. An extra thank you to Catherine Smith and Karen Jacques, who always make it a pleasure to visit the archives.

Thank you to the all-round awesome and hardworking Trish McGarth, who with Khalil Secker and the UMSU Exec Team 2012/2013 gifted me the materials that form the personal collection used here.

My PhD buddies, Josh Richards and Lydia Reid, have been so helpful to this process. They have been great friends to have on the PhD journey. Thank you. My UN ladies also deserve a mention here. Many thanks to Hannah Cao, Min Ong and Isabelle Fraenkel Glaser, who are all awesome and inspirational women. An extra thank you to Emma Zhao, who is a calming influence. My life would be very boring without you all. Thanks also to JB; long may our friendship continue.

Thank you to my PhD peers and the members of the Social Movement Reading Group.

Thank you also to Celia Last, who provided the bag I carried the bound copies in and who has been so supportive and kind. Thanks to Joanne Tippet for her support, advice and kindness over the last two years as well.

Three inspirational women have been central to this PhD and my future. My thanks is extended to them. To Laetitia Zobel, for work, encouragement and instilling a love of Kenya. You are amazing and I am so grateful you took chances on me. I hope they paid off. To the talented Sherrie Mayer, my heartfelt thanks for your support, encouragement and teaching. I will be aspiring to be a teacher like you. Finally, to my sister, for everything.

Thank you also to Danny Tang, whose alphabetising is brilliant. I promise it is over. Thank you to Daddy Tang for some very welcome food deliveries. I must also thank my families for their support and assistance to getting to this point.

Thank you to the numerous students who have talked to me about their activism and protest experiences since 2010. Their insights into factionalism and disillusionment have been particularly helpful. I am especially grateful to Hannah Paterson, Tabz O'Brien-Butcher, Sarah Kerton, Grace Skelton and Wanda Canton for their expertise. Thanks also to some radical otters, a Dan and many anti-cuts/fees activists.

Thank you to the multiple student generations, whose activism has made this research possible. This thesis would not exist without you.

## Chapter 1. Introductory Chapter

In February 1355, a bloody three-day riot, which saw libraries ransacked, manuscripts burnt and street battles pitched between Oxford residents and students, left ninety dead. The St. Scholastica Day Riot remains the most deadly student protest in British history. While Oxford scholars commemorated their 'victory' until 1825, it is not this violent protest over sour wine and stale bread that is remembered in the chronicles of British student politics (Janin, 2008). Instead, it is events some six hundreds later, which have become synonymous with student radicalism. The sixties, when university students from Tokyo to Washington, Paris to Seoul, Berlin to Mexico City took to the streets, are remembered as the 'golden age' of student protest (Barker, 2001, DeGroot, 1998, 2008, Hanna, 2013, Hoefflerle, 2013). The decade dominates popular and academic narratives about student protest at the expense of research into more recent student mobilisations.

The international sixties student movement was remarkable. The geographical scope and scale of unrest render the decade's student protest important "in terms of magnitude" alone (Hanna, 2013, 10, Edelman-Boren, 2001). Further, the rhetorical and tactical radicalism that ran through several national movements emerged at a time when commentators thought political movements and radicalism were done with in the West (Lipsett, 1960, Flacks, 1967, Addison, 1994). However, the exceptionality of the sixties global student revolt has been overstated. The dominant narrative about student protest focuses almost solely on the sixties, emphasising the decade's alleged exceptional and unprecedented status and overlooking evidence of campus unrest and activism before and since. Ignoring historical examples of student activism, including political radicalism in the thirties and protest activity in the fifties, the sixties student protest narrative insists that there was no immediate precedent for the sixties student protest cycle. The sixties student generation are cast as the first (and only) to concern themselves with social justice and political change. Buying into popular and academic nostalgia for a period where the world seemed on the brink of revolution, the narrative maintains the decade's status as the golden age of student protest. Interacting with the student apathy narrative, which laments modern students alleged political, social and cultural disinterest, the sixties student protest narrative casts previous and subsequent student generations as political and socially

apathetic. The narratives exclude the possibility of ongoing and sustained student activism, explaining more recent high profile protest activity as spontaneous explosions in response to suddenly imposed grievances (Hoefflerle, 2013, Hanna, 2012).

Anecdotal and academic evidence contradict both narratives (Savage, 1962, Simon, 1987, Van Dyke, 2012, Davies, 2010, Day, 2012, Brewis, 2014). However, there is a lack of empirical or theoretical scholarship on mobilisations beyond the sixties, which makes these narratives difficult to effectively refute. The sociological and historical literature on student activism is heavily biased towards the sixties, reflecting popular interest in the decade (DeGroot, 2008). The gaps in the literature create two key problems. Firstly, there is only limited knowledge of student activism, radicalism and protest beyond the sixties epoch in any national context. The limited scholarship leaves a gap in the quantitative and qualitative understanding of student movement activity. There is little to no data on the student movements' organisational forms, tactics and issues outside the sixties (exceptions are Soule, 1997, Wood, 1998, Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012). Knowledge about the levels of protest activity engaged in by students is sparse, meaning that comparative work with the sixties is difficult. Further, the lack of empirical data feeds the sixties student protest narrative by creating the possibly flawed impression that student protest first emerged and peaked in the decade. Very few longitudinal studies have been completed (see Van Dyke, 1998, 2003), leaving a poor understanding of the pattern of student protest activity across time and how the student movements have developed. Secondly, with a few notable exceptions (e.g. Soule, 1997, Van Dyke, 1998, 2003, Crossley, 2008, Crossley, 2013, Dixon et al, 2008, Hensby, 2014), recent developments in the social movement literature have not been applied to the student movement in any national context. Student activism has been under-researched and under-theorised, leaving a poor understanding of the shape of contemporary student movements and their historical development.

The British student movement has been particularly neglected in the literature on student protest and activism (Hanna, 2008, 2012, Thomas, 2002). Although experiencing considerable campus unrest, the sixties British student movement has received less academic attention, often judged as less significant and interesting than the European and American movements (Thomas, 1996, Ellis, 1998, Marwick, 1998, Donnelly, 2005, Hanna,

2008). Mobilisations beyond the sixties epoch are also under-researched with the literature dominated by a sense that pre-sixties British students were too sober and serious to be political radicals and that subsequent generations are acutely apathetic (Hoefferele, 2013, Hanna, 2013, 2012, Brewis, 2014). The limited body of research leaves a gap in understanding and knowledge about the British student movement and its historical development, which this thesis seeks to address. Focusing on British student protest between academic year 1945/46 and 2010/11 provides an insight into an often overlooked national site of student rebellion and radicalism.

This thesis addresses the gaps in the literature outlined above by providing quantitative and qualitative data on student protest at the University of Manchester and the London School of Economics between academic years 1945/46 and 2010/11. It also explores various strands of social movement theory in relation to the pattern of student protest emergent at both institutions. Explanatory factors for the emergence and decline of student protest activity across time are identified, drawing together the relevant social movement theory with qualitative detail from the primary archival sources. The thesis also notes the continuity of student activism on both campuses. Drawing together Verta Taylor's theory of social movement abeyance and Nella Van Dyke's concept of 'hotbeds of activism', the thesis argues that the University of Manchester and London School of Economics possess their own unique activist subcultures which maintain the traditions and practices of protest on each campus (Taylor, 1987, Van Dyke, 1998). Further, it offers empirically grounded challenges to the sixties student protest and student apathy narratives. It establishes precedent for the student activism that emerged in the late sixties, although it also emphasises that sixties student protest has an important and transformative impact on the British student movement. It also demonstrates that political participation by students, including activism and protest, are constant features of university life, challenging the student apathy narrative's insistence that post-sixties student generations are selfish, apathetic hedonists and careerists. This introductory chapter outlines the research concerns addressed here, noting in more detail the gaps in the student protest literature and justifying the choice to explore student protest in the British context.



## Identifying Gaps in the Student Protest Literature

Two main gaps in the literature on student protest can be identified. Firstly, the literature is heavily focused on the sixties at the expense of historical and more recent waves of protest. Student protest is perceived as virtually non-existent beyond the sixties, particularly in subsequent student generations and often receives little media attention (Levine and Wilson, 1971, Rootes, 2000, Baldock, 1997, Hoefflerle, 2013). Secondly, the British student movement has been comparatively under-researched (Hanna, 2008, Ellis, 1998, Thomas, 1996, 2002). Much of the literature treats the sixties British movement as “a storm in a teacup” (Author Unknown, 1968). Existing literature insists that British students lacked the real grievances, ideological commitment and tactical radicalism of their European and American peers (Brown, 1969, Marwick, 1998, Hanna, 2013). Further, there is a long-running assumption that British unrest can be explained by the American and European movements, which overlooks the distinctive characteristics and grievances of the British unrest (Hanna, 2008, 2013). Although recent considerations address these problems, they reflect the wider literature bias towards the sixties (Thomas, 1996, Ellis, 1998, 2014, Hanna, 2012, 2013 and Hoefflerle, 2013). With a few notable exceptions (e.g. Simon, 1987, Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012, Ibrahim, 2011, 2014, Hensby, 2014), British student protest in other decades has received less academic attention.

Interwoven into the academic and popular discussions about university students is the student apathy narrative, which casts post-sixties student generations as politically and socially disengaged. Lamenting the supposed dramatic drop in formal and informal political participation by students internationally after the sixties, the narrative feeds the literature bias towards the sixties (Levine and Wilson, 1971, Baldock, 1997, Soule, 2001, Henn et al, 2002, Hanna, 2008, Hoefflerle, 2013). It supports misconceptions that the sixties were an unprecedented and unrepeated period of sustained activism by emphasising political apathy as the pervasive norm on university campuses in more recent decades (Baldock, 1997, Barker, 2001, Anderson, 2010). The dominance of this narrative contributes to a key problem in the existing literature, the dearth of in-depth and longitudinal scholarship into student protest beyond the sixties epoch.

The existing literature on student movements and protest focuses on the sixties (Bakke, 1967, Altbach, 1967, Halsey and Marks, 1968, Ferguson, 1970, Fraser, 1988). Several detailed studies examine the French, German, Italian and American student movements, outlining the causes of student discontent and identifying the tactics, organisational forms and issues of these national movements (Fraser, 1988, Tarrow, 1989, Anderson, 1996, DeGroot, 1998, 2008, Quattrocchi and Nairn, 1998, Freeman, 2004, Marshall, 2006, Klimke and Scharloth, 2008). Other national movements in the sixties have also received attention, although not in the same depth as the American and Western European movements (Boston University, 2003, Mabry, 1998, Christiansen and Scarlett, 2012, Edelman-Boren, 2001). Interest in the decade has endured and shows no sign of abating. The academic and popular attention that the sixties student movement attracts reflects the decade's perceived significance as a watershed moment, in the West at least (Hanna, 2013). The sixties marks a shift in social values and norms towards a more progressive and permissive social structure (Thomas, 2008a, Horn, 2009, DeGroot, 2008). The focus comes at the expense of scholarship into student movements and protest beyond the sixties epoch. It is a significant gap in the literature that limits knowledge and understanding. Further, it fuels a populist misconception of the sixties student movement as the first sustained period of student unrest and activism (Barnett, 2010); an idea not borne out by the historical and anecdotal evidence (Day, 2012, Davies, 2010, Van Dyke, 2012).

Overlooked in the current literature are historic and recent examples of student protest activity. Medieval European university records provide details of early student dissent and discontent with student complaints divided between disputes with faculty and protests about food and lodgings (Janin, 2008, Halsey and Marks, 1968, Daly, 1961). Medieval Bologna's faculty feared their student body, which used an early form of lecture boycotts to punish poor teaching quality (Janin, 2008). 'Town and gown' disputes about food and accommodation in university cities were more frequent than discord between students and the universities (Janin, 2008, Cobban, 1999, Daly, 1961). Food and teaching quality remain core student concerns into the modern age. Harvard students staged a walkout over the serving of rancid butter in their dining hall in 1766 (Johnston, 1998, Geoghegan, 1969). In the early nineteenth century, London medical students launched a sustained campaign for an updated anatomy curriculum and better teaching (Ashby and Anderson, 1970).

More immediate precedent for the sixties student movement can be found in the activism and radicalism of the thirties (Keniston, 1967, Simon, 1987, Brewis, 2014). In Britain, the thirties saw the formalisation of socialist student societies, whose members spanned the left-wing political traditions (Simon, 1987). Simon notes the development of an anti-war movement at British universities in the early thirties, but also traces student support for the British labour movement and republican forces in the Spanish Civil War (Simon, 1987, Brewis, 2014). Mass mobilisations also met propaganda visits by Oswald Mosely, an early demonstration of anti-fascist sentiment in the British student movement (Simon, 1987). There are important distinctions between the two decades. The sixties student movement is closely connected to the New Left, which rejected some of the political and theoretical positions and practices of the 'Old' Left that had influenced the thirties student generation (Hanna, 2012, 2013). However, the thirties are a clear precedent for the later action, prefiguring the political and issue diversity of the sixties student movement.

Further precedent can found in British students' political engagement and activism during the forties and fifties. Responding to emergent political and social causes, British students participated and organised a handful of protest events in these decades (Hoefflerle, 2013, Prince, 2007, see also Chapter 4). Hoefflerle and Parkin note that students and young people formed a significant portion of participants in protest activity by the newly formed Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in the fifties (Parkins 1968, Hoefflerle, 2013). Students also expressed complaints about their universities and objected to governmental policy through protest activity (Hoefflerle, 2013). Student political participation extended beyond the informality of social movement activism and protest in these decades. In the immediate post-war period, British students were concerned with ensuring a lasting peace and participated in efforts to build international cooperation and understanding amongst students (Brewis, 2014, Savage, 1962). The National Union of Students (NUS) represented British students in the two international student organisations formed after the war, the International Union of Students (IUS) and International Student Conference (ISC) (Brewis, 2014). These organisations held regular meetings, focused on establishing commonalities and increasing understanding, but also arranged country visits, work camps and volunteering exchanges that were all designed to build the international student community. On the home front, British students were deeply concerned with social

inequalities, particularly with the educational and economic fault lines that prevented bright working class young people entering higher education (Brewis, 2014, Savage, 1962, NUS, 1942, NUS, 1957). Their engagement was more theoretical than practical, although many students participated in fundraising activities, such as RAG, and voluntary action to support disadvantaged local communities (Brewis, 2014).

These historic examples are often overlooked, although recent historical studies have turned attention to the fifties and its influence on the sixties mobilisation (Thomas, 1996, Prince, 2007, Hoefflerle, 2013). Also missing from the literature are detailed considerations of post-sixties mobilisations. The literature echoes the student apathy narrative, considering student protest to be virtually non-existent beyond the sixties (Levine and Wilson, 1971, Hanna, 2012, 2013). More recent protests are dismissed as sporadic and grievance based with apathy being the default setting of the British undergraduate (Hoefflerle, 2013, Baldock, 1997, Anderson, 2010, Yezza, 2009). Yet, there is evidence that student activism and protest is an ongoing feature of university life (Davies, 2010, Van Dyke, 2012). Recent mobilisations have attracted some academic exploration, but post-sixties student protest remains under-researched (Crossley, 2008, Ibrahim, 2011, 2014, Rheingans and Hollands, 2013, Hensby, 2014, see also Soule, 1997 and Wood, 1998). There is a significant gap in the empirical knowledge about student movements. With the exception of work by Van Dyke, there are virtually no records on the frequency of student protest activity in any decade (Van Dyke, 1998, 2003). For most national contexts and university campuses, there is no information on the number of protest events in any academic year or decade. The poor numeric data on protest activity levels reflects a wider dearth of information on tactical repertoires, issues and organisational forms in student movements. The lack of empirical and analytical exploration means that there is a poor understanding of contemporary student movements.

A second gap in the literature is the lack of attention paid to the British student movement. Echoing the first gap, the existing literature overwhelmingly focuses on the sixties (Kidd, 1969, Crouch, 1970, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969, Ellis, 1998, Marwick, 1998, Thomas, 1996). There is also limited empirical and theoretical work on more recent mobilisations (Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012, Guerrini, 2007, Rheingans and Hollands, 2013, Hensby, 2014). Two main trends have developed in the literature concerned with British

student protest in the sixties. Firstly, there is a generalisation “that what we ‘know’ and can explain in other European countries, or even globally, will also cover the English experience” (Hanna, 2013, 2). This assumption is rooted in the second trend, which treats the sixties British student movement as mere “echoes of the storm” raging in Europe and the USA (Marwick, 1998, 585 cited in Hanna, 2008, 1542, see also Thomas, 2008a). It is a ‘copy-cat’ movement, imitating the radicalism and militancy witnessed elsewhere (Ellis, 1998, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1969). British students are criticised as lacking real grievances; they are characterised as borrowing their grievances, tactics and ideologies from their international counterparts (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1969, Brown, 1969, Hoefflerle, 2013). This dominant characterisation is at odds with student accounts of the decade and with recent considerations, which all reveal a vibrant, radical movement (Crouch, 1970, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969, Ellis, 1998, Hanna, 2012, 2013, Hoefflerle, 2013). Student unrest emerged on multiple university and college campuses with students offering challenges to their institutions, social norms and the state. They protested against Vietnam and nuclear weapons, objected to petty and gendered restrictions in halls of residence and pushed back against social values that legitimised homophobia, racism and sexism.

These accounts provide an important counter-narrative to the dominant and negative characterisations of the sixties British student movement. However, their shared practice of exploring the student protest creates problems that this thesis seeks to address. Firstly, the literature relies on case studies and the use of example events, which are excellent for demonstrating the geographical spread of British student protest and provide insight into specific events. However, these approaches do not systematically record student protest events, meaning that no accurate picture of protest activity levels in sixties Britain has been collated. The literature provides no numeric data on the levels of protest activity for the entire movement or a specific university in this period. No studies record the number of protest events in a particular year or on a particular campus. Hanna notes that *The Times Index* records some 700 protest events involving students in England between 1968 and 1970, but no attempt is made to break this figure down by issue, tactic or university (Hanna, 2013). This lack of empirical data on protest activity means that there is no real knowledge of protest activity levels or how they have changed across time. Student movement literature assumes that the sixties is the peak of protest activity on university campuses, but

it is impossible to support or refute this assumption. Without numeric data on student protest events in the sixties or any other decade in Britain, it is impossible to assert the importance of any one year or draw accurate comparisons.

Secondly, Hanna and Hoefflerle echo many accounts of student protest in asserting the pervasive apathy of post-sixties generations (Hanna, 2013, 2012, Hoefflerle, 2013). Hoefflerle traces protest activity in the fifties, seeing student engagement with CND and other protest events as influencing the emergence of the sixties protest wave. Despite this acknowledgement of the historic existence of student protest, Hoefflerle dismisses subsequent student generations as apathetic and disengaged (Hoefflerle, 2013). She is joined by Hanna in marking the end of the British student movement in the mid-seventies, with both arguing that protest and movement activity rapidly drops off (Hoefflerle, 2013, Hanna, 2013). Both overlook anecdotal and media evidence of sustained student protest activity in the eighties, perhaps reflecting the fading of student contention from collective public memory (Rootes, 2000). Their insistence that post-sixties students are apathetic is typical of the student movement literature, which has discounted recent mobilisations either explicitly or through negligence. As outlined above, this is a significant gap in the literature as it results in a poor understanding of the contemporary student movement, which is very much alive and active, and its historic development.

Finally, there have been few longitudinal explorations of student movements with Nella Van Dyke's work being a rare exception (Van Dyke, 1998). Caroline Hoefflerle's *British Student Activism in the Long Sixties* explores student activism from 1956 to 1975, but focuses heavily on explaining the sixties (Hoefflerle, 2013). There are no studies on the British movement that adopt a longitudinal look beyond the sixties epoch. A longitudinal study of student protest would enable a consideration of the historical development of protest. Further, such studies could be used to address the lack of empirical and theoretical work on mobilisations beyond the sixties.

## Aims of Research

The central research aim of this thesis is:

*To establish the pattern of protest activity between academic year 1945/46 and 2010/11 at the University of Manchester (UoM) and London School of Economics (LSE) and to explore using student produced documentary sources how protest activity emerges, declines and survives.*

The thesis offers a longitudinal exploration of protest activity at two British universities, UoM and LSE. It establishes a record of student protest activity between academic year 1945/46 and 2010/11 using quantitative protest event data collected from archived student newspapers. While Nella Van Dyke and the *Dynamics of Collective Action* project offer a historical record of protest in America, capturing student protest, this is the first record created for the British student movement (Van Dyke, 1998, Wang, 2009). Using the protest event data and qualitative data drawn from the student press and archived student materials, the thesis brings together social movement studies and other sociological theories to identify the factors that contribute to the emergence, decline and survival of student protest at these two institutions.

## Research Design

The research here has two purposes. It seeks to establish a numeric record of protest and to explore how and why protest activity emerges, declines and survives across time.

Addressing these distinct, but related purposes requires a mixed method approach that enables the collection of relevant quantitative and qualitative data. With the project's historical focus, it is necessary to select methods and sources which provide accurate insight and detail. Social research has favoured documentary sources for historical research as they provide access to contemporary accounts, which offer factual data and contextual detail (Hanna, 2013, Bryman, 2001, Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Many archived documents concern themselves with the student experience, capturing detail on student protest, but student produced publications are best placed to provide insight and detail from the perspective of student activists. The thesis has drawn from archived materials held at UoM and LSE and from a personal collection of NUS documents gifted to the researcher

by the University of Manchester Students Union. The primary documentary source has been the student press at both institutions, which is an excellent source of longitudinal data. Student newspapers have been mined for numeric data on protest events, which has been used to establish the pattern of protest activity at UoM and LSE. With other archived documents, the student press has also provided empirical and contextual detail on the shared beliefs, values and ideologies, tactical forms, protest issues and frames used by student activists at both institutions.

A mixed method approach has been used to gather the quantitative and qualitative data used here. The main data collection method, protest event analysis, is a “systematic means of documenting protest events” using data drawn from newspapers (Rootes, 2000, 26). A specialised form of content analysis, it transforms textual information on protest into numeric data that can be used to measure the frequency and intensity of protest activity within a given time frame (Bryman, 2001, Franzosi, 1989, Rootes, 2000). The method can be used to chart the rise(s) and fall(s) of a social movement or contentious issue by identifying the number of related protest events (Rootes, 2004, 2000). Qualitative protest event data as well as other relevant empirical and contextual detail about protest, activism and political engagement has been mined from the consulted archival materials.

### Timeframe

This thesis explores student protest activity between 1945/46 and 2010/11. This timeframe was selected, because it allowed a key gap in the existing literature to be addressed. The timeframe enables the exploration of student protest beyond the sixties epoch. The longitudinal analysis provides insight into the contemporary state of student protest and its historic development since the sixties protest cycle. Further, by examining activity before the sixties cycle, the thesis traces the influence that earlier participation in social movements and engagement with political and social affairs has on the sixties protest. The start point of academic year 1945/46 is rather arbitrary. The study could equally have started in 1950/51, which would have provided a 15 year period before the recognised start of the sixties protest cycle in Britain in 1967 (Hanna, 2013, Ellis, 1998). This start date would have had equal analytical worth. However, 1945 is widely perceived as a shift in political, social and cultural interactions in the West (Addison, 1994, Horn, 2009). Historical works



after often divided by this year, because it is widely seen as a key turning point in modern history. It also provides a nice temporal boundary. The timeframe could have been extended back to the thirties, which has been documented as a period of unrest and activism on British universities campuses (Simon, 1987, Brewis, 2014). However, archival material for this period is less comprehensive and more disparate than for the post-1945 world.

### Cases

Two universities were selected to be the sites of investigation for the research problems addressed here. Only two have been covered, because the in-depth and longitudinal exploration of protest at two sites was practical within the timeframe of a PhD. To make the research meaningful, the selected universities had to meet several criteria, which are outlined in more detail in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3). To be considered, the institutions had to have documented histories of student unrest during the sixties, recent evidence of activism and archived collections of their student press, covering the entire timeframe. It was important that the institutions had histories of activism, because the research is focused on explaining campus unrest across the twentieth century.

An additional criteria was also applied. The project seeks to explore the longitudinal nature of protest activity in Britain, including establishing the existence of pre-sixties student protest activity and its influence (if any) on the sixties protest wave (Hoefflerle, 2013, Prince, 2007). The selected universities therefore needed to hold university status prior to 1960 to enable the charting of any protest activity on those campuses. This criteria excluded the 'plate-glass universities', founded after 1960, which were key sites of unrest and contention in the late sixties, namely the universities of Warwick, Sussex and Essex (Beloff, 1968, Fraser, 1988, Thompson, 1970, Crouch, 1970).

The UoM and LSE were selected, because they meet these criteria. They have reputations as sites of student protest and unrest, which indicate ongoing contention and political engagement on campus. Further, both possess a well-archived collection of newspapers produced by students covering the timeframe. The availability of an archived student press collection was vital for this research as the numeric data sought can only be accurately

collected via documentary sources. Alternative social movement research methods would not provide the necessary quantitative data to create a reasonably accurate record of protest event activity. Further, the student press is a rich, vibrant source of information relevant to the study of movements that has been utilised to answer further questions about student protest.

### Research Questions

**What pattern of student protest activity emerges at the UoM and LSE between 1945/46 and 2009/10?**

**What factors can be identified as contributing to the emergence and decline of student protest activity at UoM and LSE?**

**How is student protest activity sustained on the university campus across time?**

### Theoretical Framework

Social movement studies provides a range of theoretical traditions that seek to explain protest and movement activity. Following Esmee Hanna, this thesis has adopted a holistic approach to the theoretical framework (Hanna, 2012, 2013). It draws together the useful explanatory features of several theories posited in the movement literature to develop an explanation of protest activity at UoM and LSE. The thesis makes considerable use of Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT), Political Processes theory (PP) and ideas about the role of social networks in activism. It also applies Van Dyke's concept of 'hotbeds of activism' to explain student protest continuity across the timeframe, drawing together Taylor's social movement abeyance theory to demonstrate how activist subcultures and networks maintain the traditions and practices of activism at LSE and UoM between academic years 1946/45 and 2010/11 (Van Dyke, 1998, Taylor, 1987).

Tarrow's cycles of protest theory makes a useful contribution to the theoretical literature that frames the understanding of protest activity that is offered in this thesis (Tarrow, 1998). Social movements and protest are presented as constant features of society, but Tarrow argues that society experiences cycles of protest. During these cycles, multiple movements emerge together with protest activity rising as these social movements articulate claims and

demands through collective action (Tarrow, 1998, McAdam, 1995). Rooted in the PP tradition, Tarrow understands cycles of protest emerging in response to shifts in the political context making space for movements' claims to be aired and heard and so understands contractions to this space as contributing to the eventual decline of cycles. What Tarrow is articulating is the rise and fall of protest activity by social movements across time. Not only is protest a constant, if fluctuating feature of society, Tarrow understands social movements as continuous, experiencing periods of high and low visibility, activity and impact. For Tarrow, each new mobilisation by a social movement has links to earlier mobilisations; for example Tarrow would likely accept Rupp and Taylor's idea that second wave feminism has roots in first wave feminism (Rupp and Taylor, 1987). Tarrow's theory of protest cycles provides a framework for recognising and exploring movement and protest continuity. The data presented here reveals a continuous pattern of protest activity and Tarrow's cycles of protest provides a descriptive framework to explain that protest.

### Definitions and Assumptions

The thesis starts with the assumption that the student movement is a social movement (Van Dyke, 2003). However, it recognises that the student movement engages in activity beyond the immediate interests of its primary participants. The student movement is not a single issue movement, concerned only with advancing the claims and demands of university students, although much of its movement and protest activity is directed towards these goals. Most social movements interact with other social movements, even forming coalitions and mobilising together to advanced shared goals and aims (Davis and Zald, 2005, Van Dyke and McCammon, 2010). Western student movements have routinely engaged in other social movements claim-making and protest activity (Soule, 1997, Ellis, 1998, Davies, 2010). They not only participate directly in other movements, engaging in protest actions organised by non-student organisations, but also organise their own collective actions to advance the goals and aims of movements. Sometimes there are obvious and strong connections between students and the movement, for example, women students have much to gain from advancing the feminisms goals on and off campus. At other times, there is no such connection and students act not as potential beneficiaries, but as concerned citizens and peoples committed to advancing social justice and equality.

Student movements are not politically homogenous though. Although closely associated with left-wing politics, most student movements comprise formal organisations and informal groupings that cover the full political spectrum. On British university campuses, the mainstream political parties have been historically well represented as student societies, while various left-wing organisations like the Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Party are also represented as societies (Simon, 1987, Crouch, 1970, Evans, 1996, LSESU, 2015b, LUU, 2015). Less formal political networks also emerge around societies and groups connected to other social movements, such as campus women's groups and LGBT societies. These societies, groups and networks represent conflicting political positions, but all form part of the British student movement, because they are all engaged in activities that contribute to campus politics and activism. They recruit, educate and campaign on and off campus and participate in protest activity; even Conservative students have coordinated protests (*Hardy, 1974, Barham and Jelleyman, 2003*). Further, political societies are also active in student union politics with their members acting as elected officers and as participants in General Meetings and Union Council meetings. This thesis starts from the position that political diversity is normal within the student movement and that all political groups on university campuses engage in social movement activities in some way thus contributing to the wider student movement.

The definition of social movements developed by Della Porta and Diani is used here. Social movements "are involved in conflict relations with clearly identified opponents" and are linked through informal, but dense, networks of individuals, groups and formal and informal organisations (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, 20). The social movement and its adherents share a collective identity and certain beliefs, values and goals (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Della Porta and Diani also note that movement conflict with opponents takes the form of collective protest, although movement activity can also include engagement in institutional processes and educational, cultural and social activities (Crossley, 2002). The student movement in Britain and beyond fits this definition, engaging in collective action to advance a broad range of goals rooted in a shared belief in social justice and equality (Keniston, 1967). Not all students participate in student protest and campaign activity, but those that do are bound by a shared collective identity as 'student activists'. The student movement is

a vague term that encompasses at once the entire student population and just student activists, which can be confusing. Here, student movement refers only to student activism at the national level. Campus level activity will be described either as campus student activism or with reference to the UoM or LSE.

Della Porta and Diani use 'opponents' to describe the targets of social movements, which recognises that movements bring challenges against non-state targets. In other definitions, the state, its institutions and associated elites are often considered the primary targets of social movement action (Tilly, 1999, 257, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001, 5). This focus is understandable as many movements, including student movements, direct their contention towards the state, which is able to implement movement demands for legislative and policy reforms (Van Dyke, Soule and Taylor, 2004). However, Van Dyke, Soule and Taylor note that "other entities" are also targets of movement activity (Van Dyke, Soule and Taylor, 2004, 28). In addition to seeking legislative, legal and public policy changes, social movement goals also included changing the policies and practices of non-state authorities and institutions, including corporations, religious bodies, educational institutions and the medical establishment. Further, some social movements also seek broader cultural and societal changes to social norms and practices and so view the general public and individuals as a target for their activity. Van Dyke, Soule and Taylor found that many social movements target the state and its institutions, non-state actors and the general public, seeking social change on multiple levels (Van Dyke, Soule and Taylor, 2004). Social movement goals can include political and social reforms and cultural transformation; they seek to change the policies, norms and practices of state actors, non-state actors, individuals and the general public.

Recognising that social movements have multiple targets beyond the state must be included in our understanding of the student movement. The primary targets of much student activism are the state and the university due to their direct influence over the student population (Crouch, 1970, Fraser, 1988, Degroot, 1998, Edelman-Boren, 2001, Dixon et al, 2008). However, students bring claims and challenges against other actors, targeting corporations, other non-state institutions and authorities and the general public in their pursuit of social change. The data presented later shows that students seek both

instrumental change by the state, the university and other non-state actors and seek cultural transformation by targeting institutions and society. Much student protest takes place on campus, but it should not be assumed that campus based action only targets the university. The thesis demonstrates that students seize the opportunities for action presented by visiting MPs, dignitaries and companies to make their claims. This thesis therefore makes the assumption that student movements have a range of targets that they seek to influence through on and off campus protest activity.

The biographical and structural availability of students is often noted as an explanation for the widespread appearance of student protest activity in the sixties and beyond (Hanna, 2013, Gusfield, 1971). Students' position in the labour market and their youth is understood to make them available for recruitment and participation in movement activity. Most students lack the constraints and associated risks imposed by employment and family responsibilities that prevent many workers from participating in social movement mobilizations (Petrie, 2004, 559-560, McAdam, 1986). Further, many have sufficient free time to dedicate to activism. Most are also away from the potentially limiting influence of family and friends (Crossley, 2008, 32). The combination of free time and few limitations makes students available for participation in activism. Here the assumption of student availability for political activism is accepted, but with reservations. The university campus provides numerous opportunities to pursue interests, but students not engaged in student politics and activism are often decried as apathetic (Kidd, 1969, 11, *News Bulletin, 1950b*). The accusation is unfair with Harry Kidd noting that students "might not be apathetic at all", but simply interested in other activities (Kidd, 1969, 11). Further, the assumption of availability is often applied only to humanities and social sciences students, who have low course hours and are disproportionately represented in activist circles (Kidd, 1969, Blackstone et al, 1970, Keniston, 1967). Students with higher course-loads, such as medics and engineers, are assumed to be less involved, even uninterested in student politics. The assumption often receives anecdotal support, but it should be emphasized that it does not apply to all students. The 'Save Our NHS' student campaign, which formed at UoM in 2012 and has since spread to other universities, was launched by concerned medics and nurses, who were not prevented by their workloads from engaging in activism (UMSU, no date). It is therefore important to acknowledge that non-participating students are not necessarily

apathetic and that engagement is not limited to students routinely identified as key protagonists.

Protest is a broad term that can be used to refer to personal acts of dissent and collective action. It is used here specifically to refer to collective action by social movements with the term 'protest event' used to discuss specific actions. Protest event is defined here as a "collective public action by a non-governmental actor who expresses criticism or dissent and articulates a societal or political demand" and must be directed at an identifiable target or targets (Rucht, Hocke and Ohlemacher, 1992 in Rucht and Neidhart, 1998, 68, Opp, 2009). To be included as a student protest event, the action must involve UoM and/or LSE students as clearly identifiable participants. Students do not have to be the organisers, but they must be easily identified as participating as students in the protest action. More detail on the definition of protest used can be found in Chapter 3.

### A Note on Referencing

It is important to briefly explain how the archival materials used here have been referenced. A slightly different approach has been taken to previous studies of the British student movement, which have chosen to list the consulted archival collections rather than referencing individual items (Hoefflerle, 2013, Hanna, 2013). This is accepted academic practice, which provides readers with sufficient information on the data sources. It is also practical for researchers as archival collections can contain hundreds of individual items. However, this thesis has necessitated a more detailed referencing method due to its extensive use of archival material to provide examples of protest and activism and to offer insight into student thinking and reasoning. Therefore, the Harvard method has been used to reference the archival materials. Individual items from the student collections held by the University of Manchester Library Archive and Records Centre, the LSE Archives and Special Collections, and from my personal collection are referenced using the Harvard method for archives (Anglia Ruskin University, 2015). Referencing the sources in the Harvard style makes explicit where the evidence supporting arguments is drawn from. It also provides the reader with sufficient detail to locate the consulted materials easily. Further, individually

referencing relevant articles on protest and activism means that supportive examples can be included without excessive explanatory detail.

The thesis has used archival materials in conjunction with academic sources to build arguments about student protest. The archival sources provide not only supportive examples of protest, but also relevant evidence on student thinking that has informed arguments about factionalism, framing and other factors contributing to protest emergence and decline. To delineate the academic and archival sources clearly for the reader, all the in-text archival sources have been italicised. For example:

“...even Conservative students have coordinated protests (*Hardy, 1974, Barham and Jelleyman, 2003*).”

Archival citations in the Harvard style follow the format: Author, Year, Document Title, Type of Medium (in square brackets), Collection Name, Shelfmark/Document Number, Location and Library/Archive Name (Anglia Ruskin University, 2015). This format is entirely suitable for referencing the ephemera collections held by the University of Manchester Library Archive and Records Centre, the LSE Archives and Special Collections and for my personal collection. However, the standard format only contains space for the publication year and publication title and therefore does not readily lend itself to referencing either individual newspaper editions or specific articles within an issue. A slight variation has been developed to reference individual articles in the student press that provides the reader with enough detail to locate articles themselves. Further, some articles have been indirectly referenced, because there is insufficient space to outline every protest event and campaign here. Indirect references might be unclear in the standard Harvard format as the reader would have no contextual information (the article's title) to link the reference with the text; therefore it is necessary to provide more information in the bibliographic citation.

The variation is used only for the archived newspaper collections. The variation appears in the bibliographic citation; all in-text citations will follow the standard Harvard format of author, date, albeit italicised. The bibliographic citations will combine the Harvard format for newspapers and archived materials. The citations will read author, year, article/column title, full title of the newspaper, day and month of publication, page number and then the



collection name, box number and location. No information on the medium type is given in the bibliographic citation as the collections are solely comprised of newspapers. For example:

Lennox, J., 1979. Conflict in Rochdale. *The Mancunion*, 1<sup>st</sup> May, 3. University of Manchester Student Union Archive. SUA/8/3. Manchester: University of Manchester Library.

This format will be used for all newspapers referenced from the University of Manchester Student Union Archive as these are only accessible as hard copies. The LSE library have digitised some of their archival holdings, including all available issues of *The Beaver* between 1949 and May 2008 (LSE Digital Library, 2015). References from *The Beaver* available through the LSE Digital Library will appear in the adapted format with a note explaining that they can be accessed via the Digital Library. The *Clare Market Review* and editions of *The Beaver* from September 2008 will be listed separately from those editions available digitally, but will be referenced using the adapted format. It is hoped that this adapted format makes clear what is being referenced from the student press. Further, the format should allow readers to more easily locate referenced articles should they wish to review them for their own research or interest.

The bibliography is comprised of two sections, one for primary sources and one for secondary sources. The primary sources section is further subdivided to make clear which sources have been drawn from collections at the University of Manchester and which from collections held by LSE. A brief note explaining that an alternative citation format has been used for the primary sources from the student press has also been included.

## Chapter Structure

This introductory chapter has outlined the core research problem that this thesis will address. It is concerned with establishing the pattern of protest activity at UoM and LSE between 1945/46 and 2010/11 and exploring how student protest activity emerges, declines and survives across the timeframe. These research concerns are explored across six further chapters.

The next chapter 'Theorising British Student Protest' explores the various popular and academic explanations offered to explain the sixties student protest wave. It also outlines theoretical trends within social movement studies that explain the emergence, decline and survival of social movements. Having dismissed some populist explanations as empirically and theoretically unsound, the chapter examines the merit of social movement explanations for protest, applying them to the British context. These theoretical strands are drawn together into a holistic explanation in Chapter 5, where the emergence and decline of protest are examined. They also contribute to the discussion on student protest continuity in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3, 'Counting Student Protest' outlines the research method, protest event analysis, which had been used to collect quantitative data about student protest from student newspapers. It outlines in detail how protest event analysis can be used to establish a pattern of protest activity for a specific national context or movement in a defined time period. Newspapers have been commonly used in protest event analysis research due to their longitudinal nature and the chapter outlines the advantages and disadvantages of using newspapers for movement research. It explains that the national press is an inconsistent source for student protest event data and outlines why the student press is the best available source for establishing patterns of student protest activity across time. The chapter also explains how empirical and contextual detail has been gathered from the student press and other archival documents that is used to explore protest emergence, decline and survival.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the quantitative and qualitative findings of the thesis. The chapters draw together the available literature and theoretical understandings to explain the rise and fall of student protest activity at UoM and LSE between 1945/46 and 2010/11. In Chapter 4, 'Continuous Contention: English Student Protest Activity beyond the Sixties' the pattern of protest activity as derived from the student press at UoM and LSE is established. The chapter demonstrates that student protest has been a continuous feature of university life since the mid-fifties at UoM and LSE. It offers detailed empirically based challenges to the sixties student protest and student apathy narrative. It shows that the sixties wave of student contention had precedent in the fifties, noting that sixties student

activists drew on the ideological and tactical developments of their fifties predecessors. Further, it demonstrates the ongoing history of student protest beyond the sixties epoch, challenging the idea that apathy has become pervasive on British campuses since 1969. Protest is used as an example of the ongoing political and social engagement for students at LSE and UoM, with the chapter noting that students remain engaged in many kinds of political participation, stemming from formal political engagement to informal campaigning and voluntary action.

Chapter 5 'Explaining the Rise and Fall of Student Protest' draws together social movement studies theory and other sociological considerations to identify the factors that contribute to the emergence and decline of student protest activity. Drawing from the RMT and PP traditions, the chapter demonstrates that student protest is motivated by a conflict between student values and social reality. The hypocrisy, brutality and failings of society and particularly the failings of authorities to implement social justice and equality sparks a sense of injustice in students, which underpins and motivates their protest activity. The chapter argues that emotional responses to social injustices are insufficient for protest emergence and notes the role that social networks, campus resources and political opportunities play in the emergence of protest activity. The chapter applies Van Dyke's concept of elite antagonism, where hostile political elites create opportunities for protest, to the British context, demonstrating that student protest activity frequently emerges in response to perceived threats and attacks on the student condition and/or on other marginalised communities. The chapter also outlines the factors that contribute to protest decline. It notes the limitations of external efforts by the state and university to curb protest activity, showing that these actions tend to stimulate further action, rather than a decline in activity. Acknowledging the role that generational loss plays in protest decline, the chapter emphasises factionalism within the campus activist network and the inaction of University authorities as the primary contributors to protest decline.

In Chapter 6 'Maintaining Protest on Campus' an exploration of how student protest survives across time is given. The chapter applies Taylor's social movement abeyance model, identifying abeyance structures at UoM and LSE that maintain protest activity. However, the chapter finds Taylor's model to be incomplete and using Van Dyke's notion of 'hotbeds of

activism' develops the abeyance model to account for the unique features of student protest. The chapter argues that both LSE and UoM are 'hotbeds of activism'; that is both are campuses with long-running histories of student activism, protest and unrest. It suggests that UoM and LSE have developed campus activist subcultures, which maintain the traditions and practices of activism, ensuring their generational transference to arriving student thus maintaining protest activity on campus.

Chapter 7 'Conclusion' summarises the thesis, identifying its main contributions to the field. Further, it outlines areas for future research and exploration. An afterword discussing the British student movement's development since 2010/11 and where it fits in with the findings presented here is included in Appendix A. Two further appendices (Appendix B and C) include additional information on variables and coding.

## Chapter 2. Theorising British Student Protest

### Introduction

In seeking to establish the pattern of protest activity involving UoM and LSE students between academic year 1945/46 and 2010/11, this thesis finds itself concerned with explaining the rises and falls in activity visible in the emergent pattern. These peaks and troughs reflect the cyclical emergence and decline of student protest activity, but also establishes that protest is a continuous feature of university life. This chapter examines the various explanations of protest activity offered by the social movement literature and other commentators, exploring their applicability to the British context. Populist explanations are examined in relation to the theoretical tradition they unconsciously draw from. The chapter only considers explanations of protest, but it is important to note that the theoretical positions examined here also seek to explain social movement emergence and activity across time.

The chapter is structured around the key social movement theoretical traditions and how they have been employed in popular and academic discussions of student protest. Unsurprisingly, the literature is dominated by explanations developed during or applied only to the sixties student revolt, although Crossley and Van Dyke have applied their theoretical insights to more recent mobilisations (Crossley, 2008, Van Dyke, 2003). The explanations vary in their empirical grounding with some revealing a negative bias against the student activists (Marshall, 2006, Keniston, 1967). The chapter opens with a discussion of the more extreme populist explanations proffered in the sixties. These explanations lack empirical evidence and are easily dismissed as hysterical, but they reflect the moral panic and fear that swept the West in response to student radicalism. The chapter moves on to consider the interaction between collective behaviour theory and classic sixties explanations, which characterised student protest as the product of misdirected youthful exuberance, hormonal imbalances and intergenerational conflict. The chapter then explores Resource Mobilisation Theory, Political Process theory and the New Social Movements theory. There is not sufficient space to offer a detailed consideration of these approaches, so they are briefly outlined and their application to student protest is considered. The chapter also considers a

trend in the historical and sociological explorations that describes some students and institutions as 'protest-prone' (Keniston, 1967, Van Dyke, 1998). Finally, the chapter outlines Taylor's concept of movement abeyance linking it to student movement activity through a discussion of Nella Van Dyke's theory of 'hotbeds of activism' (Van Dyke, 1998). Van Dyke suggests that campuses with histories of student revolt become 'hotbeds' of unrest, developing traditions and practices that maintain activism on campus even during periods of wider political quiescence.

### Indoctrinating Students and "Reds under the bed"

With the dominant narrative glamourizing sixties students as idealistic hippies, it is difficult to grasp how unnerving the (apparently) sudden emergence of student protest activity was for the general public (DeGroot, 2008, Rooke, 1971, Thomas, 2002). By the end of the decade, tanks had burned in Prague, barricades reappeared on Parisian streets and students marched against their governments in Tokyo, Berlin and Washington (Edelman-Boren, 2001, Crouch, 1970, DeGroot, 1988, 2008, Henly, 2008). In Britain, Education Secretary Edward Short described the student activists as prepared to do "untold long-term harm in this country" in their pursuit of societal change (*Hansard*, 29 January 1969 col.1341-464). Although student political radicalism had precedent in the twentieth century, the British public and their other Western counterparts were entirely unprepared for the explosion of student protest that filled global streets (Hoefflerle, 2013, Prince, 2007, Sampson, 1967, Flacks, 1967). Whipped up by the press and politicians, moral panic swept the British public, who were outraged by students apparent disregard for their status as "a privileged minority" (Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 47, Hoefflerle, 2013, Rooke, 1971). As a publicly funded demographic, the British public expected its university students to take their studies seriously and understood student activists as ungrateful nuisances (Rooke, 1971). There was widespread support for banning demonstrations, expelling ringleaders and for police crackdowns on violence and alleged hooliganism (Thomas, 2002, 2008a, Rooke, 1971, Hoefflerle, 2013). Unconsciously echoing some collective behaviour theorists, the British public and their European and American counterparts considered student protest to be an irrational aberration to the social order (Rooke, 1971, Keniston, 1967). The hostile and

panicked atmosphere that surrounded student protest proved fertile ground for conspiracy based explanations.

Two main conspiracy theories emerged to explain student protests in Britain. The first claims that socialist and left-wing lecturers radicalise and indoctrinate their nice, middle class students into would-be revolutionaries à la Malcolm Bradbury's *The History Man* (Crossley, 2008, Wolf, 2008, Hundscheid, 2010). Student protest is attributable to Marxist or general leftist brainwashing by lecturers. The potential indoctrination of students by their professors is a recurrent concern for right-wing commentators (Horowitz, 2007, Shapiro, 2004). However, it is a poor explanation for student protest as there is no empirical evidence to support such claims (Mariani and Hewitt, 2008, Wolf, 2008, Walters, 2008). The second similarly hysterical explanation claims that "every act of collegiate activism [is] a part of a larger conspiracy organized and run from Moscow or Peking" (Sampson, 1967, 29). Although student protest emerged after the height of McCarthyism and the Red Scare, Rooke recalls "the Great Red Plot" as a popular explanation of student activism in the British press (Rooke, 144, see also Ascherson, 1968). Media reports framed the student protests as a communist conspiracy to undermine Western democracy and capitalism (Sampson, 1967, Hanna, 2013, Hoefflerle, 2013, Thomas, 2008a). Even universities evoked 'reds under the bed' fears in explaining protest on their campuses. University of Essex authorities initially claimed that campus unrest in May 1968 was the result of "communist agitation", although a subsequent investigation revealed no such activity in the build up to the protests (Hoefflerle, 2013, 86). Again, there is limited empirical evidence to support these claims (Sampson, 1967, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969). Communist and socialist students played a central role in student unrest, often acting as the primary organisers, but there is no evidence that communist regimes were funding or influencing their activities (Sampson, 1967, Shaw, 1969, Thomas, 1996, Hoefflerle, 2013).

## Outside Agitators

Another group of populist explanations pointed to new entrants to the British higher education system as to blame for the emergence of student protest. International students, particularly those arriving from countries with established and militant national movements, were cited as the key instigators of radical activism on British campuses (Hoefflerle, 2013, Rooke, 1971, Kidd, 1969, Brown, 1969). Working class British students were also blamed with commentators noting a correlation between the increased working class attendance in the late sixties and the rise of student protest (Hoefflerle, 2013, Thomas, 1996). Both were cast as outside agitators, although once again there is a lack of supportive empirical evidence.

Searching for explanations for the outrageous behaviour, the British press attributed the protests and particularly the emergence of direct action tactics to the influence of international student movements (Hoefflerle, 2013, Thomas, 2002, 2008a). This allegedly influential role was twofold. Firstly, British students were seen as suffering from “me-tooism” (*The Guardian*, 10 June 1968, cited by Thomas, 2008a, 280). Contemporary public opinion was adamant that British students lacked genuine grievances, and therefore their protest activity was understood as imitations of the militancy witnessed abroad (Brown, 1969, Rooke, 1971, Hoefflerle, 2013). The press pointed to the use of occupations and sit-ins as evidence of international influence, particularly by the American student movement (Hoefflerle, 2013). British student protest was framed as a fad, motivated by a fear of being left out rather than genuine grievances and concerns (Thomas, 2008a).

Secondly, international students were perceived as the movement’s ringleaders. Fears about a communist conspiracy to destabilise the West intersect with worries about the ‘unknown other’ in this narrative. International students were cast as dangerous agitators, fermenting dissent on campus, pushing communist and socialist agendas and manipulating politically moderate British students into radical action (Hoefflerle, 2013, Hanna, 2012, Thomas, 2002). The prominence of a handful of international students is probably a factor in these explanations. During the LSE Troubles in 1967, the elected LSE union officials were David Adelstein, a South African with connections to anti-apartheid activism, and Marshall



Bloom, who was an American anti-Vietnam activist (Ellis, 1998, Hoefflerle, 2013, Kidd, 1969). There is no evidence that either deliberately acted as agitators. Hoefflerle suggests that having framed the students' protest tactics as borrowed from the American movement, the press jumped to casting international students as the movement's leaders, starting with Adelstein and Bloom (Hoefflerle, 2013).

There is some evidence to support press assertions that the British movement was inspired by international struggles. Documentary sources reviewed here and work by Hanna, Fraser and Hoefflerle all note that British students understood themselves as participating in a shared student struggle against restrictive university systems, corrupt, hypocritical governments and repressive social norms (Hanna, 2013, Hoefflerle, 2013, Fraser, 1988, see also Ellis, 1998, 2014, Burkett, 2014). This sense of commonality and solidarity is evident in British students' physical participation in protest actions in Paris and Berlin and their own solidarity actions expressing support with the other national student movements (Ellis, 1998, Hoefflerle, 2013, Rowbotham, 2000). British students and their European peers were equally outraged by American military activity in Vietnam, readily joining American students in protesting the war and participating in transnational organising and mobilisations (Hoefflerle, 2013, Ellis, 1998, Fraser, 1988). Further, students did share grievances across national boundaries. Complaints about inadequate facilities, overbearing university authorities and a lack of student representation in university governance appear across the Western movements (Keniston, 1967, Fraser, 1988, Edelman-Boren, 2001, Quattrocchi and Nairn, 1998). However, there is no evidence that international students prompted their British peers into protesting these issues nor that they were borrowed by British students to justify engagement in protest activity. British students were certainly inspired by other national movements, but their protest was also grounded in real grievances about their universities and questioning of the societal status quo. Reviewing the unrest, Colin Crouch emphasises that students raised very genuine objections and complaints about their universities and the British government (Crouch, 1970, see also Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969).

There is little evidence that international students deliberately agitated their British peers or that they were part of a communist conspiracy against the West during the sixties.

International students were certainly involved in the student movement, acting as participants and leaders. Students arriving with experience in other national movements undoubtedly brought tactical and ideological information and appear to have readily shared it with their new peers. Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich charge international students with facilitating the diffusion of tactics and ideologies between student movements, although probably overemphasise the importance of international students in Britain (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1969). It is hard to assess how influential and significant international students were, but the literature and archival sources suggest that they are an unlikely source of British student contention. Cockburn and Blackburn's edited collection *Student Power* clearly demonstrates the engagement of British students as key participants and leaders in developing radical political thought and activism on campus, while Crouch and Hanna's reviews of campus contention indicate home-grown concerns and criticisms (Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969, Crouch, 1970, Hanna, 2013). Other studies have been wary of attributing international students with the agitator role posited by the British press (Thomas, 1996, Thomas, 2002, 2008a). Thomas explains that the media framing discredited the British student movement, downplaying their grievances and concerns, while Hoefflerle notes that the real problems of higher education were overshadowed by panic over the corrupting influence of foreign students (Thomas, 2008a, Hoefflerle, 2013).

Working class students were treated less hysterically, but nonetheless have been attributed an agitator role in the emergence of campus unrest. The sixties heralded a massive expansion of the university sector with an increase in the numbers of women and working class students enrolling. Commentators noted a correlation between higher education expansion and the rise of student protest, attributing this to an "influx of anti-authoritarian working class students" (Hoefflerle, 2013, 5, Thomas, 1996). Assuming that working class students came from homes with little intellectual or cultural sophistication, it was suggested that they had little respect for university education or authority (Thomas, 1996). They were generically angry, rebels without a cause, whose protest activity was simply anti-authoritarian. Others implied that working class students were unable to effectively engage in a university education, turning to protest activity in their frustration. Working class students are characterised as outsiders and misfits in the academic world, prone to protest because of their lack of belonging. There is little empirical evidence to support these claims.

Reviewing student participation, Thomas found no correlation between class and engagement in protest (Thomas, 1996). In their quantitative survey of the LSE Troubles in March 1967, Blackstone equally found “no evidence that support for the boycott and sit-in was drawn in a disproportionate way from students of a working-class or lower-middle-class-background” (Blackstone et al, 1970). The lack of empirical support for the characterising of working class students as primary instigators of contention indicates that these explanations were rooted in classist assumptions about the working class. Casting the working class as intellectually inferior, subversive and dangerous, these explanations make assumptions about the academic and social suitability of working class students for university life that are not grounded in evidence. This thesis rejects suggestions that either international or working class students acted as agitators on British campuses during the sixties, and demonstrates that while both groups participate in post-sixties mobilisations neither are prominent as organisers.

### Collective Behaviour Theory

Collective behaviour approaches are often critiqued in the social movement literature (Crossley, 2002). According to its critics, the theory treats social movements as aberrations for the normal social structure that emerge in response to increases in structural strains and grievances. It ignores that strains are a constant feature of society and so does not account for the variability of movement activity. If grievances are sufficient to prompt protest, then social life should be marked by near continuous unrest and contention. Further, the critics argue that the theory portrays protests as spontaneous and irrational activity that violate societal norms and casts movement participants as unstable and poorly integrated into society (Crossley, 2002). Critics point to studies that demonstrate that activists and participants are recruited from existing social networks, tending to be well integrated into their communities and society (Keniston, 1967, McAdam, 1988). Further, the apparent emphasis on participants’ irrational psychology overlooks the sophisticated political and social critiques and ideologies that develop within social movements and their organisations. If protesters are irrational and reactionary, then they should not develop complex ideologies, arguments and claims regarding the social and political world.

Populist sixties explanations of student protest unconsciously draw from the worst of the collective behaviour tradition. Unsympathetic contemporary commentators quickly painted students as at best “misguided and foolish young people” and at worst unstable hooligans determined to wreck the universities and society at large (Hoefflerle, 2013, 112, *Hansard*, 29 January 1969 c.1341-464). Popular opinion deemed students to be immature and naïve, lacking the political knowledge and life experience to make helpful contributions to educational policy or national affairs (Day, 2012, Thomas, 1996). This characterisation focuses on the supposed irrationality of student protest, specifically the turn to rhetorical and tactical radicalism, when moderate positions would be more effective (Flacks, 1970). Three explanations evoking this negative depiction are discussed here. They all emphasise the stability and sensibility of the older generation, while depicting student protesters as violent, irrational and naïve.

The first explanation attributes student protest to the nature of youth (Hanna, 2013, Keniston, 1967, Rooke, 1971). Youth is characterised as a period of rebelliousness and self-discovery with political activism posited as an avenue for youthful exuberance. Margaret Rooke argued that young men have “an excess of energy”, which, when coupled with a sense of insecurity and inadequacy, drives them to anti-social behaviour, including political protest (Rooke, 1971, 165). Rooke suggests adolescent hormones and misdirected energy make students rash and unruly, prone to outbursts and anger. Student activism is therefore a temporary condition, provoked by unchecked emotions, soon to be replaced by adult sensibilities and moderation. It was undoubtedly a comforting explanation to a concerned public, who could be reassured that campus revolutionary fervour would subside. However, the explanation is flawed. In attributing student unrest to a condition of youth, the argument fails to account for why only a minority of students and not all young people engage in protest activity. Nor does it explain why similar levels of political radicalism and dissent is not shared by all student generations. Criticism could be countered by pointing to the emergence of youth subcultures as an alternative direction for youthful rebellion, frivolity and energy to be directed (Horn, 2009). Yet, while youth subcultures are multifaceted, offering space for fun and criticism of the status quo, they do not seek to enact large scale social change through collective action like the student movement (Horn,

2009, Keniston, 1967). Student protest cannot be explained as misdirected youthful energy alone. It must be viewed as the visible manifestation of a social movement.

The second explanation describes student protest as the product of intergenerational conflict. In *The Conflict of Generations*, Feuer offers a psychological explanation for student protest and youth subcultures (Feuer, 1969). Applying an Oedipal hypothesis, he argues that young people reject their parents' generation, its values, lifestyle and politics and its formal representatives (the State, universities and other institutions). Using several case studies, Feuer argues that normally this generational hatred remains latent, because generational equilibrium maintains social stability. However, if parental generations become 'deauthorised' then this repressed hostility is realised and finds direction in various rebellions (youth subcultures and student protest) against societal norms and institutions (Feuer, 1969). For Feuer, student movements emerge as emotional rebellions, not political movements. He acknowledges student altruism and idealism, recognising their desire to address corruption, hypocrisy and failings in the older generation (Feuer, 1969), but charges them with being essentially irrational, "destructive and irresponsible", motivated by anger and resentment (Flacks, 1970, 143). He argues that students lack the ideological commitment to follow through their efforts for social change and turn towards nihilistic action, more interested in the thrill of destructive protest than the political impact.

Feuer offers a psychologically reductionist explanation for student protest, which like Rooke's "excess of energy" concept, casts students as irrational, impulsive actors and dismisses their political ideas and aims. This approach is deeply flawed for three reasons. Firstly, it casts only young people as irrational actors, but ignores that all movements can turn to nihilistic, destructive actions when their claims are frustrated and denied (Flacks, 1970). Further, the approach is too sympathetic to adult authorities, overlooking the brutality and immorality of the groups and institutions against which students struggle (Flacks, 1970, 144-145). Flacks notes that the approach is applied to the "severely authoritarian, corrupted and brutal regimes" of Russia and China, yet still casts the student activists as destructive, irrational actors (Flacks, 1970, 148). These student movements might pitch one generational against another, but they are also fights against unbearable social orders and cannot be understood as fuelled by psychological instability. Secondly, by

painting student movements as riddled with teenage angst and resentments, Feuer is overlooking the sophisticated political ideologies and organisational approaches that have developed within student movements (Crouch, 1970, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969, Hanna, 2012, 2013, Miller, 1999).

Finally, any approach that posits student values and beliefs as diametrically opposed to their parents is missing the continuities and similarities between student activists and their parents established by Keniston, Flacks and Sampson (Flacks, 1970, Flacks, 1967, Keniston, 1967, Sampson, 1967). They found that activists' parents largely espoused the same democratic, egalitarian values found in activist rhetoric. Student protest cannot be a rebellion against the parental generation if it is advancing shared values, aspirations and beliefs (Keniston 1967, Sampson, 1967). *The Conflict of Generations* offers an unconvincing explanation of student unrest that relies heavily on a negative psychological interpretation of youth. It downplays the rationality, ideological sophistication and positive motivations of student activism, which Flacks has surmised to be deliberate, noting that Feuer is highly selective in his example, cherry-picking events that suit his viewpoint (Flack, 1970).

The final explanation stereotypes student protesters as discontented and disgruntled misfits, profoundly alienated from society (Brown, 1969, Keniston, 1967, Sampson, 1967). According to Keniston, popular opinion cast student activists as "profoundly disaffected" and "deeply maladjusted" individuals (Keniston, 1967, 110, *see also Beaver, 1968*). They were often understood as academically weak students and university dropouts, who struggling with college demands eschewed the library for the 'profound' experiences and self-discovery offered in experimentation with sex, drugs and political dissent (Keniston, 1967, Miller, 1991). Hippies were also attributed with an active role in campus contention, despite the hippie movement being openly apolitical and critical of New Left and student activism (Miller, 1991). Student activists were cast as "actively seeking pretexts for protest", stirring up dissent, as an expression of their own failures and dissatisfaction (Keniston, 1967, 110, Rooke, 1971, DeGroot, 2008, Brown, 1969). Neville Brown decried the British student movement as lacking real grievances, accusing student leaders of manufacturing dissent and his arguments are echoed in critiques of the American and continental European movements (Brown, 1969, Keniston, 1967, Marshall, 2006, Quattrocchi and Nairn, 1998).

Student protesters were disaffected rebels without a cause, making trouble for their own cynical amusement. The explanation echoes generalised public worries about drugs, sexual liberation, the rise of permissive social values and the hippies (DeGroot, 2008, Miller, 1991). Parents, politicians and the public feared the lasting impacts of sixties counterculture and student militancy, fearing not only revolution, but more general social decay and collapse (Hoefflerle, 2013, Horn, 2009, Sandbrook, 2006). Indeed, subsequent Conservative governments have frequently evoked the sixties and its presumed and much romanticised licentiousness when decrying the state of modern Britain (Horn, 2009).

In his article 'The Sources of Student Dissent', Keniston establishes the attribution of student unrest to alienated students, ex-students and hippies as lacking in empirical grounding (Keniston, 1967, see also Sampson, 1967 and Miller, 1991). Contrasting popular opinion, he found that alienated students act out their opposition in social non-conformity, preferring subjective experience over collective action. Though "firmly opposed to "the System"", the alienated student is "convinced that meaningful change of the social and political world is impossible" and so has little motivation to engage in protest activity (Keniston, 1967, 112 and 113). He does not find these students to be regular participants in campus activism and protest. Keniston notes the occasional appearance of the 'alienated student' on peace marches, but insists that this involvement is exceptional and peripheral. Disaffected youth were not the primary protagonists of campus unrest. Instead, Keniston found that student activists were academically bright, often high achievers, attending academically selective and intense colleges. They were generally satisfied with their lives and college experiences, although they did hold some specific criticisms of their institutions. Keniston found student activists to be rational actors with strong commitments to the American values of justice, equality and democracy, whose protest was motivated by a disparity between these values and the social reality (Keniston, 1967) Writing about LSE students, Blackstone and Hadley echoed Keniston in their findings, identifying LSE activists as academically talented and engaged who held political and social values that they self-identified as similar to their parents (Blackstone and Hadley, 1971, see also Blackstone et al, 1970 and Crossley, 2008). Keniston offers an alternative explanation for student protest activity in sixties America that is equally applicable to the British context, which is explored later in the chapter. His findings with arguments offered by Flacks and Sampson undermine

the populist collective behaviour explanations offered in the sixties. They demonstrate that sixties student activists were well-adjusted, reasonable and rational individuals, whose mobilisation cannot be attributed to hormonal imbalances, social disaffection or psychological drama (Flacks, 1967, Sampson, 1967, Keniston, 1967).

Running through all three explanations is a sense of the supposed irrationality and instability of student protesters, which speaks to some collective behaviour approaches (Crossley, 2002). Treating student protest as irrationality undermines the serious political and social critiques offered by student radicals during the sixties and downplays the lasting significance of their protests (Crouch, 1970, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1969). The explanations dismiss sixties student movement as a political force in two ways. The movement is characterised as a temporary problem, the consequence of the condition of youth and so no more serious than fads and crazes. The problem of student protest is understood as a social issue that will pass without lasting consequence. Further, the explanations dismiss the movement by casting the participants as social deviants and outcasts, who are held to have little importance due to their perceived irrationality and social maladjustment. This is similar to how some collective behaviour approaches are seen to treat social movements (Crossley, 2002). These are inadequate accounts for student protest. Individual critiques have already been offered, but generally these explanations are flawed, because they fail to take the student movement seriously and ignore the empirical evidence. They focus on cherry-picked examples of irrationality and violence, choosing to ignore the predominately peaceful protesting and claim-making engaged in by activists and the rationality of their political ideas (Flacks, 1970, Keniston, 1967, Crouch, 1970, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969).

### Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT)

The sixties movements posed a problem to traditional sociological understandings of social movements. These new movements could not be neatly placed along the left-right spectrum nor did they all align themselves with the established political parties as older movements had done (McCathy and Zald, 2001). Their emergence and distinction from the labour movement in particular prompted a reorientation in the study of social movements (Jenkins, 1983). RMT is one of three theoretical positions that developed out of this period; the



others are the Political Process theory and New Social Movements tradition. All three traditions start from the premise that social movement participants are rational actors (Crossley, 2002). In the RMT model, participants are understood to join collective struggles to access the benefit the movement may provide. This is an economic model of movement participation, suggesting that participants weigh the costs and benefits of collective action and rationally decide to join when the benefits outweigh costs and risks (Crossley, 2002).

Assuming that actors are rational requires a rethinking of why and how movements emerge. McCarthy and Zald state that “mobilisation or movement participant cannot be predicted directly from the level of deprivation or grievances” (McCarthy and Zald, 2001, 535). They are echoing studies that show that protest often emerges during periods of economic prosperity and political reform, which contradicts the collective behaviour model’s idea that protest emerges when grievances are increased and most pressing (Crossley, 2002). In the RMT model, grievances and strains as constant features of social life and so cannot be the sole explanatory factor behind protest activity (Jenkins, 1983, Crossley, 2002). The US Civil Rights Movement is often used as an example with theorists noting that grievances about institutional racism and discrimination predated the rise of the movement (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). For RMT theorists, mobilisations require social movements to have access to resources that facilitate activity. They understand social movement organisations as forming from existing social networks, making use of internal and external resources to engage in collective action and other movement activities. Using the US Civil Rights Movement as an example, they point to the resources provided by church communities and by external beneficiaries as essential to the movement’s mobilisation (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, Morris, 1986). Resources are envisioned as both tangible (money, physical spaces, communication technologies, labour) and intangible (people, skills, political legitimacy) (Freeman, 1999, Jenkins, 1983). Resources contribute to the emergence of protest activity by enabling social movement organisations to meet to plan and organise, recruit new members, communicate their ideas, and finance their activities. Participants themselves become movement resources, providing their labour to recruit new members, create ties with other organisations, prepare movement materials (banners, flyers, and pamphlets) and be present at protest events.

Despite being prompted by the sixties student movement, the RMT model has not been widely applied to the student context. Some early works conceive the university campus as central to student mobilisation, hinting at the idea that the campus is a key resource for students (Gusfield, 1971). The university campus brings students together, facilitating their interaction and cooperation (Gusfield, 1971, Crossley, 2008). Crossley and Hanna have both expanded on this conception of the campus as a movement resource. Like Gusfield, Crossley understands the university campus as bringing students together, but extends this idea to argue that the campus facilitates the networking of like-minded students (Crossley, 2008). University campuses, specifically through the students union, allow students to create formal and informal social groupings around shared interests and concerns. On campus, politically inclined students are drawn into activist networks through student societies, campaign groups and informal social networks (Crossley, 2008).

Further, the students union provides the movement with practical resources (Crossley, 2008, Hanna, 2013). It provides student societies, campaign groups and other informal groups with physical meeting spaces through which they can develop their ideas, recruit new members and organise their activism (Green, 1973). The students union also provides students with access to communication technologies, low-cost (even free) printing, and the practical materials necessary for banner and placard making (Crossley, 2008). Unions also fund student societies, facilitating their participation in movement activity by helping to meet the financial costs (News Bulletin, 1957, Tower, 1970, LSESU, 2015a, LSESU, 2015b). For example, union funding can cover the cost of transport to demonstrations in London (Polan, 1968, Manchester Independent, 1968a). The university campus, predominately through the student union, provides resources that facilitate the formation of activist networks and the mobilisation of those networks. It reduces the financial costs of activism and protest for students through union funding and the provision of free resources, such as meeting spaces, computers and sometimes printing.

In many ways, the students union is the key campus resource as it contains and provides the practical and physical resources that facilitate network formation and movement mobilisation (Crossley, 2008). Hanna expands this idea by envisioning the representative functioning of students unions as a resource for the student movement. Writing about the

sixties, she notes that unions were “often a means through which the students could put forward their aims to those in authority within the university and through whom the university themselves would negotiate and liaise” (Hanna, 2013, 113). Hanna is right that activists used the student unions to make claims and demands upon their universities through institutional processes and to negotiate on their behalf, but she downplays that such action often required union officials to be mandated by General Meetings. Further, she perhaps overlooks that student unions operate as social movement organisations. Hanna acknowledges student union organising, recording rent strikes coordinated by the unions at Manchester and New College, Cambridge, but seems to consider this organising as helping the wider student movement, rather than movement activity in its own right (Hanna, 2013). The documentary evidence reviewed here highlights that students union are frequently engaged in movement activity, organising events and mobilising students as movement organisations. The students union facilitates the formation and mobilisation of student activist networks, but is also a functional organisation within the network, drawing on its own resources to mobilise students.

Hanna also argues that time is a key resource for student activism, suggesting that students’ structural and biographical positions provide them with ample free time to dedicate to activism (Hanna, 2013). Like earlier theorists, she argues that students face fewer risks and constraints compared to workers and so are more easily able to protest (Hanna, 2013, Gusfield, 1971). This thesis agrees that students are more available for movement recruitment and activism due to their structural and biographical positions, although it notes that availability does not translate directly into participation. Arguments about students’ availability for protest are rooted in studies of the sixties protests, which Hanna acknowledges in her application. She suggests that state grants provides the British sixties student generation with the financial security to dedicate their free time to activism (Hanna, 2013). For Hanna, later student generations have failed to maintain the sixties activist tradition due to their more precarious financial circumstances. She proposes that students are constrained by the financial pressures of university education and wary of risking educational attainment and career opportunities through participation in protest (Hanna, 2013).

Resource mobilisation theory highlights the necessity of resources to the emergence of protest activity. However, the availability of resources alone does not explain why movements become active and engage in protest. The applications to the student movement have all noted the importance of activist networks to protest activity (Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012, Hanna, 2013). The campus is shown to be an essential resource in the formation and building of activist networks, but the networks are presented as central to protest actually emerging (Crossley, 2008). Activists need meeting spaces, placards and transport, but they also need each other to engage in collective action and to mobilise they need to share grievances, critiques and ideas for action. Campus lets student activists share their grievances, political ideas and strategic plans for campaigning and protest, but it is only part of how protest emerges. Critiquing the RMT model, McAdam notes that the church communities and resources cited as essential to the rise of the US Civil Rights Movement were well established (McAdam, 1982). Acknowledging resources as important still, he suggests that movements and protest emerge as potential participants perceive opportunities in the political world for their claims to be heard. The next section explores how shifts in the political context create opportunities for protest activity in relation to explaining student protest.

### Political Process (PP) Theory

Like RMT, political process theory accepts that strains and grievances are constant in the social reality and are inadequate in explaining the emergence of social movements and protest activity (Tarrow, 1998, Van Dyke, 2003). Further, PP theorists agree that movement participants are rational actors. However, the theory argues that access to resources is also insufficient in explaining protest activity. Shifts in national and international political circumstances (also known as the political opportunity structure) are understood to create opportunities for social movements to emerge and make demands upon power holders (Tarrow, 1993, 1998, Meyer, 1993, Meyer and Whittier, 1994). The emergence of political opportunities influence protest activity by altering the costs and risks of protest and increasing the possibility that movement goals will be met (Kriesi et al, 1995). The opportunities that PP theorists identify as the political system opening up to new actors are: political instability and divisions within political elites; increased (or decreased) public access

to decision-making; the presence of elite allies and changes in power holder's use of facilitation and repression (Tarrow, 1998, Van Dyke, 2003).

The PP model argues that minor and major shifts in the national political context can create space for social movements to bring forward their claims. Theorists are a little unclear on how movement organisations and participants recognise these shifts as opportunities for protest. Meyer and Sawyers notes that it is retrospectively possible to see that social movements often miss opportunities for applying sustained pressure on governments and other targets (Sawyers and Meyer, 1999). The recognised possibility for opportunities to go unexploited highlights a weakness in generalised PP theorising; it points to an explanation of how and why movements emerge without providing too much detail on the actual processes involved. This criticism of the PP model can be too harshly drawn as several studies suggest various ways in which movements recognise spaces for their demands to be heard (Van Dyke, 2003, Crossley, 2002).

US studies have highlighted that protest activity increases under Democrat governments (Jenkins and Perrow, 1977, Minkoff, 1997, Van Dyke, 2003). The Democrats and other politically left parties are understood as potential elite allies for most social movements by the PP model (Van Dyke, 2003). Movements are thought to understand the election and/or increased political power of political elites supposedly sympathetic to social movement claims as an opportunity to emerge (Van Dyke, 2003). Left and centre left parties are often expected to introduce progressive reforms, which may prompt movements who would benefit from such reform to increase their visibility through protest and campaign activity. Van Dyke has applied this hypothesis to students, noting that the student movement includes "representatives of virtually all left-wing movements" (Van Dyke, 2003, 230). The left-leaning tendencies of the student movement suggests that the movement is more likely to engage in protest activity around student concerns and the claims of other social movements when students recognise sympathetic political elites to hold legislative and reforming power. If the hypothesis held true it would explain why student protest occurs under Labour and Democrat governments, who can be expected to be open to reforms favouring students and other social movements. However, Van Dyke found that federal control by elite allies had no statistically significant impact on student protest (Van Dyke,

2003). Van Dyke established that student protest actually increased when Republicans had total control of the federal government; she also found that protest increased when federal power was divided between the Republicans and Democrats (Van Dyke, 2003). The British context differs as divided political power in the national government is rare. However, Van Dyke's findings are borne out by anecdotal evidence that cycles of contention emerge under Conservative governments (Davies, 2010, Turner, 2013, McSmith, 2010). Further, the data explored later in this thesis demonstrates a significant (and unexpected) surge in student protest activity involving UoM and LSE students during the eighties when the Conservatives held power.

From her findings, Van Dyke suggests that political elites acting as antagonists have an important role in generating opportunities for protest activity (Van Dyke, 2003). She argues that elite antagonists can threaten social movements, their participants and beneficiaries implicitly and directly through policy, legislation and rhetoric. Movements may perceive unsympathetic political elites and power holders as a threat to their current position, worrying that they will reverse important gains and concessions, or they fear that these elites will halt the steady progress of social and cultural changes (Van Dyke, 2003). Echoing Tilly's assertion that protest emerges in response to threats, Van Dyke suggests that elite antagonists create space for protest activity by engaging in unpopular, repressive and threatening political activities (Tilly, 1978, Van Dyke, 2003). Protest activity emerges as movements seek to counter the threats of elite antagonists. It is a helpful theoretical insight, because it explains why protest emerges in hostile or unresponsive political contexts. At its simplest, the PP model does not readily allow for protest activity that emerges against unsympathetic elites and against repressive authoritarian states. The focus on opening up leads to the expectation that contractions to political system should limit protest activity (Crossley, 2002). Van Dyke shows that contractions can spur mobilisation, providing movements with a sense of urgency and injustice that motivates collective action.

Van Dyke's notion of political antagonists prompting protest activity has obvious connections with the explanations for student protest offered by Keniston and Parkin in the sixties (Keniston, 1967, Parkin, 1968). Both argued that student protest emerged in the sixties as students were confronted by the disparity between the social reality and their

ideals and values. Keniston established that student protesters held broadly democratic, progressive and egalitarian social values, which were values shared by their parents and espoused by the American government, universities and other institutions (see Blackstone and Hadley, 1971 for similar findings in British context). Students were deeply committed to these values, expecting them to be upheld and implemented by American institutions and society. Further, Keniston notes that universalism has been an enduring theme in US political discourse, creating the expectation that equality, civil rights and fair protection under law are enjoyed by all (Keniston, 1967). Confronted with a social reality where many did not enjoy the rights and opportunities taken for granted by white, middle class students and where American values were neither upheld nor implemented, and often disregarded, students were galvanised into generating meaningful social change. Writing about the British context, Parkin agrees with Keniston that the conflict between student values and the social world provokes protest and activism, but also suggests that the university plays a vital role in radicalising students by encouraging progressive values, which may facilitate their confrontation with social realities (Parkin, 1968, see also Keniston, 1967). Universities promote progressive values to students, but also expose them to breeches of these values by authorities and institutions, including breeches committed by the university in its own actions. Student protest arises out of frustration with failure of governments and institutions to implement and uphold the democratic principles and egalitarian values they espouse. Effectively, Keniston and Parkin are arguing that the political and social context, particularly actions by political elites and other authorities, antagonise students into protest activity (Keniston, 1967, Parkin, 1968).

Political elite antagonism and its role in prompting student protest is explored further in this thesis. However, it is not a complete explanation alone. As already noted, students access to resources and their activist networks have an important role too. Further, another strand in the PP tradition indicates that student protest can be stimulated by the mobilisations and successes of other movements. This strand argues that social movements recognise opportunities in the political context when they see campaigning by another movement. McAdam argues that 'initiator' movements recognise opportunities in the political context, mobilising to bring forward their claims (McAdam, 1995). Pointing to the US Civil Rights movement as an example case, McAdam argues that initiator movements highlight existing

opportunities and generate new opportunities, which are seized by 'spin-off' movements. According to McAdam, these 'spin-off' movements emerge after witnessing the mobilisation and success of the initiator movement. For example, the US Civil Rights Movement is often attributed with inspiring new mobilisations by students, women, the LGBT community, Native Americans and farm workers (McAdam, 1995). These movements were able to recognise the same political opportunities that facilitated the mobilisation of the US Civil Rights movement, but also took advantage of new opportunities, specifically new political elite and public sympathy for civil rights and liberation campaigns created by the US Civil Rights Movement.

In McAdam's framework, the American student movement is a 'spin-off' of the US Civil Rights Movement. This understanding acknowledges the influence that the US Civil Rights Movement had upon students, not only in terms of highlighting and creating opportunities for protest, but also the tactics, ideology and strategy that students borrowed and adapted (McAdam, 1995, Prince, 2007). The British student movement can be seen as a 'spin-off' of both the American Civil Rights and student mobilisations, if we accept that international movements can highlight opportunities for protest in other national contexts. Further, it is also possible to discern the diffusion of tactics, ideology and strategy from the American movements to British students, although it must be remembered that students also adapted non-violent direct action from CND (Prince, 2007). However, McAdam's idea appears to fail to account for the continuity of student protest in Britain and America. The data presented here shows that protest activity survives on campus in subsequent protest cycles and in periods of relative quiet. McAdam only applies his idea to the emergence of movements in protest cycles. During periods of heightened contention, it is possible to observe movement clustering (when several movements emerge close together) and McAdam's idea seeks to explain how and why this happens (McAdam, 1995). The possibility of protest activity beyond discernible cycles of protest is not excluded by either Tarrow or McAdam. Further, they do not exclude the possibility that movements recognise and seize opportunities for action in other ways.



## New Social Movements

Like RMT and PP models, the New Social Movements (NSM) paradigm arose in response to the movements of the sixties. The European theorists who developed the approach understood these movements as a “new political paradigm whose form and content differ radically from those of “old” movements” (Touraine and Offe, quoted in Koopmans, 1993, 638). The new movements were deemed new, because their struggles sought cultural and personal changes as well as political and social changes. They wanted to change the social and cultural values that contribute to racism, sexism, homophobia and other discriminations and social inequalities (Crossley, 2002). They were also new, because their key protagonists were predominately middle class. NSM scholars were noting that these movements contradicted the two central tenets of Marxism that the working class would be the key protagonists of social change and that the conflict between capitalism and the workers would be the central struggle (Crossley, 2002). The new social movements were new, because they represented a shift away from the centrality of the labour movement.

Critics point out that much of the supposed newness has historical precedence and even direct roots to the ‘old’ social movements (Crossley, 2002). Student protest in Britain has a history running back to the foundations of the universities with the sixties student revolt having clear links with contention in the thirties and fifties (Simon, 1987, Brewis, 2014, Hoefferele, 2013). However, focus on the dynamics and features of social movements masks the important theoretical points that the NSM model offers to understandings of social movements (Crossley, 2002, Kriesi et al, 1995). Unlike the RMT and PP approaches, NSM does not offer explanations of the practicalities of how movements emerge. Instead, it points to the wider social, political and cultural tensions that give rise to protest, highlighting how the sixties movements had cultural and social goals alongside their calls for political concessions. NSM recognises political contexts and opportunities as important, but notes that protest emerges in specific social and cultural contexts as well and is informed by those contexts. Applied to the sixties British student movement, NSM theory sheds light on the social and cultural concerns that inform student protest activity. While students fought for practical concessions, they were also pushing back against social norms that placed additional constraints on public life for people of colour, LGBT peoples and women. In his

thesis, Thomas highlights this student struggle against accepted social and cultural values and practices as a central part of the sixties student movement (Thomas, 1996). This thesis will show that students have continued to push back against restrictive, discriminatory and bigoted attitudes on campus and in wider society, making this a central part of their diverse protest activity.

The NSM approach is useful for explaining student protest, because it redirects attention to the cultural and social aspects of social movements and their activities. Applied to the student movement, the NSM approach provides an explanation for movement and protest activity that targets social and cultural values, seeking change within the public and institutions that goes beyond reforms and concessions and addresses the root causes of overt and institutional discrimination. This helps highlight the less tangible aspects of the student movement, which is too often stereotyped as addressing student-only concerns, such as tuition fees and accommodation problems. Students seek to change the world in idealistic and practical ways, offering their time and energy to a range of social movements and movement goals. While they do seek improvements in their own material condition, they are repeatedly found fighting for others, often beneficiaries they have little direct connection with, and for the broad cultural and social attitudinal shifts that are important to tackling societal discrimination.

Further, Crossley has highlighted that NSM has refocused attention on the role that grievances and strains play in movement and protest emergence (Crossley, 2002). The RMT and PP traditions cast grievances as a constant and so less analytically important in explaining movement activity. In contrast, NSM recognises them to be continually present, but argues that they also change across time. The urgency and importance of long-running grievances can shift as threats to and pressure on communities alter in the political and social context. The importance of grievances in the student movement is complicated to unravel. However, it is possible to understand students' sense of injustice at the disparity between their values and their associated expectations of governments and other institutions and the social reality as a grievance (Hanna, 2013, Keniston, 1967). In Keniston's argument, this disparity is a central motivational factor, operating in a similar way to grievances in other social movements (Keniston, 1967). Students' sense of injustice is not

the only factor in mobilisation, and Keniston points to the importance of activist networks and opportunities (although not in these sociological terms), but their sense of injustice can be seen underpinning protest activity around campus issues and other concerns, such as the Vietnam War (Keniston, 1967, Hanna, 2013).

### Protest Prone Students and Institutions

Having refuted the stereotype of disaffected youth as the key protagonists in student protest activity, Keniston offers an alternative explanation. It has already been noted that Keniston centralised the importance of student values and beliefs as motivating factors for protest. The disparity between students' progressive and egalitarian values and the social reality is posited as provoking a sense of injustice that motivates organising and action (Keniston, 1967, Parkin, 1968). There are obvious connections between Keniston's focus on values and the NSM tradition (Crossley, 2002). Like NSM scholars, Keniston sheds light on the social and cultural targets and changes sought by the Western student movements in the sixties. He acknowledges that they sought material improvements to their own lives, but emphasises that their broader challenges to authority were rooted in progressive values. According to Keniston, students' belief in and prizing of social equality and justice motivated challenges to political, social and cultural norms that created and justified inequalities that students found unbearable.

Not all students are involved in protest activity (Blackstone et al, 1970). Explanations must allow for this or they incorrectly universalise the experience, ignoring that the majority remain uninvolved, although often sympathetic and that some students are opposed to activist goals (Thomas, 1996, Blackstone et al, 1970, Blackstone and Hadley, 1971). Keniston acknowledges that holding progressive values does not automatically incline students to sustained collective action. Many students find their values in conflict with the social reality, but instead seek mainstream politics and voluntary action as routes for addressing inequalities (Brewis, 2014, NUS, 1942). They may be sympathetic to protest activity, even joining protest events around high profile issues, but do not become part of the activist core and subculture on campus. Keniston argues that some students have 'protest prone personalities' that incline them towards movement activity when confronted with injustices

and inequalities (Keniston, 1967). Research by Blackstone and Hadley on British student activists drew similar conclusions suggesting that Keniston's theoretical insight is applicable to the British context (Blackstone and Hadley, 1971).

Studies into British student values demonstrate that a majority hold progressive and left-leaning political and social values across the twentieth century (Rose, 1963, Zweig, 1963, Blackstone and Hadley, 1971, Henn et al, 2002, Henn and Foard, 2011, Ball and Clark, 2013). The term 'student values' is used throughout this thesis to describe the egalitarian, politically left and centre-left values espoused by many students and specifically by student activists. However, students are not politically homogenous; not all students are left-leaning (Hundscheid, 2010). Mainstream right-wing politics are well represented on British campuses in the form of Conservative student societies across the twentieth century (Evans, 1996, *Manchester University Conservative Association, 1952, Manchester University Conservative Association, 1970, Ivory, 1978, LSE Conservative Society, n.d*). There is also historical evidence of far-right student activism, which demonstrates that some students do hold discriminatory political and social values (*Gliniecki, 1979, Colgan, 2004*). More recently, the University of Warwick had at least one openly fascist and racist student organising on their campus (Yip and Lovett, 2014). Further, students are not consistent in their application of their political and social values and can engage in sexist, homophobic and racist behaviour (Sherriff, 2013, NUS, 2012, NUS, 2014a). 'Student values' is used here to describe the general political position of British students, but it is important to recognise that the reality on campus is more nuanced.

Keniston argues that student protesters share a number of characteristics (Keniston, 1967, Flacks, 1967, Sampson, 1967, see also Blackstone and Hadley, 1971). 'Protest prone' students are academically talented and predominately middle class. Their families hold and encourage liberal, progressive social and political values and high ethical standards, which students largely share and many report their parents as accepting, even supporting their political activism. Keniston suggests that these characteristics make students more sensitive to "the 'civil-libertarian' defects of their college administrations" and to deprivations of civil rights off campus, which they frame as injustices (Keniston, 1967, 118). Keniston suggests that protest prone students come into conflict with an unequal and unfair world more

readily than others, because their value system is at odds with the social reality. He argues that student activists' radicalism belies a strong commitment to the American values of justice, free speech, equality and democracy, which students are taught and see espoused by the American government, universities and other institutions. Seeking to uphold these values themselves, students expect to see them acted out in the political and social context and so confronted with the failure of their universities, government and other institutions to implement these values are outraged. American and British students were appalled by societal and institutional racism, by the brutality of the Vietnam War and the petty authoritarianism of university administrations, while British students were disillusioned by persistent social and educational inequalities and the failure of Labour to engage in nuclear disarmament (Keniston, 1967, Thomas, 1996, Hoefferele, 2013, Parkin, 1968). They shared a generalised sense that traditional authorities had become morally bankrupt (Thomas, 1996).

Students frame many of these failings as social injustices, becoming angry at the inequalities and unfairness they observe around them. For protest prone students, the disparity between their values and the actions and failings of their government and universities proves unbearable. They convert their outrage and sense of injustice into political activism and collective action. Keniston sees this conflict between student values and the social and political world as prompting protest activity, but it can equally be understood to prompt students towards voluntary action, political party activism and socially responsible career choices (NUS, 1942, Brewis, 2014, Keniston, 1967). In the British context, Parkin also emphasises the disparity between students and the authorities as a motivator for student protest and CND activism (Parkin, 1968, see also Hanna, 2013).

Being inclined to political engagement and collective action does not explain student protest entirely. Keniston suggests that institutional factors also play a role, characterising some universities as protest promoting. Universities with reputations for academic excellence and freedom tend to become "magnets" for student unrest and dissent; this is a finding that Van Dyke and Soule echo in their own studies (Keniston, 1967, Van Dyke, 1998, Soule, 1997). Many of the key sites of sixties student unrest were academically prestigious and selective institutions, such as UC Berkeley, the Sorbonne and the LSE. Keniston argues that the selection criteria of these universities inadvertently gathers large numbers of 'protest prone

personalities'. By admitting intellectually bright and capable students, these universities bring together students who are deeply committed to progressive values. The campus then facilitates student interaction, enabling the politically inclined to develop the ideological solidarity and organisational cohesion necessary for collective action (Keniston, 1967). Crossley has applied a similar idea to the British context, but describes this process as activist network formation (Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012). These networked students become a critical mass of activists, who can be mobilised as on and off campus issues rise in salience and urgency (Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012).

University education is widely understood to encourage students to question the world and its canon of accepted knowledge. Across the disciplines, but particularly in the humanities and social sciences, students are encouraged to challenge and critique. Universities are sites for the advancement of knowledge, where old theories and accepted understandings are overturned with new empirical and theoretical evidence (Ashby and Anderson, 1970, Keniston, 1967, Parkin, 1968, Sanderson, 1975, and Ker, 1988). This intellectual culture of questioning the status quo within disciplines and the wider world can be seen to encourage dissent amongst students. It is a logical step that students encouraged to critique the social world may seek major social changes when confronted with uncomfortable, brutal realities. Although all universities encourage intellectual originality and questioning, not all see large scale student unrest. Keniston suggests that institutions that highly prize academic freedom, encouraging dynamic, challenging research, are more prone to student unrest (Keniston, 1967). These universities create the conditions for student dissent and unrest to develop; they encourage a campus culture that challenges the status quo, which is taken up by students. For Keniston, this campus culture underpins student protest, but it is the interactions between students, the formation of activist networks, that led to mobilisations (Keniston, 1967, Crossley, 2008). Having bonded together, sharing their political and social ideas and sense of injustice at the hypocrisy and failings of their university, government and other institutions, students are able to seize emergent opportunities and mobilise.

Keniston dismisses claims that student protest is purely discontent with their institution. Several commentators attributed student protest to concerns about poor quality teaching, inadequate facilities and the impersonal nature of large universities (Brown, 1969, Kidd,

1969, Altbach, 1967). Keniston acknowledges that these issues can be important. However, he also notes student discontent with campus restrictions on their civil liberties and their engagement with movements addressing the issues faced by non-affluent, marginalised and oppressed groups in America and beyond. Challenges to social and political inequalities and to infringements on civil liberties (experienced by students and other communities) embody the egalitarian and progressive values that Keniston identifies in student protesters (Keniston, 1967). This thesis will demonstrate that British students continue to challenge societal and institutional discrimination, the loss of civil liberties and other rights abuses. Their activism around sweated labour, international human rights abuses and against racism, homophobia and sexism in Britain is rooted in their valuing of equality and social justice.

Keniston's ideas are a particularly useful way to understand student protest activity and they are applicable to the British context. The centralising of values and beliefs focuses attention on the disparity between students and institutional and governmental authorities. Not all student protesters are ideologically opposed to their national political systems, but many felt a very real disjuncture between their values and expectations and the social reality. Student protest is a response to the failings of governments and institutions to implement the values they espouse (Keniston, 1967, Blackstone and Hadley, 1971, see also Parkin, 1968, Thomas, 1996, Hanna, 2012). Student protest is not an irrational, arbitrary response; Keniston characterises students as living out their values, seeking their implementation in society (Keniston, 1967). Further, he emphasises the organisational and ideological development of the student movement, which shows the movement to be rational, if tactically and rhetorically radical. In the British context, Parkin has emphasised the same disparity between students and the British government and other institutions as a key motivational factor in student unrest (Parkin, 1968). Crouch and Hanna have identified student activists as sharing a sense of injustice at petty university restrictions, social inequalities and discrimination and other failings by the state and institutions to uphold liberal social and political values (Hanna, 2013, Crouch, 1970, see also Thomas, 1996 and Blackstone and Hadley, 1971). As in the American context, this sense of injustice motivates and underpins on and off campus mobilisations by students, although other factors, such as

resources and the recognition of political opportunities are important as well (Hanna, 2012, 2013).

### Hotbeds of Activism and Abeyance Structures

The popular and theory based explanations outlined above are primarily concerned with the emergence of protest activity. Social movement studies has been very focused on explaining how and why movements and protest emerge in particular social and political contexts. The post-sixties trend has also advanced theoretical discussions of movement decline. The PP tradition has been particularly active in identifying contractions to political opportunities and international organisational factors that facilitate the decline of protest activity. State repression and co-optation of social movements are understood to contract opportunities for collective action and other movement activity, while factionalism impacts on the ability of movements and individual movement organisations to function sufficiently to sustain protest (Miller, 1999, Freeman, 1999, McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly, 2001). Discussions about the decline on student protest activity are explored in Chapter 5 in relation to the pattern of protest emerging at LSE and UoM. However, social movement continuity and survival remains a relatively new area of study with Taylor's concept of abeyance dominating the literature (Taylor, 1989).

Taylor's conception of abeyance structures has become the dominant theoretical framework for explaining movement continuity. According to Taylor, abeyance is a

“holding process by which movements sustain themselves in non-receptive political environments and provide continuity from one stage of mobilisation to another”

(Taylor, 1989, 762).

Social movements are often understood to be temporary phenomena that collapse at the end of protest cycles (Foss and Larkin, 1986, Byrne, 1997). However, qualitative and quantitative studies have found that social movements actually cycle through periods of increased and decreased activity (Tarrow, 1998). They do not collapse, but rather decline and survive to re-emerge as new opportunities and resources become available. In *Survival*



*in the Doldrums*, Rupp and Taylor highlight that feminist organising and activity persisted between first and second wave feminism despite a hostile political and social climate (Rupp and Taylor, 1987). Abeyance is therefore a useful concept, because it recognises this continuity between mobilisations. Taylor suggests that movements form abeyance structures which carry movements' collective identity, ideology, tactical repertoire and activist networks between periods of contention and publicly visible mobilisations. Abeyance maintains a social movement's protest potential.

Social movement organisations are conceived as the primary abeyance structure, because they can retain the practice of protest, movement goals and members between mobilisations. Bagguley suggests that formal organisations are more efficient carriers than informal networks and groupings (Bagguley, 2002). Exploring the American women's movement, Taylor highlights that formal social movement organisations ensure movement survival by centralising leadership and homogenising membership (Taylor, 1989). Taylor explains that more formal leadership structures provide clear direction and goals sustaining commitment and ideals in hostile environments. The implication being that the goal diversity and tactical innovation witnessed during periods of contention is unsustainable and potentially divisive in unreceptive political environments. Further, she echoes Zald and Ash by insisting that movement endurance is facilitated by member exclusivity (Zald and Ash, 1966 cited in Taylor, 1989). As movements decline, their membership drops, but those that remain are often committed activists willing to sacrifice time and energy to pursuing movement goals. Taylor suggests that by forming cliquish membership groupings, movement organisations (and movements more generally) are able to protect themselves against the emotional and psychological impact of political and social hostility and continue to engage in movement activities that sustain and advance the movement between mobilisations. That is not to say that no new recruits join, but Taylor envisages them as being absorbed into the organisational clique.

A growing body of literature points to the continuity of national student movements (Van Dyke, 1999, 2003, 2012, Davies, 2010, Day, 2012). The main evidence of continuity comes from ongoing protest activity, although Day's excellent history of NUS highlights other movement activity continuing beyond cycles of contention (Van Dyke, 2003, Day, 2012). The

evidence indicates that the student movement has experienced abeyance, entering periods of low public visibility, but managing to maintain its tactical repertoire, collective identity and ideological beliefs and values. However, the survival of student protest has been understudied with an exception being Alison Dahl Crossley's recent thesis on US feminism (Crossley, 2013). The literature is dominated by the belief that the student movement declined into virtual non-existence with only occasional explosions of activity (Hoefflerle, 2013, Hanna, 2012). Apathy is supposed to have overwhelmed the student movement. This thesis contests this narrative, arguing that allegations of apathy mask the diversity of political, apolitical and overtly non-political activity present on university and college campuses. Using Taylor's abeyance theory, it explores how students have maintained their movement in periods seen as hostile to movement activity.

Abeyance structures are highly visible on university campuses. The students union and its political societies maintain protest potential by retaining tactics, ideologies and goals within their histories (Crossley, 2008, Hanna, 2013). However, the application of abeyance to student protest is complicated by the distinctive patterns of protest activity that have emerged at LSE and UoM. Taylor's work implies that movements experience long periods of latency between each mobilisation, but this is not evident in the data from LSE and UoM. The periods of low activity experienced by the student movement are shorter, lasting just a few years. Taylor's original conception of abeyance points to decades of abeyance in the feminist movement before its resurgence in the sixties (Taylor, 1989, Rupp and Taylor, 1987). Student protest declines in public visibility, but the experience of abeyance is distinct from other movements' experiences. There is potentially something unique about how student protest is sustained. Van Dyke's conception of some university campuses as 'hotbeds of activism' offers some insight into how student protest and other movement activity is maintained (Van Dyke, 1998).

Exploring sixties mobilisations, Van Dyke notes that some campuses were major sites of contention and unrest, while other universities experienced protest on a smaller scale (Van Dyke, 1998). She found that universities with histories of student unrest in the thirties were four times more likely to experience unrest in the sixties than campuses with no such history. Van Dyke posits that some campuses become 'hotbeds of activism' with protest and

movement activity sustained through the development of activist subcultures. These campus subcultures maintained activist traditions through political and cultural activities (Van Dyke, 1998, see also Buhle, 1989). There are clear links here with Taylor's abeyance theory and Van Dyke does see these activist subcultures as the campus abeyance structure. The subcultures are formed of multiple organisations and informal networks who draw together politically inclined students, which facilitate and maintain the development of a collective identity (as student activists) and sharing of movement goals, ideologies, values and tactics. During periods of political and social hostility to social movements, activist subcultures maintain protest potential and movement organising on 'hotbed' campuses. The activist subcultures maintain the traditions and practices of protest and activism necessary to fuel future mobilisations (Van Dyke, 1998). This is similar to how Taylor understands social movement abeyance to operate in maintaining protest potential within movements (Taylor, 1987). The two theoretical positions are explored in relation to student protest continuity in Chapter 6.

There are three important distinctions between Taylor's conception and how the student movement operates. Firstly, the student movement is unable to retain the same membership for long periods as students inevitably graduate. Taylor's abeyance theory makes no allowance for this, because it insists that members are retained for long periods between mobilisations. Van Dyke states that activism is maintained through the continual recruitment of students, but does not expand on this statement (Van Dyke, 1998). It is necessary to turn to Crossley's focus on social networks to explain how recruitment maintains the movement (Crossley, 2008). Crossley suggests that politically inclined students are continually recruited into the campus activist network through the organisations and informal groupings that form Van Dyke's activist subcultures. Applying the subcultures theory, student protest is maintained, because the activist subculture imparts the traditions and practices of protest to new students. The subcultures ensure the generational transfer of relevant knowledge and skills to maintain protest potential on campus.

Secondly, Taylor's focus on formal social movement organisations does not account for the fluidity of student networks and subcultures. Crossley indicates that students are embedded

into multiple campus networks, stretching from coursemates to friends made in student societies (Crossley, 2008). Further, student unions enable students to participate in multiple societies, campaign groups and activities. Students can move fluidly between different parts of the campus activist network, participating in different movement activities around related or distinct issues. They can also move between ideological positions, becoming more or even less radical (Crossley, 2008). This fluidity possibly helps sustain student activism by ensuring the diffusion of activist traditions and practices through campus activist networks. Cross-network participation by students in different political and cultural activities enables students to share ideas and practices between different parts of the network, further embedding activist traditions and practices on campus.

Finally, the diversity of the student movement also contributes to its survival. Students are drawn into the campaigns and mobilisations of other social movements, engaging as participants in protest events organised by non-campus based organisations. Students also organise their own protest actions and campaigns on non-student issues, reflecting a diversity of political and social concerns on campus. At UoM and LSE, students have organised their own protest events on the Suez Crisis, against the Vietnam War and in support of Jewish students facing persecution in Russia (*News Bulletin, 1956a, The Beaver, 1956, Fox, 1965, The Beaver, 1967d, Wynter, 1980, Epstein, 1986, Hoefflerle, 2013*). For example, in February 1965, UoM Liberal and Communist societies organised a peace march to express opposition to the Vietnam War, while many students were involved with planning and organising around the large-scale Vietnam marches in London in 1968 called by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC) (*Fox, 1965, Henley, 2008, Fraser, 1988, Shaw, 1969*). They have also been engaged in movement organising on sexism, homophobia and racism, targeting their campaigns on and off campus. This range of activity contributes to protest and movement survival by providing multiple routes for engagement and participation. In contrast, Taylor argues that movement diversity is difficult to maintain in non-receptive political climates. She argues that it is difficult to sustain organising around many claims and goals, because there is little political or social space for their expression.

However, Taylor's theory was focused on one social movement, which perhaps explains why she found goal and issue diversity to decline. The student movement differs from other

movements, because it shares extensively in the goals and concerns of other movements, which stimulates repeated student protest and campaigning on multiple issues (Crouch, 1970, Burkett, 2014, Davies, 2010). Further, the university provides ample space for a diversity of student interests to emerge, which perhaps underpins student protest by creating room for a diverse activist subculture to emerge. The explanatory value of abeyance theory and activist subcultures for student protest continuity is explored with reference to the protest event data in Chapter 6.

## Conclusion

Various explanations for student protest have been outlined here. The populist sixties explanations have little analytical and explanatory merit. They are unsuitable for explaining activity at UoM and LSE, because they ignore the rationality and political sophistication of student mobilisations that is demonstrated by the primary and secondary materials consulted here. The social movement literature and other sociological theories outlined are all individually compelling, but separately are not sufficient to explain student protest activity. It has become clear through the chapter that these theoretical strands interact to motivate and facilitate mobilisations. Together, they form a useful framework for understanding how and why protest activity emerges and survives. In her works, Esmee Hanna adopts a holistic approach to explaining student protest, synthesising the social movement theory and drawing on the student protest literature (Hanna, 2012, 2013). That approach seems best suited for explaining student protest and it is applied in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, which examine protest at UoM and LSE.

## Chapter 3. Counting Student Protest

### Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological approach adopted to collect data on the pattern of British student protest activity between academic years 1945/46 and 2010/11 and to explore the factors that contribute to the emergence and decline of campus activism and protest. Establishing the pattern of protest activity at both universities is easily achieved with numeric data, but explaining why that pattern rises and falls across time requires more contextual detail. The chapter first outlines how UoM and LSE were selected as cases for this study, then discusses the key research method, Protest Event Analysis (PEA), which was used to gather quantitative protest event data. It also outlines how qualitative protest data was drawn from various archived textual sources and utilised within the thesis. The student press, well archived at both UoM and LSE, was used as the primary source for the quantitative and qualitative data with other archival materials also consulted for additional contextual detail. An explanation for how both methods have been applied here is offered, including information on the sampling strategy, variables and coding schedule and a justification for utilising the student press as a data source.

Both PEA and archival analysis have been widely used in social movement research to explore various facets of both protest and other movement activity (Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002). However, qualitative methods dominate the existing literature on the British student movement with researchers making use of interviews and archival material (Hanna, 2012, Thomas, 1996, Fraser, 1988, Hoefflerle, 2013). There have been no attempts to chart the frequency and pattern of student protest in Britain for any period, including the sixties. PEA has been used here to start to gather numeric data that can be used to reveal the levels of student protest activity across the twentieth century and early twenty-first. However, PEA cannot explain why and how protest activity rises and falls across time. In their methodology for researching the European environmental movement, Fillieule and Jiménez encourage a mixed method approach when using PEA, arguing that qualitative data fleshes out the statistical bones, adding meaning and explanation (Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003). That approach has been adopted here, because it is only through the qualitative data

that the how and why of the emergence, decline and survival of student protest at LSE and UoM can be explored. The qualitative data is drawn from the archival materials to add contextual detail to the numeric data produced by PEA. It offers insight into student activists' motivations, values and political thinking, as well as information on their tactical choices, relationships with University authorities and experiences of movement decline. Using student newspapers as the primary data source here further supported the mixed method approach as the student press records the number of protest events alongside student opinion about those protests, their reactions to grievances and tactics and their broader political engagement. For this study, the student press is a highly valuable data source and its suitability is discussed further in relation to each method.

This thesis is also informed by conversations with student activists across the political spectrum and observations of student protest activity and campaigning at UoM between academic year 2010/11 and 2014/15. These discussions and observations form anecdotal evidence that is used sparingly to inform explorations of co-optation and factionalism at UoM and LSE in Chapter 6. It is made clear where anecdotal evidence is being used, either directly or through footnotes. The anecdotal evidence provides additional insight that supports the qualitative and quantitative research presented here.

### Choosing the Cases

It would have been impractical to collect protest event data for the entire British student movement, but using two example cases offers an insight into the concerns, activity levels and continuity of the movement. Using cases enables the exploration of the emergence, decline and survival of British student protest across time and allow for the potential factors contributing to rises and falls in protest activity to be identified. The two cases, UoM and LSE, were chosen, because they met the criteria outlined below. It should be noted that UoM had been used as the sample case in my masters' dissertation, which collected data on protest activity between 1990/91 and 2009/10. The University was chosen for inclusion here as this project offered an opportunity to further explore its activist history. It had originally been selected through criteria 2, 3 and 4 outlined here, but does also meets the first criteria

as it has held university status since the early twentieth century<sup>1</sup>. Briefly, the criteria were institutions holding university status before 1960, evidence of protest activity in the sixties, evidence of student activism and protest beyond the sixties and a well-archived student press.

The first criteria, that institutions held university status before 1960, was applied as the project sought to explore protest activity in the fifties and the influence of any protest activity upon subsequent generations. Social movement researchers have explored the influence that movements have upon each other and on future waves of contention (Soule, 1997, Tilly, 1995), finding that movements adopt and adapt the tactical repertoires of older and concurrent movements and reframe issues when opportunities for action and influence emerge (Meyer and Whittier, 1994, Soule, 1997). In his PhD thesis, Thomas suggests that student engagement with CND in the late fifties and early sixties may have influenced the emergence of student activism in the sixties (Thomas, 1996). Simon Prince supports this view, arguing that CND and its tactical strategy of non-violent direct action influenced the British student movement (Prince, 2007, see also Hoefflerle, 2013). He found evidence of influence through student engagement in CND, and through the indirect influence of the US Civil Rights and student movements, who had adopted CND's non-violent approach, upon British activists (Prince, 2007). By collecting empirical data on student protest activity before 1960, it is possible to see not only the pre-sixties pattern of protest, but also begin to explore the influence that this protest activity had on the sixties and beyond. UoM and LSE easily meet this criteria, having been awarded university status in 1880 and 1905 respectively (Dahrendorf, 1995, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000).

The second criteria, evidence of substantive unrest during the sixties, was used to support the application and exploration of Van Dyke's 'hotbeds of activism' theory to the British context. Van Dyke argues that while many American campuses witnessed some student protest during the sixties, only a few saw extensive unrest and posits that these campuses

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<sup>1</sup> Criteria 2 was applied slightly different in the MSc project. There evidence of recent student protest was used as an indicator of the ongoing presence of activism on campus. The occupation of a University building in January 2009, to protest Israeli military activities in Gaza in December 2008, was used to meet this evidence requirement.



have histories of student protest activity that extend beyond the sixties (Van Dyke, 1998). Van Dyke found that campuses with histories of radicalism and protest in the thirties were more likely to experience sustained student activism in the sixties. She describes such campuses as 'hotbeds of activism', arguing that they sustain student protest beyond readily identifiable periods of contention (Van Dyke, 1998). Here, the 'hotbeds' theory is applied to the British context to establish whether campuses which saw considerable protest during the sixties remain sites of unrest and dissent. Evidence of substantive unrest during the sixties was established through the secondary literature, which records LSE and UoM as sites of considerable protest activity and through the available institutional histories, which recount student protest on both campuses in the decade (Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004, Dahrendorf, 1995, Hanna, 2013, Hoefferele, 2013).

Evidence of student protest activity beyond the sixties was used as the third criteria, because basing selection simply on protest during the sixties risked echoing Van Dyke's finding that some universities only see protest during periods of more general student unrest (Van Dyke, 1998). Evidence of protest and activism beyond the sixties suggests that campuses may be sites of continuous contention, potentially 'hotbeds of activism' and so might offer insight into both the pattern and emergence and decline of protest activity between 1945/46 and 2010/11. Protest activity between academic years 1990/91 and 2009/10 was established through the research already done on student protest at UoM during this timeframe. The activity includes several protests organised by NUS, which indicate the involvement of students from other universities in protest activity during this period. Additionally, a search of the Guardian/Observer archive was conducted for the keywords 'student protest', 'eighties' and 'seventies', which revealed a history of student protest activity at universities and further education colleges across the UK. Secondary literature, including Mike Day's excellent history of the NUS and institutional histories, supported these findings (Day, 2012, Dahrendorf, 1995, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004).

The fourth criteria was the necessity of a well archived student press. Protest event analysis relies on archived data sources to cover long time frames. The sample universities here therefore need to have student publications covering the entire timeframe and that have

been well archived. Materials related to the student experience, such as Union minute books, society records and student newspapers, have been poorly archived in comparison to other university records as institutions have focused on other aspects of their histories (Brewis, 2014). The sparse archives dictates more than any other criteria which universities make suitable cases for PEA work. Several university archives reported no student press collections or incomplete collections, either due to poor collection practices or patchy publication records. Interestingly, universities with known activist histories appear to have maintained better collections of student publications and other documents. Both UoM and LSE have well archived collections of their student publications, which cover the entire timeframe. LSE's student publications date back to 1905, with its official student newspaper being formed in 1949, running continuously since then. UoM's publications date back to 1932, and while the official newspaper has changed name, it has maintained a continuous run.

Three famous sites of student unrest did not meet the first criteria, and were thus excluded from the study. The universities of Warwick, Sussex and Essex (the plate-glass universities) were established in the sixties, but quickly became centres of political activism and militancy, attracting much public outrage (Beloff, 1968, Crouch, 1970, Rooke, 1971, Thompson, 1970). All three remain sites of dissent with Warwick and Sussex being particularly active in recent years (Lipsett and Benjamin, 2009, Davies, 2010, Dysch, 2013, Centeno, 2013, Warwick for Free Education, 2014a, Warwick for Free Education, 2014b). They have been excluded here as it would not be possible to identify how pre-sixties activism affected the campuses. However, their unique histories of protest deserve serious academic consideration through PEA and other methods.

The universities of Birmingham, Sheffield and Leeds, several constituent institutions of the University of London (primarily SOAS and UCL) as well as Oxford and Cambridge readily meet the criteria outlined here (Crouch, 1970, Ellis, 1998, Hanna, 2012, 2013). Practicalities meant that data could not be collected at all these institutions and realistically only two universities could be reviewed in the timeframe of a PhD. As well as meeting the criteria above, the LSE and UoM were chosen through two additional variables. Firstly, UoM had already been the subject of a similar project and it made sense to continue the research

there. Secondly, any research into British student protest must engage with the history and reputation of the LSE. With no previous PEA studies, it was impossible to not choose LSE as a case. This project offered the opportunity to establish the infamously radical institution's pattern of protest activity, and so critically examine its relationship with political activism.

## Methods

This section outlines the PEA method and how qualitative protest data has been gathered and utilised.

### Protest Event Analysis Method

This section provides an explanation of how PEA has been applied to social movement research. The popularity of newspapers as a data source for PEA research is examined followed by an explanation of why the student press is the best available source for research on student protest activity. The section explains how PEA has been utilised in this study, outlining the definition of protest used, sampling strategy, variables and coding decisions. It outlines how the data can be triangulated, noting that existing literature supports the overarching hypothesis that student protest is a continuous feature of university life from the mid-fifties onwards. Finally, the section explains how the data has been quantitatively analysed.

PEA is a well-established and widely used method within social movement studies. Rootes describes PEA as the "systematic means of documenting protest events" from textual sources (Rootes, 2000, 26). A specialised form of content analysis, the method provides a flexible format for collecting numeric and descriptive data on protest events. PEA has proved popular with researchers, because it enables the longitudinal exploration of the frequency and pattern of protest activity within given locations and timeframes and by specific social movements and thus has been central to the identification and examination of protest cycles (Franzosi, 1989, Rootes, 2000, Tarrow, 1989, 1993, 1998 see also 2011, Rucht, Koopmans and Neidhardt 1999). Further, the method facilitates analysis of social movements at the regional, national and transnational levels and can be used to support comparative analysis within and between social movements in one country or

transnationally (Rucht, Koopmans and Neidhardt 1999, Doherty et al, 2007, Soule, 2003, Kriesi et al, 1995, Jung, 2010, Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003).

PEA treats protest events as the primary unit of analysis and so gathers numeric and descriptive information about individual events. A coding schedule with predetermined variables and categories is used to collate the data. Continuous and discrete variables are typically used together to ensure that data collection is thorough. A core group of variables appear in most coding schedules: date of event, location, participant numbers, participating social movement organisations, issue, protest tactic, target and police presence. Studies add additional variables and categories to suit their own research needs, for example the extensive Dynamics of Collective Action (DoCA) dataset contains over 76 individual variables (DoCA, 2009). The complexity of social movements and their protest activity has forced researchers to adopt a relatively flexible approach to collating and coding protest event data. Providing advice to dataset users, Susan Olzak notes that the DoCA dataset provides information on upto 4 claims and 3 initiating groups (Olzak, 2010). The provision for additional variables for similar data means that the DoCA dataset is more detailed and reflective of the complex reality of many protest events.

Work outlining methodological issues by Koopmans, Rucht and Neidhardt as well as the inclusion of detailed methodologies in research publications has helped to professionalise the method (Koopmans, 2002, Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003, Rucht, Koopmans and Neidhardt, 1999). This professionalization has enhanced the method's rigour and reliability in measuring protest activity. Fillieule and Jiménez noted that early adopters paid little attention to methodological concerns, and while their findings are both valuable and reliable, their method application perhaps lacks the rigour of more recent studies (Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003). With several methodologies and codebooks available to guide researchers, the method can be easily applied to different social movements and national contexts (DoCA, 2009, Joyce, 2013). The availability of codebooks means that researchers can draw from existing studies and experience to develop coding schedules suitable to their research. The method's flexibility, ease of use and the availability of detailed methodological information has made it a popular method for measuring protest activity (Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003, Earl et al, 2004).

Newspapers are the most common data source in PEA research (Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003, Earl et al, 2004). While other textual sources, such as police and organisational records, can be used, researchers have favoured newspapers as they are a reliable, accessible, longitudinal record of public events (Earl et al, 2004). Koopmans has described this reliance as a “negative choice”, referencing problems with other textual sources that make newspapers the best available source rather than the best possible source (Koopmans, 2002). The advantages and potential problems of newspapers for social movement researchers are discussed next. The student press from LSE and UoM comprise the PEA data source here. Qualitative protest data has also been drawn from the newspapers and from various other archived materials. Using the student press to collect protest event data avoids some of the problems identified with national newspapers, but generates its own distinct set of concerns.

## Data Sources for Protest Event Analysis Research

### Newspapers as Data Sources

Social movement studies research uses newspapers to explore various aspects of social movements and their protest activity (Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003, Rootes, 2000). Newspapers have proved a popular data source for three key reasons (Earl et al, 2004). Firstly, the mainstream press has a long standing reputation for reliability and accuracy (Stone, 1987, Kellehear, 1993). Covering local, national and international events, newspapers offer generally accurate information, including factual details, participant opinions and background, in their reporting (Rootes, 2000, Tudor, 1993). Further, newspapers with regular publication histories and lengthy existences are excellent sources of longitudinal data through which researchers can trace the fluctuations of protest activity (Stone, 1987, Earl et al, 2004). Secondly, broad coverage practices means that newspapers offer the widest possible and therefore more representative sample from which to collect protest event data (Koopmans, 1999). Alternative documentary sources, such as police, court or institutional records, are considered to offer a narrower sample due to more restrictive selection criteria (Rucht and Ohlemacher, 1992). For example, police records are likely to only contain information on protest events that necessitated a police presence and so may exclude small, peaceful events. Finally, newspapers have been well archived by

public and university libraries. Their systematic archiving means that newspapers can provide the longitudinal and historical record of public events required for PEA work (Stone, 1987, Koopmans, 1999). Further, public archiving means that newspapers are a readily available data source. Police, institutional and organisational records have been subject to more patchy archiving practices and may have restrictions placed upon them that limit access and usage. While some organisational records have been well cared for, the irregular archiving and potential limitations of many others means they are less reliable sources for protest event data.

Newspapers are an imperfect data source (Koopmans, 1999, Rootes, 2000, Earl et al, 2004). In their assessment of the potential pitfalls of newspapers as protest event data sources, Earl et al identify two biases within newspaper and journalistic practice that create problems for social movement researchers (Earl et al, 2004). Selection and description biases affect which protest events are reported and how they are represented.

Selection bias refers to the media practice of selectively reporting news stories based on their perceived worth (Earl et al, 2004, Koopmans, 1999, Franzosi, 1987). Rootes argues that the media's obsession with novelty and spectacle favours the reporting of the most confrontational, controversial and novel protest events (Rootes, 2000). Thus large, violent and (apparently) spontaneous demonstrations are more likely to be reported, while more routine actions are ignored (Rootes, 2000, Earl et al, 2004). Journalistic and newspaper conventions favour the unusual and dramatic as reporting on such events can boost readership and circulation. As the majority of protest events are peaceful with low participant numbers, they are generally underreported in the national press. Local newspapers are more likely to capture more routine, peaceful events alongside larger scale marches and demonstrations in their region, but are also subject to selection biases which favour more sensational stories and so too can underreport local protest activity (Earl et al, 2004).

Newspaper coverage of protest impacts on public perceptions of the prevalence of protest in general and by specific movements (Downs, 1972, Doherty et al, 2007). Rootes argues that newspaper coverage can distort the visibility of protest activity, creating potentially inaccurate impressions of the frequency and intensity of protest in a given period (Rootes,

2000). New movements, protest tactics and waves of contention initially attract newspaper coverage as their novelty increases their newsworthiness. However, protest action is reported less as movements become less novel or controversial, which can create a sense that protest activity in general or by a particular movement has declined. This perceived decline in activity could be an accurate reflection of movement activity, but seems more likely to be the result of underreporting. Newspapers are less likely to cover events that follow a pattern already familiar to audiences, and can thus underreport many protest events (Rootes, 2000). Doherty, Plows and Wall found that activist publications create a better record of protest activity than national and local newspapers, which they found to overlook regular and small scale events (Doherty et al, 2007). Underreporting can create a public perception that protest by a specific movement has declined significantly, even disappeared, but several studies have shown that such perceptions are inaccurate (Koopmans, 1993, 1999, Doherty et al, 2007).

Underreporting protest not only impacts on public perceptions of activity, but also poses a major problem for researchers. Selection bias means that the majority of protest activity, particularly local activity, is ignored and underreported in the national press. Thus any sample drawn from national newspapers will generate a limited picture of protest activity, and even sampling with local papers will not capture every event (Rucht and Ohlemacher, 1992, Rootes, 2000). Rootes and Rucht and Neidhardt recommend use several quality national newspapers to capture the greatest number of protest events to measure national protest activity levels in general and by specific movements (Rootes, 2000, Rucht and Neidhardt, 1999). Although Koopmans (2002) notes that the benefit of using several newspapers is limited. Only a few additional events are captured, while the practical workload increases and Koopmans judges the gain to be small (Koopmans, 2002). It is nearly impossible to gather information on every protest event in a given time period (Rucht and Ohlemacher, 1992, Rootes, 2000).

Further, Earl et al (2004) identify two distinctive problems caused by description bias. Firstly, newspapers, especially those with national and international circulations, impose their own political and editorial slants onto stories (Tudor, 1993, Earl et al, 2004). Individual newspapers present stories in line with their own political and ideological sympathies, which

may reflect historical positions or the chief editors, or even the owner's politics. Such biases affect how social movements' demands, actions and participants are represented, shaping public and political opinion (Tudor, 1993, Koopmans, 1999, Earl et al, 2004). These presentations can be favourable or unfavourable and may differ greatly from how participants see themselves. For example, several national and local newspapers printed deeply negative representations of the sixties British student movement, damning the generation as ungrateful and foolish (Rooke, 1971, Thomas, 2008, Hoefflerle, 2013). These press representations have contributed to perceptions that British student protest moderate and inspired, if not actually caused by international students (Rooke, 1971, Hanna, 2008, Thomas 2002). This study is not concerned with the representation of student protest events and so this aspect of description bias is of little concern here. However it is worth noting that media reports shape public perceptions of social movements and can influence political responses as authorities rush to tackle unpopular activity robustly or to support causes that garner sympathy (Thomas, 2008).

Secondly, newspapers can contain factual inaccuracies (Earl et al, 2004, Tudor, 1993). Tudor states that unreliable sources and unverified stories can lead to inaccurate and incorrect information being reported as authoritative fact (Tudor, 1993). Errors include incorrect dates, locations and times of events, misspellings, and omissions of key facts, all of which can mislead the unsuspecting researcher. It is rare to find error free newspaper sources and so it is difficult to escape the problem of potential inaccuracy within a source (Tudor, 1993). Omissions and inaccuracies are sometimes corrected, although this depends on journalistic practices and whether such mistakes are noticed. The problem of factual inaccuracies is salient here. Missing data can mean that protest events have to be excluded from the dataset if key information is absent, while inaccuracies can mean that events are incorrectly included or coded with inappropriate variables. How data omissions impact on this study is dealt with later in this chapter.

Despite these problems, newspapers remain the most comprehensive and reliable source of protest event data (Koopmans, 1999, Rootes, 2000). Further, the well archived nature of many national and local newspapers offers the additional advantage of making research easily verifiable (Bryman, 2001). Unlike internet based sources, such as blogs, which can be



altered or removed, and broadcast media sources, which are more difficult to access and only reliably archived from the late 1970s onwards (Smith, 2010, Koopmans, 1999), newspapers can be subjected to independent scrutiny to ensure the validity and reliability of research findings (Bryman, 2001). They remain the best available source for much research into protest activity, although other records can be usefully used to capture additional data and triangulate findings as well as enhance understandings of specific events and more general patterns (Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003, Earl et al, 2004).

### Using the Student Press as a Data Source

Student protest is popularly believed to have dramatically declined following the sixties in Britain and beyond (Levine and Wilson, 1979, Hanna, 2013, Hoefflerle, 2013). Discussing the British context, Hoefflerle declares that subsequent student mobilisations have been sporadic explosions of discontent, provoked by the emergence of new grievances, such as higher tuition fees (Hoefferele, 2013, see also Hanna, 2013). Yet, there is considerable evidence of student protest activity persisting beyond the sixties, and not as intermittent outbursts (Day, 2012, Davies, 2010). This evidence suggests that public perceptions regarding levels of protest activity by British students are inaccurate. The perception has perhaps been caused by an underreporting of student protest activity in the press. The sixties student revolt was novel and unnerving; the geographical spread, frequency and intensity of protest activity rocked British society. Campus unrest rightly attracted considerable press attention (Thomas, 2008, Rooke, 1971). Applying Rootes' argument, it is plausible that such attention waned as student protest lost its novelty (Rootes, 2000). As the data collected here demonstrates, student protest is frequently peaceful, involving few participants and localised to campus, thus lacking the sensationalism and drama to be deemed newsworthy (Rootes, 2000, Koopmans, 2002). More research is needed to fully establish how much of British student protest activity is captured by the British press. However, it does seem unlikely that national newspapers would produce a representative sample of the total number of student protest events at the UoM and LSE between academic years 1945/46 and 2010/11.

Doherty found that activist publications captured more protest events, offering a fuller record of protest event activity by the environmental movement than national newspapers

(Doherty et al, 2007). Activist publications are produced for an already engaged and interested audience and so can cover small scale and local protest events. Without the commercial pressures of the national press, who seek to retain readership and circulation through focusing on dramatic events, activist publications can cover all aspects of social movement activity. Further, activist publications are able to record the majority of events, benefiting from insider knowledge that may not be available to journalists. Doherty's findings suggest that student publications are a potentially better data source than the national press for this study.

Student newspapers serve university campuses, and therefore concern themselves with issues and events directly affecting upon their student readership (*The Mancunion*, 2015, LSESU, 2015c). Covering a wide range of events and activities, the student press offers insight into the diversity of the student body. This coverage includes political and social engagement on campus, capturing the intricate absurdities of student union politics, participation in the student wings of mainstream political parties, campaigning for charitable organisations and student political activism. This interest in and direct relationship with the student population means that student newspapers are potentially more likely to report on protest events led by and/or involving students. Further, student journalists are connected into student life on their campuses, making them well placed (and arguably more likely) to cover many events, including protest activity on and off campus. Additionally, student newspapers accept letters, articles and reports from student societies and individual students, which increases the possibility of protest events being recorded in the student press.

For PEA research, student publications are the best available source for collecting protest event data. Firstly, many universities have long running student publications, which cover much of, and sometimes even the entirety, of their history. Therefore, many student newspapers are excellent longitudinal sources for exploring the student experience. Secondly, the student press is better placed to capture a greater number of student protest events than national newspapers, including localised and small scale protest activity less likely to attract national press attention. Further, with their mandate to cover student life, they are also likely to capture protest events led by other social movements where students

are present as participants. As well as primarily focusing on the national and large scale protest, national newspapers do not necessarily capture the identity of participants, and thus can mask the presence of students and other activists acting in solidarity with other social movements and their claims. As this project is interested not only in student led and student organised protest activity, but also in student participation in other movements protest events and activities, then the student press offers the best possible source from which to gather data on student interactions with other movements.

This is no perfect data source though. The student press has two significant limitations as well as also suffering from the impacts of selection biases, albeit differently from national newspapers. The first limitation is that student newspapers are only published during the academic term, when students (the primary readership) haunt university campuses. No issues are published during the short winter and spring vacations or through July and August (and often also June). This publication record may well reflect student protest activity, but any protest events falling within vacation periods are potentially lost from the dataset. It can be postulated that very few student led events fall during vacations. Crossley has shown that student political engagement is bound to campus based social networks and this thesis argues that these networks combined with campus based resources are key factors in the emergence of protest activity, which suggests that during the vacations with low student numbers on campus there is less potential for mobilisations (Crossley, 2008). However, some student led protest and campaign activity does fall within the vacation period. In July and August 2007, Wes Streeting, then NUS Vice-President successfully mobilised students and new graduates via Facebook to campaign against HSBC's withdrawal of interest-free overdrafts for new graduates (Osborne and Meyer, 2007). In Summer 2012, London Metropolitan students and staff protested a Home Office decision to strip the institution of its visa status, which negatively impacted international students (Malik and Lea, 2012). These events indicate that student activists can be mobilised beyond the academic year, suggesting that the lack of coverage by the student press during vacations likely means that some events go unrecorded, leaving an incomplete record of protest activity.

Secondly, erratic publication records during term time may mean that protest events are not recorded in the student press. The publications available at LSE and UoM cover every

academic term under scrutiny with no significant gaps (except for around 10 missing issues in 2000 and 2001 from *The Beaver*). Other student newspapers have fared far worse than those produced by LSE and UoM students, cycling through periods of weekly publication to virtual non-existence for whole years. Issues appear weekly or biweekly at both universities throughout the timeframe with the exception of *The Claremont Review*, which appears termly and is used as a data source for the period September 1945 to January 1949 (when *The Beaver* was first published). However, a few terms suffer from slightly more irregular publication records at both institutions. The reasons for the occasionally erratic appearance of the student paper are discussed further below, but the limitation they create is addressed here. Erratic publications means that some protests go unreported, either forgotten or left out of the next edition. Student journalists do not write for researchers and do not create a perfect record of university life. Reviewing newspapers from both LSE and UoM, it is clear that editors and journalists prioritise recent, future and urgent news during periods of intermittent editions. Any protest events occurring in these periods are likely unreported, because they fall outside the scope of the next issue, unless they have immediate importance to the student body. This entirely reasonable selection bias means that protest events no longer relevant or of interest to the contemporary student body are not reported and so are unavailable for inclusion here.

While they do not face the commercial pressures that encourage national newspapers to favour the novel, violent and sensational, selection biases are also present in the student press. Editors may opt to not report on, or publish articles written on spec by students, on aspects of student life deemed uninteresting or irrelevant to the wider student body, including student protest activity. The majority of students do not participate in protest activity (Kidd, 1969, Blackstone et al, 1970, Crossley, 2008). Many express little interest in campus political life and find the perpetual politicking in General Meetings infuriating (*Manchester Independent, 1967d, Rooke, 1976, Londesborough, 2006*). A *Mancunian* column reported that “many people would like to see politics play less part in the Union”, while *The Beaver* reported in 2008 that many LSE students felt “that the Union should solely be about welfare issues” and not external political issues (*The Mancunian, 1976d, The Beaver, 2008*). Protest activity which appears to have little immediate relevance to most students or that is already well known about on campus may be excluded by student editors

for this reason. For example, given the LSE's proximity to Trafalgar Square and South Africa House and the well-documented participation by students in anti-apartheid activism, it is very likely that students joined the pickets of South Africa House, including the famous non-stop picket, more regularly than *The Beaver* records (Brown, 2014, Davies, 2010). Such regular engagement with anti-apartheid activism may well have been judged as already well known by student journalists and editors at LSE, and therefore not necessary to record on every occasion. It is difficult to know how often LSE students attended the South Africa House pickets. However, it has to be assumed that some attendance is missing from the dataset due to editorial selection bias.

Finally, the student press relies heavily on student self-reporting to capture the variety of events and activities occurring on campus. Editorials note that student societies and groups complain about their events not being publicised or reported upon, seemingly expecting editors and journalists to be omnipotent and omnipresent. Student protest activity is no exception. While the student press captures far more than national newspapers record, this reporting relies on individual journalists or ordinary students to write articles on the protest events they attend. This reliance on self-reporting means that smaller protests or events only attended by an individual or small group, even if they attended explicitly as students, do not necessarily get included and are therefore potentially missing from the dataset.

There are limitations to using the student press as a data source. It cannot offer a complete record of student protest activity at LSE and UoM. However, the student press does offer a better record of student protest than national newspapers. Student papers cover a greater variety of action, because they are better placed to both report directly and participate on protest events. Further, they serve student audiences, who can reasonably be considered interested in campus life, which encourages the coverage of events and activities, including protests, involving students. These factors make the student press the best available source for exploring student protest.

## Unit of Analysis

All PEA studies determines the unit of analysis to be protest events, but the definitions of protest can vary considerably (Opp, 2009). Koopmans advises researchers to offer clear definitions of protest to ease identification during data collection and to provide readers with a clear understanding of why events have been included or excluded (Koopmans, 2002). He recommends also detailing how protest events with complicated features will be dealt with in the coding schedule, such as determining how tactical and/or geographically distinct actions occurring on the same day around the same issue will be coded. Koopmans also advises explaining any exceptional cases and specific exclusions based on tactic or issue in relation to this definition (Koopmans, 2002). As this study is concerned with protest activity involving students the definition offered here includes an additional criteria for determining if an event counts as student protest activity. A detailed explanation of how complicated cases have been coded is offered. Further, the decision to include petitions and collective letter-writing campaigns as protest events is explained as is the decision to exclude motions passed by union general meetings. Exceptional cases are also outlined.

## Defining Student Protest

A protest is defined here as a “collective public action by a non-governmental actor who expresses criticism or dissent and articulates a societal or political demand” and must be directed at an identifiable target or targets (Rucht, Hocke and Ohlemacher, 1992 in Rucht and Neidhart, 1998, 68, Opp, 2009). Target(s) is broadly understood here to include all authoritative and power holding bodies, such international, national and local governmental bodies and actors, university authorities, corporations and businesses and society in general. This broad understanding allows recognition that protest activity, particularly that by liberation campaigns, can seek to make a “societal or political demand”, but to also challenge and change repressive and discriminatory social norms and values (Van Dyke, Soule and Taylor, 2004, Kriesi et al, 1995). This definition captures the diversity of protest activity, but excludes private acts of dissent by individuals. The definition further excludes the normal representative functions of organisations associated with a social movement. For example, student union officials fulfilling their representative roles with the university

and/or other bodies are not considered to be engaged in protest activity, even if they raise objections and concerns about policies or practices.

For this study, an additional criteria was added to the definition above. To be coded as a student protest event, it must be clear that UoM and/or LSE students are present as participants. Social movement and popular literature recognises that student protest activity is not confined to actions organised by students around issues directly affecting university students (Burkett, 2014, Brewis, 2014, Day, 2012, Davies, 2010 and Simon, 1987). Measured here is the protest activity of students, which includes their engagement with and participation in other social movements. The criteria for inclusion is deliberately broad to ensure that protest events organised by students on the claims of other social movements and student participation in protest events organised by other social movements are captured in the dataset. It is not necessary for protest events to be about student issues to be coded as student protest events. It is the presence of students, rather than the issue being protested, that is crucial for inclusion. A narrower definition would fail to recognise the diversity of student protest activity and would fail to capture the influence that other social movements have upon the student movement (and arguably vice versa).

### Petition and Letter-writing as Protest

The dataset has included petitions and letter-writing as protest tactics. Petitions are not always considered protest events in social movement literature. However, they have been included here, because they are collective and public actions of opposition or support that enable students who cannot attend protests to express their discontent (*Glennon, 1988*). An individual signature is not a protest, but a collection of signatures for or against a particular issue can be seen as a collective expression. Further, petitions are collected in public spaces on campus for much of the timeframe, making the collections a visible act of criticism and dissent (and sometimes support). Petitions have been included here, because they are read as collective and public expressions of criticism and demands. However, they have only been included when it is clear in the documentary source that they were submitted. Petitions have limited impact if they are not submitted to their targets; they can only fully articulate demands and criticism if expressed to a target. The decision to only record

submitted petitions means that many petitions noted in the student press sources are not included, because there is no evidence of their submission.

Letters and letter writing campaigns have been included where the action is conceived as a protest, is done publicly or as a collective decision and where there is evidence of letters being sent or delivered to the identified target. For example, in academic year 1950/51, the UoM Women's Union issued a letter to Manchester City Council objecting to education cuts. The letter is a protest event, because it is a collective expression of criticism and demands to a target. Further, while not as disruptive as an occupation, the letter represents a break in the normal repertoire of the Women's Union, who had not previously so directly critiqued local authorities, and was framed as a protest by students (*News Bulletin, 1951b*). To be included as protest events, letters have to meet one of the following criteria. They must either be organised letter-writing campaigns to a specified target protesting a clearly identified issue. This criteria captures the majority of letters sent as protests. The other criteria requires that a letter is issued after a collective decision and specifically conceived as an act of protest. Finally, evidence that letters were actually sent is required and references in reports to delivery or responses are taken as evidence.

### Union Motions

Motions submitted to and passed at student union general meetings have been excluded, regardless of their wording, from the study for three reasons. Firstly, motions are a routine, even bureaucratic aspect of union politics. Motions cannot be included as a protest event, because they are part of a regular, standardised and democratic process. They lack the disruptive element that protest entails. Secondly, they are debated and voted on in closed proceedings (typically only union members and invited guests can attend). They cannot be understood as a "public action", because they are not passed in a publicly visible arena. Further, most motions have limited public impact. They articulate demands and criticisms and require some action by union officials, but they are unable to force action from any other body, including the university. There are exceptional cases that attract public attention (BBC, 2008), but most motions pass without public comment or reaction. Finally, the inclusions of motions that express demands and dissent would generate an artificial increase in the number of protest events. Their inclusions would distort the emergent



pattern of protest activity by increasing the recorded number of events in academic years with otherwise low levels of activity. Some motions are precursors to protest action, but the motion alone lacks both the disruptive element and public nature that is widely understood to characterise protest.

### Exceptional Cases

Three exceptional cases have been included in the dataset despite not fully meeting the definitional criteria. These cases have been included, because they are either unprecedented acts in the historical context or are identified as protest events by the student media. The first exceptional case is a telegram sent by UoM Men's Union to President Truman objecting to the imposition of the death penalty in a murder trial in academic year 1950/51 (*News Bulletin, 1951a*). Student criticism of the British and other national governments was not unusual in student society meetings or union debates, but directly communicating their opposition was unprecedented. Telegrams are not generally considered a protest tactic; they are neither disruptive nor public. However, this case is included, because it is an exceptional expression of collective dissent to a defined target. Further, the students framed the action as a protest against a legal injustice and more generally against the death penalty. The second exception is an anti-war protest by a nude, lone UoM student, which has been included for two reasons (*Student Direct, 2001a*). Firstly, it is identified as a student protest event by *Student Direct*. Secondly, the protest connects with wider public opposition to the invasion of Afghanistan (*Student Direct, 2001b*). The final exception is another lone protest by an LSE student at the Labour Party Conference in 2003 against the Iraq War, which is included for the same two reasons (*The Beaver, 2003*).

### Sample

Using newspapers as a data source for PEA can present researchers with a practical problem. National and local papers are often daily publications, which can mean that researchers have hundreds of newspapers to review to gather their data. Previous PEA studies have adopted various sampling strategies to make the data collection more manageable, reconciling themselves with sacrificing some data. Such strategies include sampling only one day a week, employing search strategies to use online archives and

sampling a different day for each week. Reviewing newspapers as a data source, Earl et al attacked older PEA research for using highly selective sampling procedures to collect data, arguing that such practices restrict the sample and so distort the findings (2004). They suggested that the best possible collection method is to use a daily sample to ensure that all relevant protest events are captured in the study, but recognised that this would significantly increase the workload (Earl et al, 2004).

No sampling strategies have been employed in this study, because it was practically possible to review all available issues. There a limited number of issues given that student newspapers are typically published weekly and only within academic terms. Every available issue has been reviewed to ensure as many events as possible are recorded in the dataset. Each paper has been read cover to cover, including inserts to ensure that all student protest events recorded were captured. Student newspapers typically follow a traditional newspaper layout with news and opinion pieces, reviews, listings, sports reports and features, but in practice it was found that reports on student protest events occur on any page dependent on space and other constraints, which necessitated reading every page. All protest events which meet the criteria for the unit of analysis have been recorded.

A total of eight student publications have been used to collate the numeric data. *The Beaver*, which was first published in January 1949, was the primary data source for student protest activity at the LSE for the majority of the timeframe. For the period between 1945/46 and January 1949, *The Claremont Review*, a termly journal in the style of *Household Works*, has been used. *The Claremont Review* did not record campus news and events during this period, but rather published student opinion pieces on national and international affairs, and occasionally on life at the LSE, alongside fictional works. It is an imperfect source, but as the only student publication available for this period had to be reviewed to ensure that any reported protest events were captured in the study. Enduring various name changes, the student press at UoM offers a near continuous run from 1932 with *News Bulletin* (the first newspaper) being used to cover the period 1945/46 to November 1960. *News Bulletin* was suspended following an allegedly libellous article and was replaced with the *Manchester Independent* in, which as the name suggests was officially established and run as independent of both the University and the Students Union. This independence gave

relative free reign, and the paper never shied away from criticising Union officers and the University. However, disagreements between the editors and the Union and an erratic publication record in 1972 term, meant that the Independent folded and was replaced by *The Mancunion*. Originally published as a Union newssheet in 1969, *The Mancunion* becomes the official union newspaper in 1972 when *Manchester Independent* folded. *The Mancunion* was replaced by *Student Direct* in 1997, which was a joint venture with University of Salford and University of Bolton (then the Bolton Institution) student unions to collectively publish their newspapers. Separate editions were produced for each campus, but much of the editorial work was undertaken by the University of Manchester Students Union. The venture lacked long term success though. In 2009, *Student Direct: Manchester* appeared as an entirely separate paper from those produced at Bolton and Salford universities, and was rebranded as *The Mancunion* in the following academic year.

Not all the issues produced during the timeframe are available. Both LSE and UoM have successfully archived the majority, but a small number have been missed. The UoM record is the most complete with very few missing issues for any period. The LSE record is mostly complete, although there are 10 missing issues across academic years 2000/01 and 2001/02. Missing issues do mean that any protest events reported in these issues will not be included in the study. However, the small number of unavailable papers means that the impact of these missing protest events is not very significant. It is still possible to see the emergent pattern of protest activity at both institutions and to explore the factors behind the emergence, decline and survival of student protest.

### Variables

Seventeen core variables were used to collect key data on student protest events (see Table 3.1). Information on a further eight variables was also collected, but not used within the study. These variables are discussed in Appendix B. The total number of variables is smaller than in other PEA studies, because the research has focused primarily on establishing the pattern of protest activity and on the issues and tactics of the British student movement. Collecting data for additional variables would have been both unnecessary for the analysis and time consuming.

Olzak recommends including additional variables in the coding schedule to allow several tactics and/or issues to be coded as one event (Olzak, 2010). While some protest events use one protest tactic and are concerned with just one issue, many protests are more complex. Activists may deploy several protest tactics to present and reiterate their demands and claims. Some events will see different social movement organisations and other activist groupings raising various issues. The issues raised may be directly relevant to the main concern. For example, the 2010 tuition fee protests were also raised objections to cuts to the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA) for further education students and to other cuts to the further and higher education sectors (Walker and Paige, 2010, Barnett, 2010). Or social movement organisations may have reframed their concern to connect with the primary issue, bridging any divides to bring forward the claims together. For example, CND activists have connected their campaign to end the Trident nuclear programme with anti-austerity mobilisations since 2010, arguing that cutting Trident would release money that could be used to fund universities, the NHS and welfare services (CND Cymru, 2015). Sometimes competing issues may be raised with organisations and groups understanding protest events as opportunities to raise their own claims. Creating additional variables to encompass the appearance of various issues and tactics at one event ensures that this data is retained and available for inclusion in analytical explorations. Having just one variable for protest tactics and issues means that researchers must identify the main tactic and/or issue, which may not be obvious and which excludes other sociologically interesting data. Here, two additional variables have been created for tactics and issues with any further data being included in the accompanying textual notes.

Variables about location, target, social movement organisations and participant numbers are utilised qualitatively throughout the thesis. Answering the research questions explored here did not require a statistical analysis of these variables. Instead, the collected data is used in two ways. Firstly, it adds contextual detail to the illustrative examples used throughout the thesis. Secondly, data on targets and social movement organisations is used to support arguments about the role of antagonistic political elites in provoking student protest and in discussions about factionalism in the student movement.

**Table 3.1: Core Variables**

<b>Core Variables</b>	<b>Variable Type</b>
Date (Reported)	Quantitative Variable
Date (Event)	Quantitative Variable
Academic Year	Quantitative Variable
Location	Categorical Variable
Protest Tactic	Categorical Variable
Second Protest Tactic	Categorical Variable
Third Protest Tactic	Categorical Variable
Issue	Categorical Variable
Second Issue	Categorical Variable
Third Issue	Categorical Variable
Target	Categorical Variable
Second Target	Categorical Variable
Total Number of Participants	Quantitative Variable
Number of Students	Quantitative Variable
Number of UoM/LSE Students	Quantitative Variable
Organising SMO	Categorical Variable
Second Organising SMO	Categorical Variable

### Coding

The quantitative data was entered directly into a coding schedule. The total number of protest events for the entire timeframe, for each academic year and for each decade was easily discernible and readily transformed into line graphs depicting the pattern of protest activity. However, further coding work was needed to ensure that the data on issues and tactics could be meaningfully explored. This further coding was required, because an initial decision to record as much detail as possible resulted too many individual categories to be analytically useful. For example, anti-war actions were initially coded by the war or military intervention they protested. While the Vietnam War and 2003 Iraq War produced several protest events, other military activities provoked only one or two protests. This level of detail is interesting, but lacks meaning in a study covering a 66 year period. It was more useful to recode these protests as ‘anti-militarism’, which has made it possible to track anti-war activism across the timeframe. Learning from this, the decision was made to recode the issues and tactics data into analytically useful categories. These coding decisions are outlined in this section.

A key coding decision was to only include one protest tactic and one issue per event in the data presented here. This makes the data easier to present and interpret in relation to discussions about broad changes in issues and tactics across time. However, some interesting data has been excluded and a less full picture of some events is presented. For example, protests against speakers are coded as one event, but often include pickets and meeting disruption. Several such protests are coded as pickets as this was the primary tactic, but this means that meeting disruption is underrepresented as a tactic in Chapter 6. To some extent, the exclusion is addressed in illustrative examples used to discuss the factors contributing to protest emergence, decline and example. But it is worth bearing in mind that the dataset includes greater detail on tactics than can realistically be included here. The coding decision has less bearing on issue data as protest events tend to have a core issue. Any other issues brought forward will generally be closely connected, such as calls for better grants during anti-loans demonstrations in the eighties (*NUS, 1985, Gardner, 1989*), or on a similar theme, so protests against visiting Conservative MPs in the eighties often faced a multitude of issues all connected to Conservative policy proposals or decisions (*Nisse, 1985*). While this additional data on issues is lost here, it has little impact on how the issue data is read as the coded issue is the main concern of the majority of protesters.

### Recoding Protest Issues

Issues were recoded as far as possible into categories reflecting the social movement they are associated with. For example, the 'anti-militarism' category therefore captures all anti-war and peace activism and protest against the arms trade, while 'environmentalism' captures protest around GM crops, climate change and pollution. The following categories were created:

- Animal Rights
- Anti-Racism
- Anti-Militarism
- Anti-Fascism
- Environmentalism
- Apartheid
- LGBT Movement
- Women's Movement
- Labour Movement
- Immigrant Rights
- Israel/Palestine

Three additional categories were necessary to capture protest events not falling into the categories above: Governmental Policy (Non-Education), Developing World Debt, Poverty and Exploitation and Other. The first, Governmental Policy (Non-Education), covers all protests specifically against governmental policies and legislation not captured by the other categories. Mainly, this is protest against public sector cuts and various mining community strikes. The second category captures a range of protest activity concerning the Global South and includes student support for Indigenous Peoples rights, anti-sweatshop campaigns and the cancelling of debt agreements. The final category, 'Other', captures all the protest events that fall beyond the scope of the other categories. A full list of the issues which have been recoded as 'Other' is provided Appendix C.

It was also necessary to create additional categories to capture the diversity of so called 'student issues' across the time frame. Student concerns represent 34% of the total number of protests at both institutions, but grouping these concerns in one category masks the differing contentious relationships and issues that students have with the state and their universities. Given the focus on student protest activity, this thesis should pay attention to the diversity of student concerns and ensure that they are visible in the presented data. 'Students issues' is too vague a label to be meaningful as it masks that student contention stretches from opposition to tuition fees and loans to disgruntlement with college catering. The categories needed to create space for student contention around financial matters (tuition fees, loans, grants and student debt and financial hardship), opposition to other education policies (cuts to further and higher education and attacks on student union autonomy) and discontent solely directed at their university, which includes contention around university accommodation, catering and other campus facilities, poor quality teaching, assessment procedures, curriculum content, student representation and disciplinary processes, particularly against student protesters.

Three categories have been used instead: Student Finance, Education Policy and University Concerns. The first covers contention around grants, loans and fees, while the second covers protest about general education cuts and other policies that affect access to and the quality of higher education. 'University Concerns' is the largest category, covering issues ranging from accommodation and other facilities to disciplinary procedures, student union

autonomy and student representation. These issues could have been separately coded to retain a higher level of descriptive detail, but doing so rendered the graphical representations unwieldy and difficult to read. Grouping the variety of student concerns and complaints about their university together does lose some detail, but clearly demonstrates the level of contention around issues which directly concern the campus population. The lost detail is however captured in the qualitative data collected via textual analysis, which is used in the analysis chapters to add explanatory colour and meaning.

### Recoding Protest Tactics

The British student movement's tactical repertoire draws heavily from the well-established labour movement tactics of pickets, marches and rallies, but has also adopted the non-violent direct action tactics developed by CND, the US Civil Right Movement and the American student movement in the sixties (Prince, 2007, Hoefflerle, 2013). As with the recording of protest issues in the coding schedule, protest tactics were recorded as described in the newspaper report, but again these resulted in many individual categories and unwieldy data. Recoding was used to merge these individual categories where appropriate to make the data more manageable. The recoding decisions for each protest tactic are explained below.

#### Academic Boycotts

Academic boycotts, also known as lecture strikes, involve students refusing to attend lectures, tutorials, laboratory sessions and other classes as a protest. Academic boycotts are a tactical variation on boycotts that allow students to disrupt the university's normal functioning to express their displeasure with a governmental or university decision or policy.

#### Boycotts

Boycotts involve the refusal to purchase from or engage with targeted organisations, corporations and countries. Students have organised and supported various boycotts, most famously the long-running Barclays Boycott over the bank's involvement in South Africa.

#### Blockade

Blockades involve protesters physically stopping entrance to or exit from a space. It is a disruptive, confrontational tactic that can bring protesters face to face with their targets and opponents or the agents of these actors. Events have been coded as blockades where they



have either been explicitly described as such or where protesters have prevented other actors from accessing a space. Event where students and other protesters have gathered at the entrance of building, room or other space, but there is no indication that other actors were prevented from entering or leaving has been coded as a picket.

#### Direct Action (Creative Visual)

Direct action is a broad term that refers to various violent and non-violent confrontational protest tactics. These tactics seek to disrupt the normal functioning of public life and/or the target or seek to repurpose spaces and processes to solve societal and political problems. The term encompasses various creative and visual tactics that cause disruption, embarrassment or annoyance to the target(s). The following tactics have been recoded into this category: flashmobs/street theatre, banner drops, die-ins, human chains, fashion shows, balloon releases, cycling demonstrations and wreath laying.

#### Direct Action

This category captures protest tactics that fit the direct action definition, but that lack the creative and visual elements to be classified above. The category includes call-ins, hunger strikes, non-participation in formal meetings, the auctioning of arms at missile bases and the deliberate closures of student unions as protests. It also includes 'Switch It Off At Six', which was a direct action protest designed to highlight support for the Miners' Strike (*Closet, 1984*)

#### Monetary Strike

This category includes rent and fee strikes conducted by students against their universities. Students are aware that their universities rely on revenue generated through accommodation fees and international students' tuition fees and recognise that large-scale monetary strikes can force change. Rent strikes have been used to protest inadequate conditions in university accommodation and increases in rent, while fee strikes have been used by international students to protest fee increases.

#### Written Protest (Not Petition)

This category captures all other written forms of protest and includes letter writing campaigns, motions and telegrams.

### Lobbies

Lobbying is often considered a campaign technique as it aims to persuade political elites and other power-holders to support or oppose a particular policy or to enact change. It is less disruptive and is used by organisations that would not normally support protest actions, such as pressure groups, corporate lobbyists and some NGOs. While NUS officials engage in formal lobbying efforts with governmental departments and ministers, they have also organised mass lobbies of Parliament, encouraging university and college students to travel to London to speak directly with their MP. These mass lobbies are framed as protest events by NUS and students, which is one reason for their inclusion as a protest tactic. Further, they are collective and public displays of student dissent and power, serving to remind the Government of the protest potential of the student movement. This demonstrative function, coupled with the generalised disruption caused by large numbers of students seeking out their MPs at one time, means that mass lobbies should be understood as protests.

### March

This is a well-established protest tactic, which British students have adopted from the British labour movement's tactical repertoire. It should be noted that marches ending with a rally have been coded only as one event and as marches in this dataset. This is a common tactical pairing with participants generally understanding the two tactics as one event.

### Meeting Disruption

Meeting disruption involves invading, heckling and interrupting a meeting or event so effectively that it has to be halted or even cancelled. Heckling alone is not sufficient to be coded as a meeting disruption; the requirement here was the newspaper article made clear that an event was abandoned or halted while protesters were appeased or removed.

### Petition

Petitions are often considered a campaign technique rather than a protest tactic. As outlined early, this study has included submitted petitions, because they are collective expressions of dissent and discontent. Further, students frame petitions as acts of protest and utilise them to facilitate the participation of students unable to attend marches and other actions, particularly around student finance issues.

### Occupation

This is a non-violent direct action tactic, which involves seizing and holding of a building, space or symbolic site. Occupations challenge ownership of particular spaces and see activists repurpose the occupied space, using it to address societal and political problems and to explore how different methods of organising can be achieved. For students, occupations are effective methods for disrupting the working of the university or other targets and for exploring their concerns about teaching and the university curriculum. Students often use occupied spaces to hold lectures, teach-ins and educational events on subjects not included in the traditional university curriculum, addressing the lack of diversity, and to explore different teaching and learning approaches. They also use occupations as a space for exploring socialist and anarchist ideas, particularly seeking to use non-hierarchical organising and practice.

Here, protest events that involve the seizing and holding a space for a sustained period with the intention of challenging the ownership and use of the space have been coded as occupations. There is no specific time limit imposed although occupations are generally considered to be sustained actions lasting several hours, if not longer.

### Property Damage

This category captures tactics that involve violence to property. Hunt sabotage, graffiti and stall damage have been recoded here as it is the most appropriate descriptive category. It also includes general property damage caused by University of Manchester students in 1958/59, when they chained together campus carpark gates to protest a new directive forbidding students from parking in the staff carparks (*News Bulletin*, 1959).

### Sit In and Similar

Sit-ins are a direct action tactic that involves activists collectively sitting in one place. Sit-ins are distinct from occupations as they do not involve the sustained holding and use of a space by activists. Several tactics developed by students are variations on the sit-in and have been coded here, because they involve the collective gathering of participants in one space, but do not involve the seizing, holding and repurposing of a space. The tactics included in this category are sleep outs (where students sleep rough overnight, often to highlight homelessness), shantytowns (which students use to highlight poverty) and work-ins (which

involve students remaining in libraries and other academic spaces to study outside their normal opening hours).

#### Picket

Pickets come from the labour movement tactical repertoire. They traditionally accompany strikes and other workplace protest and involve workers and union members assembling at the entrances of their workplaces with the aim of convincing their colleagues to join them. However, the tactic has been adapted by other struggles. For many movements, a picket is a static demonstration of their target. These pickets also involve protesters speaking to passers-by and those entering buildings, distributing informational flyers, explaining their cause and chanting their discontent. There are obvious similarities between these demonstrations and the traditional labour movement picket, which explains why both tactical forms share the same name. The category also encompasses other static demonstrations that are either specifically described as picket or which closely resemble the accepted format of a picket.

#### Rally

Rallies involve a series of speakers addressing an assembled crowd of social movement participants and articulating the movement's concerns and demands. They are frequently coupled with marches and appear irregularly as protest events in their own right. Some criteria were applied to ensure that more general speaker events were not incorrectly included. To be coded as a rally, an event need to occur in a publicly accessible and visible space and follow the traditional rally format of speakers addressing an assembled crowd only. Events taking place in formal meeting spaces, that included question and answer panels or that involved presentations were not coded as rallies.

#### Teach In

Emerging in the sixties, teach-ins challenge the traditional educational practices of the university by covering topics not included in the university curriculum and by utilising non-traditional, cooperative teaching and learning approaches.

## Vigil

Vigils are symbolic protest actions that express remembrance, support and solidarity with marginalised and oppressed peoples. Events have only been coded as vigils if they are reported in the press reports as such.

## Withdrawal of Labour

Unlike workers, most students are unable to withdraw their labour in a manner that disrupts their workplace (the university), so this category mainly captures student support for strikes by workers. However, it was necessary that this category reflected that striking is not the only form of workplace disruption. In the early nineties, student nurses in Manchester staged a walkout over their conditions and treatment (*The Mancunion*, 1990).

## Missing Data

The literature builds an expectation that LSE will host significantly more protest activity, but the dataset reveals that the reverse is the reality (Dahrendorf, 1995, Ellis, 1998, Kidd, 1969, Crouch, 1970). The supposed vanguard of the British student movement is the less contentious campus. The disjuncture between expectations and the findings needs explaining. It may well be that LSE students were involved in less student protest activity. Certainly Martin Shaw's account of academic year 1968/69 at LSE indicates that the campus saw less activity than other British universities as LSE students were burnt out from nearly four years of contention and the rise of political factionalism (Shaw, 1969). However, it is also possible that a number of protest events are missing from newspapers. Selection biases likely account for some missing activity; it is reasonable to presume that *The Beaver* editors excluded some events as irrelevant to their campus audience. Further, there are some missing issues, including around 10 issues across 2000 and 2001, which means that any events recorded in these issues are unavailable for inclusion. It is impossible to know for certain if any events are excluded due to the missing issues, but it must be assumed that some are.

Two other factors also explain the possibility that the LSE dataset is incomplete. Firstly, *The Beaver* suffers a more patchy publication record than UoM's papers. The impact of irregular publication was discussed above and is applicable here. *Beaver* editors particularly affected

by irregular publishing typically explain their laxness as due to a lack of student journalists, personal involvement in student politics and academic pressures. What is interesting in these explanations is that they indicate active political participation by student journalists and editors, which actually reflects LSE's reputation as a student political hub despite creating frustrating gaps in the history of that political activity. Secondly, London offers students a variety of off campus activities, including more opportunities for activism. It is unfeasible for a campus newspaper in London to capture everything students are involved. Off campus protest activity is probably underreported. Where student journalists are unable to report, *The Beaver* relies on self-reporting via articles or letters. Students may not produce their own reports on their protest activity, which means that these events are missing from the record offered by *The Beaver*. Further, space constraints and selection biases may lead to their exclusion by the editorial team.

Judging the impact of the missing data is difficult. Student at both universities may have been involved in significantly more protest activity than can be captured through the student press. However, the datasets are as complete and accurate as they can be. Further, some triangulation can be achieved through institutional histories and the records of other social movements.

### Triangulation

There is no central UK database of protest activity against which the dataset can be triangulated. Further, neither UoM nor LSE have noted in their own institutional records, the occurrence of every protest event involving its students. Police records were postulated as a possible source of triangulating data for most, but not all the events captured in this dataset. Small events are unlikely to have necessitated a police presence and therefore may not appear in police records. Further, more recent records are not necessarily accessible to researchers. It was not possible to access any police records in Manchester, and so this triangulation method has not been pursued in this study.

Alternative triangulations of the dataset have been found. Institutional histories record in detail the more infamous and colourful events witness on each campus, triangulating these

events (Dahrendorf, 1995, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004). They also note ongoing contention and unrest in the sixties, seventies and eighties, which supports the findings outlined in the here. Similarly, Mike Day's history of NUS supports the findings by indicating that student protest has continued and thrived beyond the sixties epoch (Day, 2012). Day's work also triangulates the national events captured in this dataset. The AAM archives also records the involvement of British students as participants and organisers (AAM, 2015). The archive does not provide sufficient detail to triangulate every student engagement, but does confirm student protest beyond the sixties epoch and beyond 'student issues'.

### Using the data

PEA immediately produces numeric data on levels of protest activity and simple coding can transform descriptive data into quantitative data that can be used in statistical models. Most PEA researchers assess their data through simple and complex statistical tests. Alongside graphical displays of the pattern of protest activity across time, researchers apply tests that measure the different factors, mechanisms and processes at work within, between and on social movements (for interesting examples see Jung, 2010, Van Dyke, 2003). This quantitative analysis has produced interesting and valid results that often support qualitative findings from case studies and other methodological approaches. For example, Jung found that the demobilisation of the NSMs in Europe was largely driven by the interaction between the institutionalisation and radicalisation of different factions in the movements (Jung, 2010). A finding which reflects insights offered by contributors to Klimke's, who show the terror tactics of former sixties student activists across Europe in the early seventies as the result of the radicalisation of a minority of (far) left student activists, while politically moderate students were (at least temporarily) appeased with greater student representation and other reforms (Klimke and Scharloth, 2008). The complimentary nature of quantitative and qualitative research has been noted with Fillieule and Jiménez encouraging more mixed method applications (Fillieule and Jiménez, 2003).

Here simple quantitative analysis has been conducted to outline the pattern of protest activity. No further statistical tests have been conducted, because they were unnecessary for addressing the research problems. The first research question (see Chapter 4), which

seeks to establish the pattern of protest, is addressed through a simple line graph charting the rise and fall of protest activity by academic year. The graphical representation of the data clearly establishes the pattern of protest activity at UoM and LSE. Further, the graph facilitates the identification of activity levels by academic year and decade and the noting of cycles of contention. In Chapter 5, tables are used to identify the distribution of tactics and issues by decade at each institution. The data informs discussion of the emergence, decline and survival of student protest, contributing to answering the second and third research questions. Illustrative examples, coded within the tables, are drawn from the textual sources to strengthen and inform the explanations offered here. A simple presentation of this data is sufficient here as the thesis's focus is on explaining how protest activity rises and falls. The tables demonstrate the tactical and issue diversity of British student protest, but also reveal changes within that protest. Issues rises and fall in salience for student activists, although 'student issues' remain central across the timeframe. The tables also show how tactical innovations in the sixties become accepted and standard parts of the student repertoire for later activist generations. There is insufficient space to explore issues and tactics thoroughly, but the tables demonstrate diversity and change within the student movement.

### Working with Qualitative Protest Data

The numeric data charts when protest activity has emerged and declined across specific timeframes and frequently points to the endurance of social movements thought to have disappeared or seriously declined (Van Dyke, 1998, 2003, Doherty et al, 2007, Rupp and Taylor, 1987). However, the numbers cannot explain how or why protest activity emerges, declines and survives. Qualitative data is better suited to uncovering and making sense of information on protest emergence and decline. The archived student press and other archived student documents contain a wealth of relevant empirical contextual detail, which has been collated and used later in the thesis to support arguments about the factors contributing to the emergence, decline and survival of student protest.

A close reading approach was adopted, because this method focuses on developing a sustained interpretation of a text and drawing out key empirical and contextual details. The



student press and other archival texts were mined for three strands of related information: quantitative and qualitative protest event data, information on student activism and political engagement and information on student interpretations and political thinking. Detailed written notes were created as part of the data collection process that capture a wealth of information about student protest, politics, activism and life.

The interpretation of this data was informed by the viewpoint that a synthesis of social movement theoretical traditions explains the rise and fall of protest activity most effectively. The qualitative archival analysis sought to draw out illustrative examples that support ideas and concepts brought forward in previous studies in a way that did not prejudge possible findings. The analysis offered in Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrates that the data both supports theoretical frameworks, but also questions and develops their central tenets and ideas. Examples of resources, networks and political opportunities in action were found within the consulted texts. Evidence of political factionalism and its impact on student organising and mobilising was uncovered within the student newspapers and publications by left-wing political societies, while examples of student responses to co-option and repression by authorities were found in newspaper articles. The close reading approach was particularly useful, because it speaks to the framing perspective developed in social movement theory (Gillan, 2008). The texts were explored for evidence of frames used by students to understand events and to justify their protest activity. A particularly useful element from this textual exploration has been the identification of a sense of injustice amongst students across the timeframe. Injustice has been identified in the literature as motivating the sixties student mobilisations, but the longitudinal analysis developed here shows it to be important for multiple student generations (Keniston, 1967, Thomas, 1996, Hanna, 2013). As Hanna identifies, a sense of injustice has a highly emotive role in mobilising protest, but it is also used by student activists as a key frame for interpreting the social world and events, particularly their interactions as students with the state and the university (see Chapter 5). In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, these illustrative examples are used as part of the analysis to support arguments about the factors that contribute to the emergence, decline and survival of student protest across the timeframe. The archival materials are directly referenced to support these arguments and to provide clear evidence of these factors at work. The documentary sources are used in conjunction with the

academic literature to build an explanation for the rise, fall and continuity of protest at UoM and LSE.

### Data Sources

The student press served as the primary data source for both methods, but other documents held in the LSE and UoM archives were also consulted. Both universities have collated various ephemera relevant to student protest and union politics. Their collections include the minute books of the both student unions, but also posters, flyers and leaflets created by student societies and campaigns. The ephemera stretches from a5 size flyers listing the dates and times of society meetings to hastily created flyers outlining the reasons for and aims of specific events. The collections also include the publications of political student society, particularly during the sixties and seventies, which offer student critiques, thoughts and insights into political activism on campus.

Student newspapers are the primary source for three reasons. Firstly, they are the best longitudinal and comprehensive documentary source on student and university life and have been more consistently archived than other student materials. Secondly, they are more comprehensive than society publications, because they are concerned with all aspects of university life. While student society publications focus on the society and its political ideology, the student press captures other forms of political engagement, such as voluntary action and liberation campaigning. Finally, the student press is relatively open with any student or society being able to submit articles, letters and society news. The large body of potential contributors increases coverage, but also captures the spectrum of political thinking, social engagement and critique offered by students.

Student society publications are a valuable insight into political opinion and factionalism on campus. The collection are biased towards left-wing societies, who have perhaps produced more pamphlets and journals than their right-wing counterparts. Both collections do contain evidence of Conservative student societies distributing flyers, letters and pamphlets produced locally in response to particularly events. Newspaper reports at UoM and LSE record the distribution of nationally produced materials, including badges, posters and

journals by Conservative student societies, but these are poorly represented in the archives. The other ephemera is interesting, but has been less analytically useful.

### Ethical Considerations

The data collated here is entirely in the public domain, albeit now accessible only through the UoM and LSE libraries. Research using materials in the public domain are widely considered free from the ethical considerations applied to research with interviews and participant observation. That does not mean that ethical concerns do not arise. The contemporary timeframe means that the archival materials contain personal data related to persons still living, which is subject to data protection laws. There are restrictions on how personal data can be used and researchers must take care how they use the information. However, the archival materials are newspapers and other publications and so considered to be in the public domain. The information, including the personal data, has already been accessed by the public and the archives are readily accessible by interested parties. As such, data protection concerns are not directly applicable, but it would be ethically suspect to unnecessarily pull and use personal information and events that may cause damage and distress.

In the context of researching students through archival material, it is important to remember that students are unlikely to consider their activities to be of interest to researchers. They cannot reasonably be expected to anticipate their inclusion in future academic work. Their youthful adventures may or may not be sources of regret and sorrow. It is ethically dubious to name individuals who have not directly consented to or anticipate their inclusion in historical studies. With the exception of students named in disciplinary processes, who are already named in the institutional histories, no individuals have been named in the study. It should be noted that Union officials, although not necessarily named here, are reasonably identifiable by academic year to their cohorts and in university records. In practice, the naming or not of individual students has limited impact on this study, but it is important to consider that research into the student experience frequently concerns still alive individuals and their potential for discomfort with appearing in research should be remembered.

## Conclusion

This chapter has outlined how the quantitative and qualitative protest event data has been collected and its usage in this thesis. In summary, the numeric data was recorded in a coding schedule (outlined above), while detailed written notes were also kept to record qualitative detail about specific protest events and other aspects of student political activity and campus life which inform the analytical arguments offered in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Examining in detail the collection problems faced by previous PEA studies, the chapter identifies the student press as the best available sources for data on student protest, whilst acknowledging potential selection biases. It acknowledges that the emergent dataset is probably incomplete, explaining how and why protest events may have been excluded from the data due to problems with the sources. However, the chapter asserts that the presented quantitative data is the most accurate, available record of protest activity involving UoM and LSE compiled thus far. Following Koopmans' advice on developing clear definitions (2002), the chapter provides details on how protest events have been defined and coded. All coding decisions are explained with additional material included in Appendices B and C. It also outlines how qualitative data has been collected and utilised to add explanatory and analytical colour to the numeric data following the advice of Fillieule and Jiménez (2003).

## Chapter 4. Continuous Contention: Student Protest Activity beyond the Sixties

**“Few subjects provoke as much obfuscating nostalgia as the 1960s student movement. Those who lived through the period like to believe that they changed the world. Those born too late play Bob Dylan records and pretend that the world did change.”  
(DeGroot, G, 1998, px)**

This chapter draws together literature on student protest with the quantitative and qualitative data to discuss the emergent pattern of protest at UoM and LSE. The chapter discusses how the two narratives which dominate understandings of twentieth and twenty-first student protest and politics can be applied and assessed in relation to the pattern of protest activity revealed in the data. These two interconnected narratives are the sixties student protest narrative which asserts the exceptional and unprecedented status of the sixties student unrest, and the student apathy narrative, which laments all non-sixties student generations as politically and socially apathetic. They are important to assess alongside the data as they inform the central research problem of this PhD: why do we understand student protest, political radicalism and militancy as spontaneously appearing in the sixties to then suddenly disappear from British streets after 1969. Together, the two narratives insist on this understanding, maintaining that the sixties student generation were idealistic rebels, unprecedented by previous students, and followed by selfish, ego-centric generations.

This chapter challenges that understanding using quantitative and qualitative data to paint a very different history of student protest and politics across the twentieth and twenty-first century. Using the collected data, the chapter answers the first research question:

**What pattern of student protest activity emerges at UoM and LSE between 1945/46 and 2009/10?**

A continuous pattern of protest emerges for both institutions, which challenges claims about widespread student apathy in Britain after the sixties. The pattern also challenges the sixties student protest narrative by highlighting the existence of student protest beyond the sixties. The chapter also addresses a distinct and unflattering sub-narrative about the British sixties student movement. Although popularly encompassed in the sixties student protest

narrative as an exceptional epoch of youthful rebellion and idealism (DeGroot, 2008, Donnelly, 2005), the academic and popular literature presents British student protesters as half-hearted copy-cats, echoing the revolutionary rage of the European and American movements (Marwick, 1998, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1969). This sub-narrative is partially responsible for the British movement's relative academic neglect as it has represented British students as less interesting than their international peers.

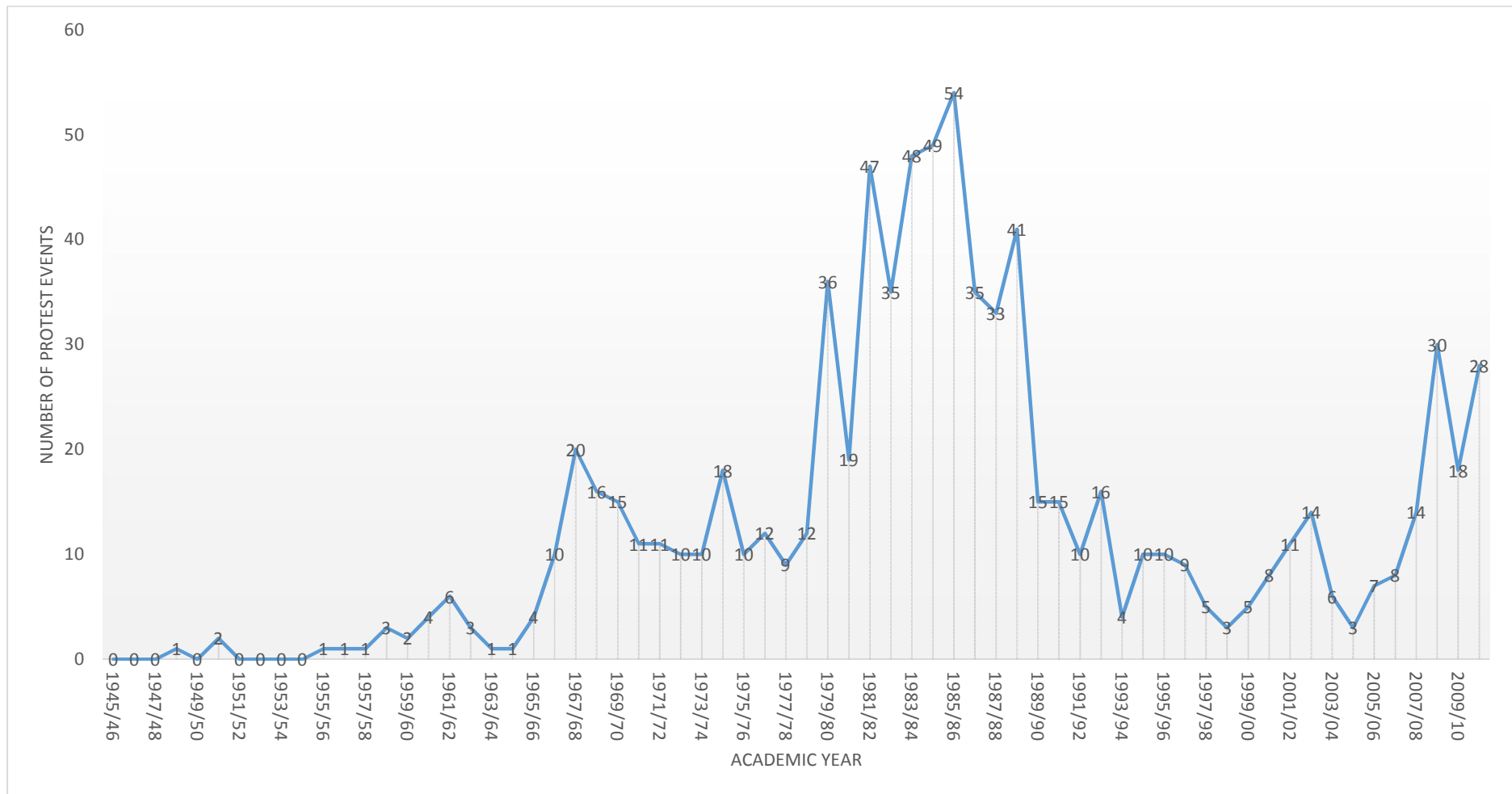
The chapter is divided into two sections. Firstly, the quantitative data for UoM and LSE is presented and its key features described. Commonalities between the emergent patterns are outlined with a surprising difference between activity levels at the two institutions noted. The second section assesses the existing literature's two dominant narratives and the distinct sixties British student movement sub-narrative. Claims about the sixties student movement's exceptionality are undermined with evidence of protest and radical political activity in the pre-sixties student generations and by establishing that political and social activism remains part of the British student experience through the protest data and qualitative evidence. Negative representations of the sixties British student movement are examined with both quantitative and qualitative data being used to show that British students were just as politically radical as their international peers. Clearly challenged by the continuous pattern of student protest activity that emerges at both universities, the student apathy narrative is outlined with its flaws being exposed. Finally, the chapter examines how despite not being an exceptional epoch of history quite as popular memory imagines, the sixties student unrest has transformative significance that shaped and continues to shape the political activism of subsequent student activists.

## Anarchy in the UK - Recognising Collective Action at the University of Manchester and London School of Economics

### The Patterns of Protest

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 chart the number of protest events involving UoM and LSE students for every academic year between 1945/46 and 2009/10. Both graphs reveal a continuous pattern of protest activity stretching from the mid-fifties until 2010/11, marked by peaks and troughs, which represent rises and falls in annual protest activity. Both universities begin their continuous patterns in academic year 1955/56. No protest activity is recorded prior to 1952/53 at the LSE, although given the institution's long-running connection to radical politics it is possible that protest events involving students before this date are not recorded in the student publications, *The Claremont Review* and *The Beaver*, rather than being non-existent. The LSE see four protest events occurring beyond 1955/56, one in 1952/53 and three in 1953/54, while UoM sees three protest events occurring outside its continuous pattern in academic years 1948/49 and 1950/51. This continuous pattern at both institutions indicates ongoing student protest activity and related political engagement and participation beyond the sixties epoch, challenging the narratives that declare 1969 (or 1973 if the 'Long Sixties' periodization is adopted, see Hoefflerle, 2013) the end point of student protest. Further, it indicates that students, or at least a minority remain engaged in protest and activism beyond the periods of insurgency represented by spikes in protest activity during the seventies, eighties, nineties and early twenty-first century.

Both line graphs indicate an increase in student protest event activity across the twentieth century. The trend suggests that protest activity is transformed into an acceptable route for the expression of dissent and discontent for students at both institutions. Although annual activity levels fluctuate, there is a discernible increase from the mid-fifties onwards. The steady rise suggests that by the late sixties protest was an accepted form for expressing discontent and challenging authorities on campus. However, this thesis will argue that it was the sixties global revolt that cemented the acceptability and usefulness of protest, particularly direct action, for student activists. The sixties ensured that protest remained part of university life across the twentieth century.



**Figure 4.1 – Line graph plotting protest events by academic year involving University of Manchester students between 1945/46 and 2010/11**



A surge of protest activity is visible on both graphs during the eighties, although it appears slightly more dramatic on Figure 1 as UoM witnessed the majority of events (see Table 4.1). Across the decade, the two universities experienced 505 protest events, some 375 more than they witnessed during the sixties. This surge is a surprise, because literature on the eighties gives little sense of this sustained and tremendous engagement in protest by British students (Turner, 2013, McSmith, 2010). Although Conservative MPs grumbled about radical leftists disrupting their campus visits, students were frequently criticised as politically apathetic by contemporary commentators (Pullan and Abendstern, 2000). The numeric and qualitative data makes clear that there is a disparity between current accounts and what was happening on university campuses. The surges in activity maps onto a wider cycle of political contention and UoM and LSE students were heavily involved in a range of anti-Conservative protest as well as participants in the decade's other key causes: anti-nuclear and anti-apartheid activism (*Lewthwaite, 1981, Grosset, 1981, Perrit, 1984, Mancunian, 1980*). Numerically, the eighties is an exceptional moment in student protest, but the decade's activism should not overshadow the sixties. Eighties student protest is only possible, because the sixties student generation made protest an acceptable method for expressing discontent and dissent. Further, as Table 5.3 and 5.4 in Chapter 5 demonstrate, eighties activists followed the tactical repertoire established by their sixties peers. Their meeting disruption, sit-ins and occupations took place, because the sixties student revolt made these tactical choices available to subsequent generations (Tilly, 1995).

The emergent pattern challenges several assumptions about student protest outlined in the existing literature. Firstly, the continuous pattern refutes the student apathy narrative, contradicting its insistence that political and social disengagement is the default status of post-sixties student generations. The pattern shows an ongoing engagement with political and social affairs amongst students, as measured by protest event activity. Further, it is indicative of a wider interest and participation in political activities, which is borne out by the qualitative data drawn from the documentary sources. This is discussed later in this chapter. Secondly, the pattern undermines the sixties student protest narrative, which maintains that the global sixties revolt and the emergent activity in Britain was an unprecedented and unrepeated wave of student activism. The quantitative data demonstrates precedent for student protest in the preceding decades and that subsequent

generations have remained engaged in protest activity. The data challenges Hoefflerle's assertion that all post-sixties student protest is just sporadic explosions of grievances and bubbling discontent (Hoefflerle, 2013). Media reporting often reinforces Hoefflerle's assertion by highlighting only the most sensational and large-scale student protest events, ignoring sustained campaigns and suggesting student protest to be an occasional, grievance motivated phenomena (Rootes, 2000). There is also a trend to treat high profile campaigns and protests as the rebirth of sixties activism, overlooking not only the continuity of student activism, but ignoring earlier proclamations of the reigniting of student revolt. Writing about a wave of occupations in 2009, Emily Dugan stated that "the spirit of '68 is reawakening" on British campuses (Dugan, 2009). Just nineteen months later, Michael White asked if the tuition fee protests represented a "new wave of action against the cuts" by students and other activists, although he does not make an explicit sixties reference (White, 2010). However, the data contradicts the presentation of post-sixties protest as occasional by demonstrating a continuous pattern of protest, indicative of sustained engagement in student activism and by LSE and UoM students.

Finally, the data challenges the idea of the sixties student protest waves as the peak of student mobilising in Britain. Subsequent decades have higher total numbers of protest with the eighties seeing more than double the protest activity of the sixties. The populist understanding of British student protest is that student activism and protest activity peaked in the sixties, declining steadily in the early seventies before disappearing almost entirely (Hoefferele, 2013, Hanna, 2012, Thomas, 1996). Although the student apathy narrative insists on the pervasiveness as apathy amongst university students, most popular opinion allows for student protest beyond the sixties epoch, but only as occasional outbursts of outrage about primarily educational issues (Hoefferele, 2013, Hanna, 2012, 2013). The quantitative data shows that protest activity does not peak in the sixties and that it is far from sporadic outbursts in subsequent decades. It demonstrates the UoM and LSE witness sustained periods of protest and activism by their students, which fluctuations in annual levels of activity. The data demonstrates that the student movement literature and populist understandings have misconceived British student protest, creating a narrative that does not reflect the reality of protest at UoM and LSE at least.

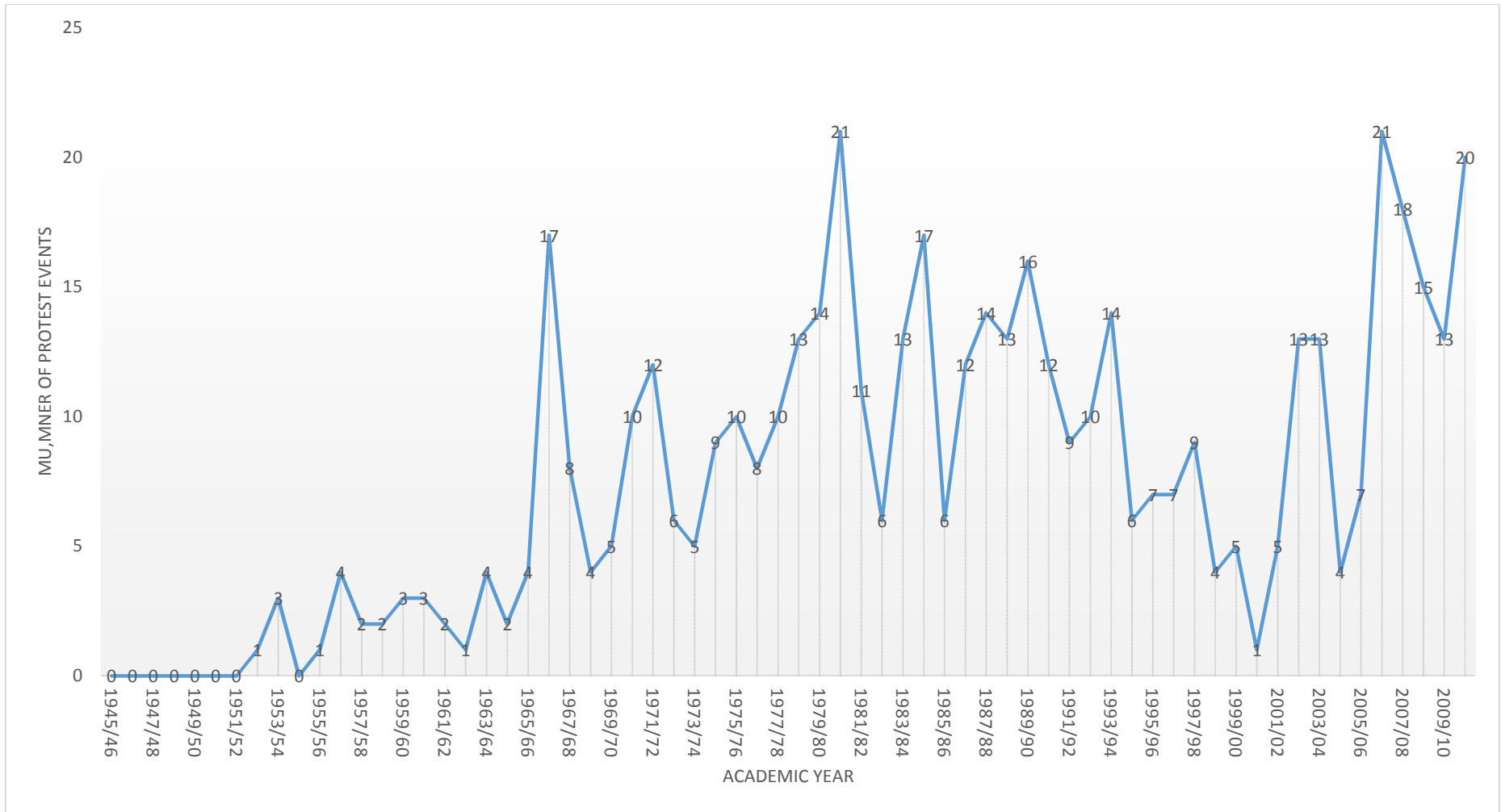


Figure 4.2 - Line graph plotting protest events by academic year involving LSE students between 1945/46 and 2010/11

The data also reveals the distinctive pattern of peaks and troughs corresponding to periods of high and low protest event activity, which is typical of protest event analysis studies (Tarrow, 1998, Jung, 2010). Figure 4.1 and 4.2 visually represent Tarrow's concept of protest waves that has been used to describe the irregular emergence of periods of insurgence across time in several societies (Tilly, 1995, Tarrow, 1998, 2011). The waves concept acts as a descriptor for the pattern left by cycles of contention, when multiple social movements emerge in clusters using protest events as means of making collective demands upon authorities and other power holders (Tarrow, 1998). Cycles have been identified through protest event analysis studies by charting the rise and fall of sustained periods of protest (Tarrow, 1998, Jung, 2010). The pattern noted here is typical of other social movements, who experiences periods of high and low activity, which correspond to their public visibility and impact (Rootes, 2000). It is worth noting that the peaks visible in Figure 4.1 and 4.2, which represent sustained periods of campus unrest, are likely to map onto broader cycles of contention in Britain and perhaps globally.

The patterns at both universities are broadly similar. A peak in student protest activity occurs in the late sixties as outlined in the existing literature on British and global sixties student protest. Further, rumblings of discontent spread through the seventies with an obvious peak in activity in the eighties that plays out until the early nineties and a final peak from academic year 2007/08 onwards. Students also engage in more activity in academic year 02/03, which is likely to be a spike in anti-war activism as this coincides with the Iraq Invasion. However, there is also a surprising difference between the patterns of protest activity. Students at London School of Economics are involved 40% less protest events than their Manchester peers, with a total of 505 protest events compared to 840 involving UoM students for the same timeframe (see Table 4.1).

This difference is surprising, because LSE is widely represented as a hotbed of political radicalism and particularly student activism in Britain (Dahrendorf, 1995, Ellis, 1998). Harry Kidd noted that from its foundation the School faced "allegations that it was a centre for political propaganda" and a "hotbed of revolution" due to its connections with the Fabians (Kidd, 1969, 8). *The Beaver* portrays the LSE "as a hotbed for left-wing revolutionary ideals" in the sixties and beyond (Doherty, 2010, 7, see also Roe, 1997a, 2), frequently representing

themselves as the vanguard of British student radical politics. In 1973, LSE students boldly claimed that they believed an “occupation at LSE would prove to be the detonator for a national explosion, a mass occupation, and the springboard for a national strike” (*The Beaver*, 1973). In a communique to other student unions, LSE activists declared “we have taken direct action – now it is your turn” (*LSE Occupation Committee*, n.d). These claims suggest that LSE student activists envision themselves as the vanguard of British student protest. Certainly Martin Shaw indicates that in academic year 1968/69, there was a sense that other universities looked to LSE to act as leaders to the student movement (Shaw, 1969). The literature on British student protest overwhelmingly focuses on events at LSE, granting the School special status as a key site for left-wing student politics and activism (Kidd, 1969, Crouch, 1970, Fraser, 1988, Hanna, 2012). The understanding of the LSE as the home of British student protest in the literature reflects LSE students own understandings of their university as an ongoing hotbed of student activism and radicalism (*Doherty*, 2010). Yet, Figure 4.2 and Table 4.1 show that there has been not nearly as much protest activity by LSE students as the School’s radical reputation and position in the literature leads us to expect.

**Table 4.1: Total Number of Student Protest Events by University and Decade**

<b>Decade</b>	<b>Number of Protests Events - UoM</b>	<b>Number of Protest Events - LSE</b>	<b>Combined Total Number of Protest Events</b>
<b>Forties (1945-1950)</b>	1	0	1
<b>Fifties</b>	10	16	26
<b>Sixties</b>	80	50	130
<b>Seventies</b>	139	97	236
<b>Eighties</b>	376	129	505
<b>Nineties</b>	87	83	170
<b>Noughties (2000-2011)</b>	147	130	277
<b>Total</b>	840	505	1345

Inflated egos do not explain the difference visible between the two institutions. Some of the difference can be explained by potential problems with the dataset, which are outlined in more detail in the previous chapter (Chapter 3). Briefly, some protest events may not be included in the dataset, because they have not been reported in *The Beaver*. Selection biases, irregular publication and the reliance on students to self-report are all factors that contribute to the underreporting of student protest in student newspapers. Further, London provides more opportunities for students to engage in activism than Manchester does. The city's status as the political and economic centre of Britain, coupled with its size means that students can engage in a range of on and off campus campaigning that may not be captured in *The Beaver*. Activism engaged in through NGOs, social movement organisations and political parties off campus and in local communities is unlikely to be captured by *Beaver* reports.

The numeric difference is dramatic and it challenges the conception of LSE as the primary site of student unrest in Britain. LSE students were (probably) the first to deploy direct action tactics, specifically hosting the first campus occupation<sup>2</sup>, and their mobilisation in the sixties undoubtedly inspired and motivated activists across Britain (Shaw, 1969). Further, in the eighties, LSE was once again perceived as a hotbed of youthful radicalism (*Hansard*, 01 May 1986 cc463-503). However, understanding one university as the key instigator of unrest detracts from the unique experiences of other campuses. Activists might be inspired by LSE, but their protest activity is not caused by LSE activists or protest (Crouch, 1970). Beyond this challenge to the conception of LSE, the numeric difference has limited analytical impact. The emergent pattern of activity at LSE is broadly similar to the pattern at UoM, indicating that wider cycles of protest emerge in line with rises in protest activity across the timeframe.

### Talking about Student Protest and Politics

This section evaluates the student protest literatures two dominant narrative and the sub-narrative on the British sixties student movement in relation to the pattern of protest activity established for students at UoM and LSE between 1945/46 and 2010/11. It starts by

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<sup>2</sup> The famous LSE occupation in 1966/67 is probably the first of the sixties according to documentary sources consulted here and existing research. It is very likely that it is also the first ever in the UK, although this is harder to establish as in-depth assessments of pre-sixties student activism have not been completed.

assessing the sixties student protest narrative generally and examining how the sixties British student movement sub-narrative emerged in the contemporary literature and continues to sway academic research, despite being largely ignored by popular representations of the decade. It then challenges popular and academic laments about student apathy by showing how such complaints are based on studies of youth political participation, which offer no consideration of informal politics or shifting terminological meanings.

### The Sixties Global Student Revolt

Few decades have captured the imagination of the public and academics alike as the sixties have. From Beatlemania to student unrest via sexual revolutions and psychedelia, no other decade has been more romanticised or fiercely defended from revision and reconsideration (DeGroot, 1998, 2008, Thomas, 2002, 2008b). The popular 'swinging sixties' narrative presents the sixties as the decade which rocked the reactionary conservative consensus of older generations. The narrative glamorizes the youthful dissent expressed through counterculture experimentation and student protest as the drivers of progressive social and political changes, such as legislation on divorce, homosexuality and abortion and relaxation of social values and norms around sexuality, marriage and family life (Thomas, 2008b, Horn, 2009). Contemporary and more recent accounts recall an overwhelming sense of hope, possibility and angry disillusionment with traditional authority that wafted through the sixties and its student generation (Crouch, 1970, Gitlin, 1987, DeGroot, 2008, Edelman-Boren, 2001, Green, 1998). Gerard DeGroot argues that the 'swinging sixties' motif has been heavily filtered with the uncomfortable edited out to create a coherent, glamorous and idealistic image (DeGroot, 2008). Whatever the contested reality, the sixties as a decade of rebellion and hope has become a powerful cultural concept.

Student unrest is central to conceptions of the decade as an idealistic rebellion against archaic authorities. Emerging from existing popular and academic literature is the sixties student protest narrative that emphasises the exceptionality and unprecedented nature of sixties student protest (see Fraser, 1988, Crouch, 1970, Gitlin, 1987). This sub-narrative of the 'swinging sixties' motif presents the decade as filled with youthful radicalism and

idealism, where all university students were would-be revolutionaries (DeGroot, 1998, 2008, Thomas, 2002). The literature justifies the exceptionality status through three strands of evidence. Firstly, stereotypes about the political quiescence of previous student generations, particularly students in the fifties, are repeated to highlight the lack of precedence for student activism and militant protest in the early twentieth century (Keniston, 1967, Thomas, 2008b, Prince, 2009, Hoefflerle, 2013). Secondly, the narrative indicates the geographical spread, the tactical and rhetorical radicalism and the emergence of transnational student solidarity as unique features of student political activism in the sixties that made the unrest deplorable and shocking for parents, politicians and university administrators (DeGroot, 1998, 2008, Edelman-Boren, 2001, Kidd, 1969, Rooke, 1971). Finally, it draws on the student apathy narrative to claim that student protest disappeared after 1969, making sixties student protest exceptional by insisting that it is a unique feature of a radical decade.

Claims that the sixties global student revolt is an unprecedented and unique historical moment are clearly undermined in the British case at least by the quantitative data presented in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. However, it is not sufficient to simply refute dominant narratives with numeric data. The sixties student protest narrative is both present in and supported by the existing literature on student protest and politics in the forties, fifties and sixties. To effectively challenge the narrative, it is necessary to examine it in more detail and refute its various evidence strands. Here, the three evidence strands listed above will be evaluated with the student protest activity data from UoM and LSE in turn.

Sixties student protest is often glamourized as unprecedented based on the fifties political context and its student generations alleged conformist quiescence. Writing in a special edition of the *Journal of Social Issues*, Flacks explains that any form of political radicalism seemed impossible in the West as the fifties closed (Flacks, 1967). In 1960, Seymour Martin Lipset declared that the “fundamental problems of the industrial revolution have been solved”, predicting an end to radical social movements (Lipset, 1960, 406, Flacks, 1967). Lipset overlooked continued racism, sexism and homophobia, but his argument reflects a widely held sense that a new political consensus was being reached in the West (Thomas, 2008b, Horn, 2009). This political consensus was signalled as the coming end of inequality,



class struggle and social conflict (Lipset, 1960, Addison, 1994, Thomas, 2008b). The possibility of radical politics sweeping university campuses was simply impossible to predict as such an idea fundamentally contradicted widespread agreement that consensus politics would end political movements and unrest in the West (Flack, 1967, Addison, 1994, Horn, 2009, Thomas, 2008b).

In the same edition, Flacks and Sampson explain that university students were not the obvious source of radical leadership and protest, regardless of wider assumptions about an end to social movements (Flacks, 1967, Sampson, 1967, Ellis, 1998). Thirties student radicalism had largely faded from public and political memory, although contemporary academics decried the new generation of university students as a 'silent generation', lamenting their lack of political activity (Keniston, 1967, Sampson, 1967). What political activity that did occur reflected the liberal consensus politics of Western governments as students (through their national unions) focused on building a lasting peace through international cooperation and understanding via the International Union of Students and International Student Conference (Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969, Brewis, 2014). The fifties student generation were perceived as a sober, studious bunch, concerned with world peace and social inequality, but accepting of the status quo (Thomas, 2008b, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, Brewis, 2014). There was no reason to suspect political radicalisation sweeping university campuses, or that thousands would soon join mass mobilisations against their institutions and governments. Further, after the Second World War, universities had increasingly focused on technical and practical education, fitting graduates for careers in civil service, business and industry (Savage, 1962, NUS, 1942). Their traditional encouragement of students to question and criticise was seen as in decline. Politicians and the public understood the universities as bolstering the status quo and economy, and not as having a potentially subversive function (Flacks, 1967). For the public and politicians, there was no obvious tradition of student radicalism and dissent for Western students, and especially British students, to follow.

Yet, student protest was not unprecedented in Britain. Thirties student radicalism is the obvious precursor, but is dismissed by the sixties student protest narrative as happening too far in the past to act as a precedent in the sixties (Brewis, 2014, Simon, 1987, Fryth, 1986).

An alleged dearth of protest activity and general political quiescence are pointed to as evidence that the immediate post-war years offered no precedent for unrest in the sixties. Table 4.1 clearly demonstrates 29 protest events involving UoM and LSE students between 1945/46 and 1959/60, which refutes the narrative claim of silent, protest-free campuses in the post war years. In January 1959, UoM students chained the university car park gates shut to protest a sudden removal of student parking privileges (*News Bulletin, 1959a*), while in December 1955, LSE students boycotted and picketed School catering facilities to protest food quality and prices (*The Beaver, 1955*). Students organised and participated in off-campus demonstrations as well. At both institutions, students organised protests in opposition to the governmental response to the Suez Crisis (*News Bulletin, 1956a*, Hoefflerle, 2013, *Beaver, 1956*). They were also early participants in the first CND marches (*Hopkins, 1958, The Beaver, 1958*). Those early CND marches now seem quite tame, but in the late fifties were met with public outrage, especially at the Committee of 100 began to engage in civil disobedience (Prince, 2007, Parkin, 1968). Students were therefore participants in the most radical, if also wonderfully middle-class politics of the decade. Their own protests and engagement in other social movement's activities indicate that student activism, protest and left-wing political thought existed and thrived on campuses before the sixties, refuting claims about 'silent generations'.

Protest activity, which involved a small minority, was not the only form of political participation engaged in by post-war students (Brewis, 2014). Responding to the humanitarian crisis caused by the Second World War, students fundraised for refugee relief efforts, specifically raising money through International Student Service for students struggling to survive and study in harsh conditions (Brewis, 2014). Students were highly empathetic with the plight of their fellows, but were also motivated by a desire for lasting peace and greater equality (although with differing levels of political commitment) (Brewis, 2014, Savage, 1962). In Manchester, students assisted with clearing bombed homes and engaged in social service through the University Settlement and Students Union to provide local children with educational and leisure opportunities (*News Bulletin, 1952, News Bulletin, 1953*, Brewis, 2014). The literature on political participation recognises volunteering and fundraising as activities with political and social ramifications (Henn, Weinsten and Wring, 2002, White, Bruce and Ritchie, 2000); this activity therefore

counteracts claims that post-war students were politically and socially disengaged. More overt political motives are present in fundraising activities for Hungarian students after 1956, who either fled in the wake of the Soviet invasion or faced increased hardship (*News Bulletin, 1956b*, Brewis, 2014). There was no crowing about the exposure of Stalinism as a brutal, dictatorial political style, instead many students were again motivated by empathy. For many left-wing students, support for Hungarian students was also a rejection of Western capitalist democracy, Stalinism and the British Old Left in favour of new political thinking (Hanna, 2013, Hoefferele, 2013). The Soviet invasion marks a turning point in left-wing ideology as it led to the formation of the New Left(s); it is also a turning point for student politics in Britain as it enabled students to develop their own theories and ideologies away from existing left-wing organisations and structures (Hanna, 2013). The New Left and its embrace by politically inclined students has important ramifications for the sixties unrest and all subsequent student protest as will be established later in this chapter. Finally, both campuses were also alive with more formal political activities as indicated by the presence of Labour and Conservative societies, who along with the non-affiliated Socialist Society (present at both universities) ran speaker events, discussion groups and meetings (*News Bulletin, 1945*, Hanna, 2013).

The second evidence strand starts by emphasising the geographical spread of student protest in the sixties. Social movement scholars tend to indicate the American Civil Rights movement which emerged in the last 1950s in Southern US states as the first rumblings of the sixties student movement (McAdam, 1988, DeGroot, 1998, Johnston, 1998, Flacks, 1967). By 1969, Soviet tanks had burned in Prague, while students marched against their governments in France, Italy and Germany and in Australia, Korea and Japan (Henley, 2008, Fraser, 1968, Edelman-Boren, 2001, DeGroot, 2008). Black South African students risked beatings and imprisonment to protest apartheid, while Mexican student protesters were massacred in Tlatelolco (Henley, 2008). Protests were not confined to capital cities or particularly politicised campuses either. Events at UC Berkley, Kent State and Columbia are better remembered, but action was also seen at Florida State University, the University of Alabama and University of North Carolina (Marshall, 2006, Edelman-Boren, 2001, DeGroot, 2008, Lewis and Hensley, date unknown). In Britain, campuses as diverse as Cambridge, Hull and Warwick as well as art and technical colleges all experienced marches, sit-ins and

occupations (Crouch, 1970, Ellis, 1998). Described by Simon Prince as a global student revolt, the sheer national and international spread of protest activity was unprecedented (Prince, 2007). National student movements all had precedent (Edelman-Boren, 2001, DeGroot, 1998), but the virtually simultaneous emergence of student unrest has no obvious precedent in either social movement or university history and can reasonably be considered exceptional. Further, the geographical scope of concurrent student protest has not been repeated in subsequent waves of student protest. However, the exceptionality of the national and international spread of student protest is not sufficient to support narrative claims that the decade and its unrest is unique.

Transnational student solidarity is also presented as evidence of the decade's exceptionality, because the existing literature implies that student solidarity only emerged during the decade (Ellis, 1998, Burkett, 2014). National social movements had protested around the same issues, even shared messages of support and tactical ideas prior to the sixties. However, transnational student solidarity, which included simultaneous international protest events and physical acts of solidarity alongside messages of support had allegedly not been seen before and was anyway unprecedented as contemporary society did not expect such political activity from students (Flacks, 1967, DeGroot, 2008). The anti-Vietnam War Movement is considered a primary example of this emergent transnational solidarity (Ellis, 1998). In October 1965, students organised concurrent protests in US cities, Berlin, Paris and London against the Vietnam War (*Manchester Independent, 1965a*). It was one of several simultaneous protests coordinated in multiple cities within and across national boundaries (*Manchester Independent, 1967e*). Simultaneous protests were intended as visible demonstrations of global youth opposition to the war and as explicit expressions of solidarity with Vietnamese civilians, especially students and with anti-war American students, who faced police violence and public and political condemnation for their activism (Crouch, 1970).

Transnational solidarity was not confined to the anti-war movement. Colin Crouch explains that students, particularly left-wing students, saw a commonality between their conditions and concerns (Crouch, 1970). The rapid expansion of higher education in the West meant that many students genuinely shared experiences of overcrowded lectures, limited access to

library books and subpar catering, living and recreational facilities (Crouch, 1970, Fraser, 1988, Hoefferele, 2013, Thomas, 1996). Also, shared was a general disillusionment with governments and other institutions, who seemed to pay only lip-service to the values students expected them to espouse and uphold (Crouch, 1970, Keniston, 1967). Politically left students saw the diverse student movements as fighting the common enemies of imperialism, capitalism and failed political systems. Their solidarity was not just support for a specific action or concern, but more broadly for radicalised opposition to existing political and institutional structures, which they understood as limiting democracy, equality and freedom (Crouch, 1970, Keniston, 1967, Fraser, 1988).

For radical far left students, their anti-Vietnam solidarity extended beyond American protesters, draft dodgers and Vietnamese civilians to explicit support for the National Liberation Front (NLF) (*The Beaver, 1967d*). While more moderate students were motivated by moralistic anger at America's indiscriminate, brutal bombing, many socialist and anarchist students saw a commonality between the NLF and their own struggles against capitalism and imperialism (Crouch, 1970, Fraser, 1988, Ellis, 1998). Tariq Ali initially volunteered to fight with NLF, but returned to Britain encouraged by Ho Chi Minh to grow international solidarity for Vietnamese opposition to the American war (Fraser, 1988). His explicit support not just for innocent Vietnamese, but also for the communist guerrilla army reflected wider support for revolutionaries and revolution in Asia, Africa, Central and South America amongst the American and European New Left(s) (Klimke and Scharloth, 2008, Prince, 2007). Acts of solidarity had foundation in earlier movements, but the international scale, radicalism and extent of student solidarity was a marked shift from popular perceptions of students as a privileged, quiescent minority.

Overt support for revolutionary, often communist, national liberation movements is a marked shift from the public perception of students as conservative and studious in the previous decade (Brewis, 2014, Savage, 1962, Keniston, 1967). Only a vocal minority, whose ideas reflected New Left ideology, called for revolution, but their rhetorical radicalism shocked the wider public (Hanna, 2013, Thomas, 2002, Prince, 2007). Students also adopted recent tactical innovations, such as occupations and civil disobedience, to demonstrate their discontent. These tactics were popular, because they were more visible and disruptive than

the labour movement's traditional repertoire of marches and picket lines (Tilly, 1995, Tarrow, 1998, Crouch, 1970). With no apparently obvious tradition for student radicalism to emerge from, it is no wonder that the public, press and politicians were rocked by student unrest, defining it as unprecedented and exceptional (Hanna, 2013). For an unsuspecting sixties public, it must have seemed like hundreds of 'angry young men' (and women) were suddenly everywhere, storming the Academy's ivory towers and taking over the streets.

Neither the rhetorical and tactical radicalism nor the transnational solidarity were actually unprecedented in the British student movement or the wider global student movement. As with student protest events, both can be found during the thirties, forties and fifties.

Georgina Brewis identifies various forms through which student solidarity found expression before the sixties (Brewis, 2014). British students offered their solidarity in the form of political, financial and practical support. The Spanish Civil War should be a prominent example of British student solidarity, but sadly the student role in international solidarity efforts has not yet been subjected to significant examination (Brewis, 2014). Brewis and Simon demonstrated that British students offered moderate political support to the Republican cause through protests against the British government's policy of non-interference and supportive General Meeting motions (Brewis, 2014, Simon, 1987). They further demonstrated their solidarity through fundraising activities for child refugees and Spanish students (Brewis, 2014). Left-wing students expressed overt support for Spanish anti-fascists and the Republican cause with a handful of young men volunteering for the International Brigade (Simon, 1987, Brewis, 2014). Volunteering to fight was a highly politicised, practical act of solidarity that would later inspire Tariq Ali to volunteer with the NLF (Ali, 2005).

Ali's solidarity also finds precedence during the Hungarian Revolution, where at least two UoM students left to join the Hungarian resistance (*News Bulletin, 1956b, News Bulletin, 1956c*). Support for political causes was not the only expression of student solidarity evidenced in the post-war years. Brewis describes the activities of British students to support European students following the war as expressions of transnational student solidarity (Brewis, 2014). Both *News Bulletin* and *The Beaver* record efforts to support students and the emerging student organisations in Europe. Support was offered explicitly

to students partly due to the commonality of experience, but also because many British and European students supported increased international communication, understanding and mutual aid between students as a route to a sustained peace (Brewis, 2014, Savage, 1962). Fundraising and collections of practical support, such as study materials and bedding, were popular, but British students also assisted in building and financing sanatoriums for students with TB (Brewis, 2014, *News Bulletin*, 1951). Many universities witnessed students engage in serious fundraising for scholarships for displaced students and later German students, with students also organising hardship funds to support destitute students studying within Britain (*News Bulletin*, 1950a, Brewis, 2014). All this activity was informed by reports produced by NUS and ISS organised student delegations, who visited European cities on fact-finding missions immediately after the war (Brewis, 2014). Less glamorous than joining revolutionary movements, these activities precedent and inform similar fundraising efforts to establish a scholarship fund for Black South African students in the sixties by UoM students and support string miners in the eighties (*Manchester Independent*, 1966, *Campbell*, 1984, *Nisse*, 1984). In November 1984, LSE students delivered food and financial aid to striking miners in Ferry Moor Riddings, a practical act of solidarity (*Horton*, 1984). Further, the student delegations and individuals who joined protests in Paris and Berlin have precedent not just in the volunteers for the Spanish and Hungarian International Brigades, but also in the student delegations who toured war-torn Europe to express their solidarity and establish how best to support their peers (Rowbotham, 2000, Travis, 2000, Brewis, 2014, Fraser, 1988).

Tactical and rhetorical radicalism undoubtedly outraged politicians and the public, threatening accepted social and political norms, but again neither were without precedence in the preceding decades. Most sixties protest events adopted the traditional labour movement tactics of marches and pickets, demonstrating a clear tactical link between the students and other social movements. Occupations, sit-ins and other direct action techniques were radical tactical innovations designed to be more disruptive than traditional marches and pickets. Popular literature glamorizes students as the first proponents of direct action, but in reality students borrowed these tactics from the US Civil Rights Movement; they influenced American student activists and students across Europe, who were inspired by their persistent, non-violent resistance to racism (McAdam, 1988, Prince,

2007). However, the tactics had an additional precedent for British students, whose fifties and very early sixties predecessors had engaged with early CND campaigning. The Committee of 100, CND's more radical arm, adopted civil disobedience, mainly sit-ins, as a visual and disruptive tactic (Parkin, 1968, Hoefferele, 2013). The documentary sources indicate that students were participants in CND's marches and more radical action. UoM students joined a CND sit-in in 1961, and again in Dusseldorf Airport in May 1963 (*Acklaw, 1961, Manchester Independent, 1963a*). British students' adoption of confrontational protest tactics owes much to student engagement in CND in the fifties.

Sixties student activists were both influenced by and contributors to the New Left(s) that emerged. The New Left(s) political ideology was distinct from previous left-wing thought, expressing far more radical ideas about participatory democracy and direct action. It is too simplistic though to claim that this new political wave marks out sixties student politics as distinct from previous generations. Socialist, communist and anarchist thought had been present on British campuses throughout the twentieth century and these different strands of political thought influenced the emergent British New Left (Brewis, 2014, Hanna, 2013, *News Bulletin, 1938, News Bulletin, 1937*). Further, the Socialist Society at UoM and LSE that became the main proponents of New Left thought had existed in the forties and fifties. These non-affiliated societies were established to avoid arbitrary divisions and infighting between left-wing students, instead welcoming a diversity of political beliefs and backgrounds. They were designed to support left-wing unity and cooperation, balancing political diversity instead of insisting on ideological purity. These societies provided student activists with a practical example of how student unity and cooperation could work that likely influenced the organisational structure of Radical Students Alliance and to some extent Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation, which were national student organisations that brought together left-leaning students to articulate student demands and support campus mobilisations (Hanna, 2013, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969, Crouch, 1970, *Manchester Independent, 1967a*). Open to political diversity, the Socialist Society provided a safe space for New Left politics to emerge and influence mobilisations on both campuses.

The British New Left (initially) rejected the formal party structure and ideological purity favoured by the old left, preferring participatory democracy and direct action. Fifties



students were deeply affected by the Hungarian Revolution, which rocked the British Left's faith in the communist experiment in Russia (Kenny, 1995, Chun, 1993). It marked a turning point in left-wing politics, particularly amongst students, as younger members rejected authoritarian political models and deference to the Soviet Union. The New Left emerged out of this schism between the older and younger political generations, with students drawing together anarchistic and socialist influences to offer a new political critique of Western capitalism and imperialism. The New Left's influence on student activism in the sixties is well documented, but it is important to note that this influence spans from the fifties as well as the sixties (Fraser, 1988, Thomas, 1996, Hanna, 2013, Hoefferele, 2013). The broad left alliances that dominated left-wing student politics in the fifties and early sixties did not survive the student revolt. Hanna notes that Trotskyist and Leninist groups only recognised student protest as potentially powerful when it began to seriously unnerve the public and politicians (Hanna, 2013). Despite rejecting many Old Left traditions, these far-left groups had initially dismissed student protest, but increasingly sought to recruit and guide campus activists as the sixties progressed (Hanna, 2013). The long term effect of the rise of smaller left wing groupings will be explored in the next chapter.

Finally, the sixties student protest narrative claims that student protest disappears after 1969, using this alleged dramatic decline in activism as evidence that the sixties unrest is an exceptional epoch. This claim, that all subsequent student generations are politically and socially apathetic, is firmly refuted by the continuous pattern of student protest activity evident in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. The data shows that student protest activity has been sustained beyond the sixties at LSE and UoM, how and why will be examined in the next chapter. The data further undermines the idea that sixties student protest was exceptional by visually demonstrating how student protest activity has increased across twentieth century. Numerically, the eighties appear more exceptional at both institutions than the sixties, rendered more dramatic by claims that little to no student protest occurred after the sixties (Hanna, 2013, Hoefferele, 2013, Baldock, 1997). The eighties are remembered as a politically contentious period for British politics, marked by strikes and protests against an unpopular, although still electable Tory government (Turner, 2013, McSmith, 2010). Students are not widely remembered as part of this contention despite supporting well documented events, like the Miners' Strike, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and CND (Davies,

2010, Turner, 2013). The erasure of student protest from collective public memory means that the sixties shines as the golden age of protest despite the data outlined in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. Why dissent and discontent in subsequent student generations receives less academic and popular attention will be discussed in the next chapter.

Using empirical evidence from the student press, Figures 4.1 and 4.2 refute the sixties student protest narrative's claim that the student unrest was both unprecedented and exceptional. Save for the international geographical spread of protest activity, for which no obvious precedent in either social movement or university history exists, the dramatic features of sixties student protest had precedent in the political and social activism of earlier generations. In Britain, undoubtedly the sixties are more spectacular than the infrequent mobilisations of forties and fifties students, but the controversial, radical politics and tactics could not have emerged had earlier generations not enabled and influenced their development.

### Teacup Rebels: British Student Protest in the Sixties

Nostalgia about sixties student protest encompasses the British student movement, which is popularly cast as part of the revolutionary fervour that raged across Europe and the US (Hanna, 2013, Hoefflerle, 2013, Brewis, 2014). This characterisation is heavily romanticised, conflating counterculture and protest into a glamorous image of idealistic hippies with placards protesting the Vietnam War (Thomas, 2008a, 2002). Existing academic and popular literature is predominately concerned with activities in the US and Europe, leaving the British movement as relatively under-researched (Hanna, 2008, 2013, Kidd, 1969). A limited body of literature on Britain, primarily composed of case studies and individual chapters, presents contradictory images of the decade. Writing immediately after the sixties and as a student leader, Colin Crouch highlights the occurrence of protest activity on multiple campuses between 1967 and 1970. In just 1968, protests had occurred at Keele, Edinburgh, Bristol, York, Leeds and Leicester, even Oxbridge saw unrest (Crouch, 1970). Crouch also highlights protest events that occurred away from universities, notably Hornsey and Guildford art colleges, which experienced sustained student occupations (Crouch, 1970, Ellis, 1998). Crouch presents the British students as a radical active protest movement,

which echoes popular imaginings of the decade. Yet, a distinct and not entirely flattering narrative about the sixties British student movement overshadows the wider literature.

In May 1968, George Brosan, principal at Enfield College of Technology described a student protest event as “very much a storm in a teacup” (Author Unknown, 1968). While Brosan was speaking specifically about events at his own college, his words capture perfectly how many contemporary commentators understood British student protest (Brown, 1969, Kidd, 1969, Thomas, 2002, Rooke, 1971, Crouch, 1970). Compared to their radical, sometimes violent peers in France, Germany and America, British student activity was widely dismissed as mere “echoes of the storm” raging in Europe and the USA (Marwick, 1998, 585 cited in Hanna, 2008, 1542, see also Thomas, 2008). They arrived late to youthful political unrest with the LSE occupation in 1966/67 frequently cited as the first protest event in Britain (Hanna, 2008, Crouch, 1970). British students were seen as suffering from “me-tooism”, simply copying radical international students (*The Guardian*, 10 June 1968, cited by Thomas, 2008a, 280, Hanna, 2008). Nick Thomas notes that contemporary accounts argue that British students adopted protest as the latest university trend, not wishing to be left out (Thomas, 2008a, 2002). The British movement was presented as mild and moderate, lacking the vital elements to render it as revolutionary challenge to governmental and institutional authority.

Neville Brown argues that British students enjoyed a degree of wealth, security and freedom not available to their international peers (Brown, 1969). Unlike their American counterparts, British students received free university education, funded by generous grants and were safe from involvement in the Vietnam War. British universities were better resourced and less overcrowded than many in Europe and internationally. For Brown and other critical commentators, there was much for British students to be thankful for (Brown, 1969, Rooke, 1971). Student protests around university facilities, overcrowding and teaching quality were therefore easily dismissed as trumped up (Brown, 1969). Worse yet, it was implied that British students had no real grievances at all, and were instead mobilised around the borrowed struggles of other student movements (Thomas, 2002, Brown, 1969, Rooke, 1971). Students marched and occupied, they disrupted campus events with visiting speakers, but their activities, however strongly they may have felt, were read as more in the

pursuit of excitement than social justice and equality. They were widely condemned as rebels without a cause, more interested in the excitement and thrill of protest than social change.

Writing in 1968, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1969), American postgraduates who visited student protesters around Europe in 1968, echoed unsympathetic critics by dismissing British protest as mundanely moderate. They decry most British campuses as quiet, populated by a sober, serious majority, who were uninterested in political and social activism. For them, student protest was sporadic, clustered around a few key campuses, notably LSE, Essex and Hornsey, which is reflected in other accounts and in the research literature which has also focused on the supposed key sites of dissent (Fraser, 1968, Thomas, 2002, Ellis, 1998). Further, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich argued that international students were key mobilising agents behind student protest activity in Britain. Insisting that British students lacked the critiques and tactics to generate their own mobilisations, they attribute much of the unrest to foreign agitators (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1969). Citing the 1967 occupation at LSE, where Student Union leaders Marshall Bloom and David Adelstein, both international students, were disciplined as ringleaders, they argue that radicalised international students fomented minor discontents into politicised dissent and ultimately protest on British campuses (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1969). Attributing mobilisations to international stories reiterates other commentators critical dismissals that British students lacked the political will and grievances to be genuinely in revolt; they allegedly needed goading into rebellion by glamorous foreign influencers (Thomas, 2002, Rooke, 1971).

According to the sub-narrative, the British student movement was simply a handful of protests on exaggerated or borrowed grievances, stirred up by foreign agitators as British students lacked the political will and critique. British student protest was not a sustained struggle against archaic authorities and conservative social values that offered a serious political critique of the status quo. Rooke echoes widespread public opinion by describing the unrest as an exuberance of youthful energy and hormones, dismissing all possibility that the protests were a real impulse of radical political thought and activity amongst students (Rooke, 1971). The British sixties protest wave is presented as falling between 1966/67 and

1972/73 depending on the periodization used (Hanna, 2013, Klimke and Scharloth, 2008, Hoefflerle, 2013)<sup>3</sup>. For the movement's detractors, the wave ends in 1969 and is at most an outburst of directionless angst and borrowed fury (Rooke, 1971, Kidd, 1969). Figures 4.1 and 4.2 contradict this critical dismissal of the sixties student movement by establishing a sustained pattern of protest event activity at both UoM and LSE across the decade. The graphs show protest activity increasing after academic year 1966/67, but some 40 protest events occur between 1960/61 and 1965/66 indicating a sustained presence of political activism on both campuses that predates the main sixties unrest.

Further, claims that Britain saw just a handful of protest events are refuted by the data, which establishes that students from just two British universities were involved in some 135 protest events during the sixties (Hanna, 2008, Thomas, 1996). Given that the data includes national and regional events, which are reported in the *Manchester Independent* and *the Beaver* as involving students from multiple universities and colleges, it is also possible to challenge the idea that activism and protest was confined to a few sites. Further, both newspapers comment on protest events at other campuses, supporting evidence of protest event activity at Warwick, Essex, Sussex and other sites presented in recent considerations (Ellis, 1998, Hanna, 2013, Hoefferele, 2013, Brewis, 2014, Day, 2012). The UoM and LSE data combined with these recent contributions to the literature make clear that Britain did experience a sustained and widespread period of unrest and protest. Without data on protest activity levels amongst the other sixties student movements, it is difficult to assess how such activity compares to French, German, Italian and American student protests. However, the data shows that British student movement can hardly be considered insignificant. The fact that the public, press and politicians were outraged by student protest, even as they dismissed it as a whimper compared to the European movement, indicates that the impact of British student protest was greater than the literature really indicates.

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<sup>3</sup> Academic year 1966/67 is often seen as the start as the first LSE occupation (and possible the first occupation in Britain by students) happens in this year. That occupation has been presented as the trigger for unrest on other British campuses (Crouch, 1970, Kidd, 1969. Thomas, 1996, Rooke, 1971).

Hanna and Hoefferele offer the first extended examinations of sixties student unrest in Britain, although Simon Prince offers useful insights on the wider British student movement in his work on unrest in Northern Ireland (Prince, 2007). Both acknowledge that the British movement suffers from an image problem in the existing literature and their contributions clearly challenge the unflattering representation as echoes of a storm. Following Crouch, both emphasises the geographical spread of student protest in Britain, citing events in Leeds, Oxford and Birmingham alongside the more infamous events at Essex, Warwick, LSE and Hornsey. They also contradict assumptions that British student politics was lacked the revolutionary fervour seen elsewhere. They point to the Radical Students Alliance, Vietnam Solidarity Committee and Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation, which all espoused various radical politically left views, as evidence of political radicalism within the student movement (Hanna, 2013, Hoefferele, 2013, see also Shaw, 1969, *Author Unknown, 1968, Soc.Soc, 1969*, LSE Communists, 1972, LSE International Socialists, n.d, *International Socialists, 1969* for evidence of student radicalism). Hanna confines her study to the period 1966/67 to 1972/73, echoing other contributions by citing the 1966/67 LSE occupation as the start of unrest, but extends the reach and impact of student political radicalism into the early seventies. Hoefferele's work charts student political engagement, activism and protest from the mid-fifties onwards, citing the Suez Crisis in 1956 as the first key moment in British student politics. Like Hanna, Hoefferele argues that student activism survived into the mid-seventies, seeing the political terrorism of the Angry Brigade and protests at Oxford University in academic year 1973/74 as rooted in the political ideology, activist traditions and unresolved grievances of the sixties (Hoefferele, 2013). Their assessments that British student protest emerged on multiple university and college campuses and extended beyond the late sixties is supported by the data in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. As neither Hanna nor Hoefferele offer systematic historical data for any individual institution, the data empirically grounds their claims that sixties protest was more extensive and sustained than the few events recognised elsewhere in the literature. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 empirically highlights a sustained pattern of protest activity across the sixties that with Hanna and Hoefferele's evidence from other institutions firmly refutes claims that the British student movement was a whimper.

Without systematic data on protest activity in the European or American student movements, it is difficult to judge whether the British student movement matched their international peers in frequency and intensity of protest. However, the data from UoM and LSE indicates that the British movement was far from the insignificant ‘storm in a teacup’ that it has been dismissed as. The rest of this thesis is concerned with explaining how and why student protest emerges at UoM and LSE, but it is important to emphasise that the data on the British student movement is a significant finding. Despite its glamorisation alongside the European and American movements, the British student movement has long been considered less radical and active in the academic literature (Hanna, 2008). The data presented in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, and Table 4.1, reveal that such assessments of the sixties British student protest have lacked empirical grounding and in-depth analytical review. More research is needed to establish how the British movement compares against its peers, but regardless it is more extensive, more radical and more active than previously thought. This thesis anticipated that there would be more protest activity during the sixties than the literature reveals, given the studies by Hanna and Hoefferele and the student account offered by Crouch (Hanna, 2012, 2013, Hoefferele, 2013, Crouch, 1970). However, it did not anticipate that these would translate into some 135 protest events involving LSE and UoM students. It is clear that while this data reveals a more extensive history of British student protest during the sixties and beyond than recorded in the academic literature, it has only just scratched the surface of the radicalism and activism that brewed on British campuses during the sixties.

### Student Political Apathy

The student apathy narrative, which has come to dominate popular and academic discussion of students and their activities, is outlined here. Building on the sixties student protest narrative’s insistence on the decade’s status as the golden age of protest, the apathy narrative maintains that as the seventies dawned, students “lost the knack of protest” succumbing to consumerism and greed (Grazzo, 2008, Barker, 2001, Hanna, 2012, Hoefferele, 2013). Commentators and academics declared a serious decline in student protest activity, political participation and civic engagement coupled with a rapid rise in apathy amongst university students and young people more generally in the seventies (Wolfe, 1976, Levine and Wilson, 1979, Cohen, 1992, DeGroot, 1998, Putnam, 2001). That decline is now

lamented as a sustained lack of civic and political engagement by young people, which threatens Western democracy and social stability (Crossley, 2008, Soule, 2001).

Writing in 1979, Levine presented a steady decline in protest activity on American campuses since 1969. He compared university administrators' reports of campus unrest in the academic year 1969/70 with the academic year 1977/78, uncovering a significant drop in activity. The percentage of American university campuses seeing demonstrations dropped from 40% in 1969 to 13% in 1978 (Levine and Wilson, 1979). This low level of protest activity appears to have been maintained with Soule reporting in 2001 that less than 3% of young people had attended a demonstration (Soule, 2001, see also Putnam, 2001). Such findings are equally applicable to British students (see Henn et al, 2002, Henn and Foard, 2011), who are popularly presented as abandoning the picket line for the pint glass (Baldock, 1997). Post-sixties student generations in Britain are lamented as self-obsessed hedonists (Baldock, 1997, Barker, 2001). A stereotype perpetuated in the television shows *The Young Ones* and the more recent *Fresh Meat*, which feature filthy student homes, wild parties and angst-riddled narcissism (BBC, no date, Channel 4, no date). Parents, politicians and the press reinforce the stereotype by insisting that university campuses are "places of habitual drunken larks, drug-taking, appropriated traffic cones, regretted liaisons and staying in bed until Neighbours" (Karios, 2014). The British university experience is one long party, perhaps punctuated by enough late night revision to secure a decent final grade (Baldock, 1997).

Levine also noted a decline in participation in student political organisations on American campuses across the political spectrum (Levine and Wilson, 1979, Soule, 2001). A number of studies indicate a decline in political participation amongst young people generally after the sixties (Putnam, 2001, White et al, 2000, Henn et al, 2002). Low voter turnout amongst the 18-25 age group since the late sixties is most frequently cited as evidence of youth apathy in Britain and beyond (Soule, 2001, Henn et al, 2002). A *Guardian* piece found UoM students to be unconcerned about the general election in 2010 (Harris and Domokos, 2010). MORI estimates that under 40% of young people (18-25) voted in the general elections in 2001 and 2005 with only a slight increase to 44% in the 2010 general election (MORI, 2010). Studies also show declines in young people's political party membership, campaigning



during elections and other forms of political participation (Soule, 2001, Henn et al, 2002, Gaskin et al, 1996).

Explanations for this decline in participation and knowledge have tended to blame individual apathy and cynicism, rather than a societal failure to engage or educate (Soule, 2001). In 1972, Marsh declared that young people in Britain had a 'don't know, don't care' attitude to national politics and so were failing in their civic duty to the democratic process (Marsh, 1972). Echoing Marsh's assessment of British youth, Tom Wolfe famously damned the seventies generation, the first young adults of Generation X, as the 'me generation', self-obsessed, interested only in their individual wealth, wellbeing and career (Wolfe, 1976). The self-obsessed label stuck, furthered by the money and career obsessed image of eighties yuppies (Reeve, 2013), and was transferred to a new generation, the millennials (also known as Generation Y) (Stein, 2013).

A recent Guardian and ICM study found that while young people had embraced progressive social values expounded during sixties, openly supporting gender and sexual equality and anti-racist legislation, they were less supportive of the welfare state than older generations and disengaged from political matters (Ball and Clark, 2013). While the Baby Boomers and the GI Generation, traditionally seen as more conservative and reactionary, retain high support for the post-45 welfare state, younger people were more likely to see the unemployed as lazy than as unlucky (Ball and Clark, 2013, see also Stein, 2013). Young people appeared to favour benefit cuts, particularly to unemployment benefit, apparently hostile to the idea of an increased welfare state. This apparent conservatism is cited as evidence of increasing selfishness and narcissism amongst young people (Stein, 2013). They are not just disengaged from social and political matters; they actively do not care about society or other people. Levine agreed that youth apathy had increased, finding that American students were cynical about the political process and politicians. However, he concluded that negative political events in the late sixties and early seventies, notably the Vietnam War and Watergate, jaded American students' views. Their cynicism stemmed not from navel-gazing self-obsession, but from experiences that undermine faith and trust in politics and governmental authority (Levine and Wilson, 1979).

Recent studies highlight widespread disillusionment, but also support Levine's conclusions. White, Bruce and Ritchie found that British young people had "poor opinions of politicians and parliamentary behaviour", indicating a high level of cynicism towards traditional politics and almost completely rejection of party politics (White et al, 2000, Grazzo, 2008). Like Levine, whose seventies youth were turned off by political betrayals and corruption, Henn found that young people were disengaged by political spin and empty promises, perceiving politicians and politics as untrustworthy (Henn et al, 2002, Grazzo, 2008). When the traditional political process and its candidates are viewed as deceitful, corrupt and greedy, it is unsurprising that young people appear to abandon national and local politics. They believe that voting and other forms of political participation has limited impact on the ultimate outcomes, even at the local level (Henn et al 2002, White et al, 2000, Soule, 2001).

These recent studies do not support young people's presentation as selfishly apathetic, rather highlighting their concern with social and environmental matters and preference for informal political activities as they seek to address social problems in their communities. Liam Burns, NUS President 2010-2012, points to student volunteers working in soup kitchens, with asylum seekers and for Childline as examples of student engagement in political and social affairs, and describes student volunteering as overlapping with activism and campaigning (Burns, 2013). *The Guardian's* 'Student Blogging' series includes articles on unpaid internships and law students responding to legal aid cuts with free advice clinics, which demonstrate practical and intellectual engagement with social and political issues by students (Newell, 2013, Page, 2012, Morris, 2012).

The quantitative data refutes the assessment of post-sixties student generations as apathetic by establishing a continuous pattern of protest. Such sustained political activism, that encompasses the concerns and grievances of several social movements as well as student specific concerns, such as student financing, tuition fees and participation in university decision-making, is hardly indicative of a slump into disengagement. Particularly, as student protest can be seen to not only survive beyond the sixties in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, but increase as the twentieth century progresses to an explosive peak in the eighties. As noted earlier, protest is not the only evidence of student political and social engagement beyond the sixties. Many students are engaged in volunteering, fundraising and

conventional campaigning (Brewis, 2014, *Eagleston and Peppercorn, 1988, News Bulletin, 1951, Manchester Independent, 1967c, Craig, 1981, Driscoll, 2005*). At UoM, Student Action, a community orientated voluntary scheme is a prime example of ongoing student engagement (Student Action, 2012). Student political societies, particularly those related to the mainstream political parties, continue to organise speaker events, meetings and campaign activities for their members. Other student societies are connected to social justice causes, while others represent charities, fundraising and campaigning on campus on their behalf. Third World First, now People and Planet, operated at both UoM and LSE, highlighting global poverty and the impact of unsustainable debt arrangements in the eighties and nineties (People and Planet, 2015, *Hampton, 1992, Savage, 1993*). The student organisation and its campus societies are an example of political engagement beyond traditional left-wing politics. Their campaigning resulted in the Lloyds and Midlands Bank Boycott (LAMB), launched from UoM, which pressured the banks into dropping the debts of developing countries (*Farrall, 1992, Clark, 1992, Lynch, 1994*).

## Conclusion

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 reveal a continuous pattern of student protest activity at UoM and LSE that contradicts the dominant narratives in the student protest and politics literature. The pattern of protest at each university demonstrates how student protest had precedent long before the explosive unrest of the late sixties. Not only did protest activity have precedent, many of its key features, marked out by the sixties student protest narrative as exceptional, have been shown to also have precedent in the political engagement and activism of earlier student generations in Britain. Further, the data shows how student protest has survived and thrived, countering claims by the sixties protest narrative and the student apathy narrative. Student activism did not disappear in 1969, but rather increased with more protest event activity being recorded in the eighties on both campuses than in the sixties.

However, it is important that the challenges presented to the literature's main narratives by the data do not diminish the significance of the sixties student unrest. The student revolt, including activist's tactical and rhetorical choices, had precedent, but their concurrent emergence in the sixties is a transformative moment for the British student movement.

Turning to protest to express their frustrations with unresponsive political and university elites, students made protest an acceptable method for campus claim making. Traditionally student discontent was negotiated and resolved through student union representatives with the university administrations, typically by student union officials making appeals to Vice Chancellors, Directors and other senior staff (Ashby and Anderson, 1970, Moodie and Eustace, 1974). However, this system enabled universities to ignore student complaints and criticisms for years, dismissing student representatives and their constituents as too immature and ill-informed to understand how universities needed to be run. For example, student complaints about exam resits at LSE, rumbled on for decades as the School dragged its feet in acknowledging not only problems with their examination system, but also the validity of student-proposed solutions (*Bakkshi, 2009, Beaver, 1970, Morris, 1984, Stathatos, 1971*).

By the sixties, student frustrations with their administrators and their increasing disillusionment with the political system (as outlined by Keniston, 1967) had reached breaking point. Recognising the success of the CND and the US Civil Rights Movement in forcing their agendas onto the political consciousness, students adopted protest as a serious tactic for expressing their discontent and dissent with their governments, universities and other authorities (Crouch, 1970, Fraser, 1988). They eloquently argued that such direct action was justified as traditional processes failed to elicit resolutions and progress (Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969). The sustained, politically justified use of protest activity throughout the sixties, but particularly in the late sixties had a transformative effect upon the student movement. It made protest a recognised and accepted expression of student discontent and claim-making, thereby providing future student generations with obvious tactics and arguments in struggles against governmental and university policy, practice and procedures. The sixties may not have been as exceptional as the sixties student protest narrative claims, but the decade nonetheless powerfully transformed how, when and in what way students could express their discontent. Protest was no longer confined to expressing political opposition against occasional, but highly controversial events or policies, of which student protests during the Suez Crisis are an example (*News Bulletin, 1956a, The Beaver, 1956*). It was transformed into an acceptable, routine, but still powerful tactic for challenging political, social and university grievances that remains part of the student

movement repertoire today. This is a significant and transformative contribution to the history of the British (even global) student movement made by one decade. That must not be overshadowed by numerical differences in protest activity between the sixties and later decades.

## Chapter 5. Explaining the Rise and Fall of Student Protest

### Introduction

The previous chapter established the pattern of protest activity involving UoM and LSE students between 1945/46 and 2010/11. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 reveal a continuous history of student protest activity dating from 1952/53 at LSE and 1955/56 at UoM. The continuous pattern of protest activity, indicative of ongoing activism and political engagement on campus, challenges the student apathy narrative. There are no sporadic explosions as the narrative allows for (Hoefflerle, 2013, Hanna, 2012), but rather a continuous, if fluctuating stream of activity beyond the sixties epoch. The emergent pattern does reveal 'waves' of protest, clearly visible rises and falls in activity levels across the timeframe, fitting with Tarrow's 'cycles of protest' theory. This chapter starts to explain these rises and falls in activity levels by identifying factors contributing to the emergence and decline of student protest.

Using quantitative and qualitative data drawn from the student press, this chapter addresses the second research question:

#### **What factors can be identified as contributing to the emergence and decline of student protest activity at UoM and LSE?**

There are distinct cycles of protest visible in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, but these cycles are not the focus of the work here. This chapter seeks to identify factors contributing to the emergence and decline of student protest activity, rather than explaining individual peaks. Individual cycles of protest are products of the factors identified here, but have their own unique contexts that also inform their emergence and decline. The cycles visible in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 in the sixties and eighties map onto wider cycles of contention in British society, which saw multiple social movements emerging with their own claims and concerns. The campus cycles comprise of students own claim making (about student representation, student financing and student union autonomy), but also reveal their engagement with other social movements during broader cycles of contention and periods of relative political quiescence. During the eighties, British students were active participants in the Miners' Strike, Anti-

Apartheid Movement and CND (Day, 2012, Davies, 2010), but LSE and UoM students were also engaged in anti-fascist, feminist and LGBT activism (*The Mancunian*, 1982, *Bouchet*, 1986, *Simpson*, 1986, *McCallum*, 1984, *The Beaver*, 1984b, *Burgess*, 1988, *Carr-Saunders Action Committee*, 1984, *Mitra*, 1988a). Their activity and engagement in other movements' claim-making maps on to the wider cycle of political contention and collective action in the eighties in Britain (Turner, 2013). In the quieter nineties, UoM students remained engaged in campaigning against global debt, leading the Lloyds and Midland Bank Boycott (LAMB) campaign to protest bank holdings of country debt (*Lynch*, 1994, *Clark*, 1992). Other students participated in animal rights activism and environmentalism on and off campus (*Wattebot O'Brien*, 1995, *Heifer*, 1994, *Roberts*, 1996, *Hartley*, 1992, *Holmwood*, 1997). There is a clear diversity of student activism at both universities during periods of heightened contention and protest activity and quieter periods.

This chapter identifies the factors that contribute to the emergence and decline of student protest activity at UoM and LSE. The issues and tactics gathered in the dataset are also examined here, and are used as a way into explaining the rise and fall of student protest. The protest issues are examined in relation to the factors contributing to the emergence of protest activity, while student tactics are discussed in relation to declining activity. The chapter is divided into two sections with the first covering why and how protest emerges on campus. The factors identified here as contributing to student protest emergence are student values and movement frames, campus based social networks, organisational resources and opportunities for protest created by political elites. The second section examines why and how protest activity declines. The section argues that key social movement theory explanations for protest and movement activity decline, co-optation and repression, appear to have limited impact on student activism. Instead, political factionalism, authority inaction and generational loss are examined as key factors in the decline of student protest activity.

This chapter is about the emergence and decline of protest activity, but the story of the British student movement is one of survival. The pattern of protest activity at UoM and LSE is a continuous one. How the movement survives is examined in the final chapter, but this chapter notes that several factors identified as contributing to the emergence of student

protest are relatively constant on campus. The ongoing presence and availability of organisational resources, campus activist networks and shared beliefs and values suggests that these factors contribute not only to the emergence, but also the maintenance of student protest. The next chapter will consider their role as abeyance structures, maintaining the potential for protest, as well as actively and continually contributing to the emergence of new mobilisations.

### Explaining Emergence

Various theoretical traditions within social movement studies have offered differing explanations for how and why protest activity emerges in specific contexts. These trends have been criticised as too narrow in focus, either overemphasising the role of organisational structures or placing too much importance on shifting political opportunities or cultural contexts (Crossley, 2002). In her thesis on the English student movement in the sixties, Hanna argues that individual social movement theoretical concepts alone are insufficient to explain the emergence of student protest in England during the sixties (Hanna, 2012, 2013). She suggests a holistic approach that synthesises theoretical traditions might be more successful in accounting for movement and protest emergence. Adopting this holistic approach, Chapter 2 outlined how various social movement and theoretical positions used together explain student protest activity more successful than when applied separately. Drawing from the theoretical approach developed in Chapter 2, this section draws together the RMT and political process traditions with ideas about social networks, frame alignment and political values to explain how and why student protest activity emerges. In explaining the emergence of protest activity, it references the issues around which students have mobilised (see Table 5.1 and 5.2).

Firstly, the section examines how student values, which are broadly understood to be progressive, underpin and motivate activism on campus. It shows that student activists frame and reframe the protest issues and their activism through the timeframe. Students appear to utilise injustice frames to underpin a significant portion of their activism. They frame their protest as a moral effort to address injustices and inequities, improving society for all (Keniston, 1967). The section goes on to argue that values and frames are inherited



across student generations through networks of political engaged students and through the organisational resources provided by the campus. The campus facilitates political minded students meeting, providing them with the resources to form activist networks and to mobilise large and small scale protest events and campaigns.

### Student Values and Movement Frames

Protesting students broadly support democracy, civil liberties, human rights, equality and social justice (Keniston, 1967, Flacks, 1967). Writing in 1967, Keniston argued that these values played a key role in mobilising student protest in the US. Studies by Rose, Zweig and Blackstone and Hadley indicate that British students held similar views to those identified by Keniston (Zweig, 1963, Rose, 1963, Blackstone and Hadley, 1971). Blackstone and Hadley also suggest that these values underpin student mobilisations (Blackstone and Hadley, 1970, see also Parkin, 1968 and Hanna, 2012). Keniston argued that such values were posited as socially desirable, taught to and encouraged in young people, but that sixties student activists found that their universities, government and other institutions failed to promote and protect such values. According to Keniston and Flacks, other contemporary explanations emphasised the apparent disconnect between the often militant rhetoric and action of the sixties American student movement with the (supposed) quiet conservatism of their parent's generation (Keniston, 1967, Flacks, 1967). Feuer argued that student protest was a generational revolt against the parental generation (Feuer, 1969). In contrast, Keniston argues that students did not hold values more politically radical than their parents. He argues that their acceptance of and commitment to the values taught to them was deeply ingrained. They believed strongly in the American traditions of democracy, freedom and equality, expecting their government and universities to uphold these values fairly and consistently. Finding American institutions failing to implement and protect these values was unbearable, which motivated them to act in the defence of these values. They were not rejecting their parent's (or the government's) espoused values, but rather demanding their full implementation in American society (Keniston, 1967). Students appear to have only been more progressive than their government in that they expected and sought to see their ideals and values realised in American society. Keniston suggests that students social and

political values incline them to political engagement and participation, and thus to protest event activity.

It is important to note that Keniston is not claiming that all students hold politically left-wing values. Rather, he is suggesting a general trend of progressive belief amongst university students. The political left, and in particular socialist and communist thinking, are closely connected with student activism across the West (Rooke, 1971, Hanna, 2013, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969). While these values have an important influence over student politics throughout the timeframe, including offering the arguments and tactics for protest activity, they are not the only influence. Simon Prince found that students in Northern Ireland (and Britain more generally) were heavily influenced by the more moderate, but still progressive politics of CND and the US Civil Rights movement (Prince, 2007). Thomas and Hoefflerle also emphasize the influential role that CND activity and thinking had on sixties student protest in Britain (Thomas, 1996, Hoefflerle, 2013, see also Hanna, 2012 and Fraser, 1988). Later British student generations are clearly also influenced by feminist and gay liberation politics, which initially pushed back against the often aggressively macho culture of far left politics and encouraged the adoption of intersectional approaches to addressing societal issues (Mellors, 1971, NUS, 2014b). Further, these values are also broadly associated with democratic and Western governments, even if they may fail to uphold these values consistently in the eyes of student activists (Horn, 2009, Keniston, 1967, Parkins, 1968).

**Table 5.1: Protest activity involving University of Manchester students by issue and decade**

Issue	45/46 – 59/60	60/61 – 69/70	70/71 – 79/80	80/81 – 89/90	90/91 – 99/00	00/01 – 09/10	10/11	Total By Issue
Animal Rights			1	23	7	1		32
Anti-Fascism		1	17	9	4	6	1	38
Anti-Militarism	1	17	1	12	8	24		63
Anti-Nuclear	3	10	1	25		1		40
Anti-Pit Closures				8	3			11
Anti-Racism		3	5	22	2		1	33
Apartheid	1	7	12	13				33
Developing World Debt, Poverty and Exploitation			1	7	13	7		28
Education Policy	1	5	4	33	1	2		46
Environment				1	12	19	2	34
Government Policy (Non-Educational)		1	5	19	5	1	3	34
Immigration		1	1	27	1	2		32
International Governments and Students	1		4	14				19
Israel/Palestine				2	1	16	1	20
LGBT Rights			5	11	1	4	1	22
Other	1	12	21	22	4	8	3	71
Student Finance		4	30	36	15	12	12	109
University Concerns	2	11	20	42	10	7	2	94
Women Rights			6	37		8		51
Workers' Rights	1	8	5	13		1	2	30
Total by Decade	11	80	139	376	87	119	28	840

British students are shown here to consistently hold progressive social and political values across the timeframe under scrutiny here (NUS, 1942, Parkins, 1968, Rose, 1963, Henn et al, 2002, Henn and Foard, 2011). Tables 5.1 and 5.2, which record protest activity by issue and decade at UoM and LSE, highlight the diversity of issues around which students have protested. The tables offer insight into the broadly progressive social and political values held by UoM and LSE students across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. An example of those values in action can be found in the counter-demonstrations organised by UoM students in November 1971, to protest a local Festival of Light (*Manchester Independent*, 1971). The 'Nationwide Festival of Light' was a conservative and largely evangelical Christian organisation that opposed the supposed permissiveness of post-war Britain and the moral

pollution and obscenity that they saw entering British society (Whipple, 2010). Framed as support for traditional values and demanding television censorship, the organisation's critics understood it as a moral backlash attacking women's and LGBT rights and progressive relaxations in restrictive social norms. In disrupting the Manchester event, student activists sought to demonstrate their opposition to the organisation's obvious and more subtle sexism and homophobia. They were acting to defend and further promote tolerance, inclusion and the recognition of the rights of women and LGBT peoples by wider British society. *The Beaver* does not record whether LSE students joined counter protests for the national Festival in London on 25<sup>th</sup> September 1971 (Whipple, 2010), but students may have been involved in disruption to various Festival of Light events led by the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and other anti-repression groups (The Guardian, 1971, O'Donovan, 1971). The GLF had been founded at the LSE Students Union in October 1970 by a mixture of students and other activists and were still meeting on campus in 1971 (*Secretary of GLF, 1970, Mellors, 1971, Wilde and Wilde, 1971*); it seems likely that student members from LSE and other London unions were participants in their actions against the Festival of Light.

Support for feminist/women's liberation and LGBT campaigning is present on both campuses across the timeframe. The formation of GLF at LSE and its activities to challenge police harassment is an example of LGBT student activism (*Members of GLF, 1970*). Students were fierce opponents of Section 28, joining protests to prevent its inclusion in the Local Government Act 1988 (*Peppercorn, 1988, The Beaver, 1988, Burgess, 1988*). In March 1986, the UoM Women's Officer led protests against Stockport Council's discriminatory employment policies towards LGBT staff (*Bouchet, 1986*). Both LSE and UoM student unions have collaborated with LGBT societies to run educational and support events with an emphasis on challenging homophobia and prejudice amongst students and society (*Day, 2006, The Mancunion, 1995*). Feminist students have campaigned against sexism and violence towards women on and off campus (*Rodgers, 1982*). LSE women joined anti-Miss World protests in London in 1971, while a mixed gender action group at Carr-Saunders Hall (LSE Hall of Residence) organised a petition demanding the removal of pornographic calendars from the Hall bar (*The Beaver, 1971, Carr-Saunders Hall Action Committee, 1984*).

**Table 5.2: Protest activity involving LSE students by issue and decade**

Issue	45/46 – 59/60	60/61 – 69/70	70/71 – 79/80	80/81 – 89/90	90/91 – 99/00	00/01 – 09/10	10/11	Total By Issue
Animal Rights					1			1
Anti-Fascism	2		7	8	8	1		26
Anti-Militarism	1	8	2	2	2	25		40
Anti-Nuclear	3	2		8	1			14
Anti-Pit Closures			2	3	2			7
Anti-Racism		11	6	3	2	1	1	24
Apartheid	3	8	4	16	1			32
Developing World Debt, Poverty and Exploitation	1	1		1	4	4		11
Education Policy			5	8	1			14
Environmentalism					1	6		7
Government Policy (Non-Educational)			1	6	10	1	1	19
Immigration							1	1
International Governments and Students		1	1					2
Israel/Palestine				1		15	2	18
LGBT Rights			2	4	2			8
Other	2	1	15	6	4	18	1	47
Student Finance		5	19	30	28	14	10	106
University Concerns	3	12	17	16	10	10	4	72
Women Rights			6	10	5	7		28
Workers’ Rights	1	1	10	7	1	8		28
Total by Decade	16	50	97	129	83	110	20	505

This activity indicates broad support for social equality amongst students, which is also evident in student engagement with anti-fascist activism and participation in anti-deportation campaigns. Anti-immigration sentiment swept seventies and eighties Britain, coinciding with a rise in fascist organising, primarily through the National Front (McSmith, 2010, Hall et al, 1978, 327-238). Understanding the National Front and all fascist organisations as essentially racist and anti-democratic, a direct threat to the civil liberties and social equality, students joined other anti-fascist activists in opposing the National Front at every opportunity (*Lennox, 1979, Sanders, 1985, Clowes, 1981, Desai, 1980*). In Manchester, this included a large mass of students physically driving National Front members from the campus in November 1979 (*The Mancunion, 1979b*). Students were also appalled by what they understood as “blatantly sexist and racist” immigration policies

introduced by Thatcher's government (*The Mancunian*, 1981b, 2). UoM students joined pickets of immigration hearings to support individuals and families threatened with deportation (*Keeley*, 1987, *Rich*, 1983). Students at both UoM and LSE were strongly opposed to societal and institutional racism; they engage across the timeframe in a range of anti-racist activism (*The Beaver*, 1977, *McCallum*, 1984, *The Beaver*, 1984b, *Simpson*, 1986, *Drummond Morris*, 1988).

Keniston notes that sixties students were confronted with a societal and political failure to uphold values and ideals espoused by American institutions (Keniston, 1967). He argues that the disparity between student values and the social reality sparked outrage and a sense of injustice that fuelled protest activity. Social inequalities, particularly racism, military interventions and other political failures were framed as unjust, as social wrongs that needed to be addressed by students (Keniston, 1967, Thomas, 1996, Fraser, 1988, Hanna, 2012). In the university context, attempts to curtail protest or discipline alleged ringleaders were understood as injustices by students (Kidd, 1969, Fraser, 1988, Thomas, 1996, Hanna, 2013, Hoefferele, 2013). At LSE, the installation of security gates to prevent occupations was framed as preventing students' right to protest on campus, but was a further injustice as it undermined positive staff/student relations by treating students as potentially dangerous (*The Beaver*, 1969, *Boscher*, 1975, LSE IS, 1973). The lack of student representation, particularly in key university decision making bodies, was also treated as unfair exclusion that prevented students from participating in decisions affecting their lives and education (Kidd, 1969, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969). Explorations of sixties protest make clear a strong sense of injustice motivating student action against the state and the university.

The Vietnam War is an obvious example of a confrontation between student values and ideals and state failings (Thomas, 1996). British student opposition was rooted in peace activism as evidenced by a UoM CND led anti-Vietnam protest in 1965 (*Manchester Independent*, 1965a). However, students also understood the war as a colonial and imperialistic interference on the Vietnamese peoples' right to self-determination (*Silver*, 1965, Fraser, 1988, Hoefferele, 2013). The war was framed as an injustice, partly because of its brutality and sheer disregard for civilians shown by the American military, but also

because it represented a failure by the American government and by extension the British one to uphold their professed support for democracy and human rights (Fraser, 1988, *Silver*, 1965, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969, Thomas, 1996). This framing owes much to the influence of New Left ideology on student activists (Hoefflerle, 2013), but it also stems from a confrontation between student values and the state. The Vietnam War forced students to confront the political inadequacies, moral bankruptcy and occasional brutality of their governments. It created a sense of outrage and injustice that was channelled into sustained anti-war activism, but that also fuelled student criticism of and protest against the state in America, Britain and beyond. The same sense of injustice and outrage at state failings emerges in student participation in the Anti-Iraq War mobilisations in 2003.

The injustice theme emerges across the timeframe at UoM and LSE, underpinning protest activity about student finance, South African apartheid and governmental policy. Post-sixties university disciplinary procedures against student protesters are also framed as unjust and victimisation across the timeframe (Lanning, 1975, Shaw, 1969). Student activists appear to transfer their sense of injustice at the university, the government and society into a collective action frame, specifically an injustice frame (Gamson, 1992). As a frame, injustice does not just underpin student mobilisations, but serves to justify and motivate protest action.

Snow and Benford have established that frames are central to movement mobilisations (Snow and Benford, 1992, Benford and Snow, 2000). Frames allow movements and their participants to construct interpretations of society and events that can be used to justify and facilitate protest action. Movements utilise their interpretations and understandings, their frames, to recruit new members, to generate public and media support and to articulate their claims to their opponents and targets. Frames also act as the carriers of movement beliefs, goals and ideologies. Frames are relatively flexible; they can be adapted and reshaped to new circumstances and contexts, absorbing new information, events and factors so they remain usable by the movement. For UoM and LSE students, injustice frames seem to underpin a significant portion of their protest. Recognising injustices and inequalities in their own circumstances and more broadly in society, students adopt and

rework the injustice frame to interpret the social world and to motivate mobilisations around various concerns.

Injustice is a highly emotive concept that taps into sense of fairness and morality (Gamson, 1992). This emotional component is identified as important to driving student protest, but student mobilisations are not just expressions of anger (Hanna, 2013, Thomas, 1996). Students transform their senses of injustice into practical and intellectual frames that justify protest. They frame social problems as needing to be addressed and position themselves as potential agents for change (NUS, 1942, Hanna, 2012, 2013). Students frame tuition fee increases and inadequate loan and grant provision as injustices. On the surface, this is hyperbolic, but students use the injustice frame to emphasise the potential social and educational inequalities generated by high fees and low financial support. Tuition fees for British and international students are understood as limiting access to higher education for working class and low income students (*Manchester Independent, 1967b, The Beaver, 1967a, Brough and Ranasinghe, 1997, NUS, 1980*). Inadequate grants and loans are perceived as increasing student financial hardship, which worsens educational experiences and outcomes (*The Mancunion, 1994, Parker, 1988, NUS, 1979*). Further, the high financial cost of university created by student debt is again seen to limit participation by working class and low income British students (*Griffin and Kelly, 1990, Rogers, 2010, Butterworth, 2010*). Students frame financial limits on access to university as an injustice, because it contradicts their established opposition to educational inequalities and desire to increase university participation. It has been a long standing belief of the British student movement that university education should “be open to all those who can benefit from it” (NUS, 1942, 18). Many British students believe education, including higher education is a right to be enjoyed by all (*NUS, 1974, NUS, 1985, University of Manchester Union, 1994*). That belief translates into an understanding that universities should be state funded to ensure equitably access and so the financial limitations imposed by fees and student debts are seen as unjustly curtailing the right to education (NUS, 1942, *University of Manchester Union, 1994, NUS, 1985*).

Additionally, international student fees are also framed as an injustice, because they are read as potentially racist. Students accuse the British government of using tuition fees to



exclude BME international students to pander to racist anti-immigrant sentiments (*MUSU, 1980*). For UoM and LSE students, this is an injustice partly because they understand racism as a moral wrong, but also because they are outraged at failure of the state to address societal racism in Britain. The injustice frame is frequently deployed to justify mobilisations against racism. Anti-fascist campaigning is underpinned by a horror of the racial injustices that fascism seeks to impose (*Gliniecki, 1979*), while student opposition to racist regimes in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa is motivated by injustice and brutality of these regimes (*Perritt, 1984, The Beaver, 1964, The Beaver, 1965*). Students use the injustice frame to justify mobilisations on various causes, arguing that the perceived inequalities and injustices must be challenged and resisted. Protest is interpreted as route for generating meaningful political and social change.

The documentary sources also suggest that LSE and UoM activists adopt other social movement frames to underpin their activism. This frame adoption can be seen clearly in student CND activism. Early participants adopt the anti-war frames deployed by CND, while eighties participants emphasised the threat to human survival posed by nuclear weapons (*Hopkins, 1958, The Mancunion, 1980*). Student environmentalists frame their concerns in terms of environmental destruction and conservation echoing the wider environmental movement (*Environmental Action Society, 1973/74*). Student animal rights activists' emphasis the cruelty of vivisection, arguing that it is barbaric and unnecessary, again echoing wide animal rights frames (*Roberts, 1996*). This frame adoption is evidence of the extensive movement crossover hinted at by studies of the sixties student movement (*Hoefferele, 2013, Ellis, 1998, Burkett, 2014, see also Soule, 1997*). How this frame adoption and other frame-alignment process between the student movement and other movements occurs cannot be considered in detail here. However, it is clear that students recognise shared values and goals in other movements. This recognition can lead to engagement with the activities of other social movement organisations, for example, UoM students joined local environmentalists in protest pollution and road safety in the early nineties (*Hartley, 1992*). Similarly, LSE students boycotted the Economist Bookstore in 1978 and joined staff pickets protesting low pay, poor working conditions and anti-union activity by the store's management, reflecting student commitment to workers' rights (*Miller, 1978, The Beaver, 1978*). It can also result in students organising their own actions on other movement

concerns. For example, UoM and LSE students organise their own CND actions, but also participate in CND led protest (*The Beaver, 1958, Acklaw, 1961, Hopkins, 1958, The Mancunian, 1980*).

The social and political values espoused by student activists, and shown to be widely held in the student population, incline (some) students towards political engagement and participation (Keniston, 1967). Not every student who holds progressive values is drawn into protest activity, but these values and their interaction with movement frames are an underlying motivational factor for protest activity. They operate in conjunction to provide both the inclination to and motivation for political engagement, including protest activity. Keniston argues that the progressive social values outlined above incline students towards political engagement. This inclination is transformed into protest through various frames, but particularly through injustice frames, which interpret authority actions, national and international events and societal circumstances as necessitating collective action (Thomas, 1996, Hanna, 2012, 2013).

The emphasis here is on protest activity, which is justified by students as a method for visually demonstrating their dissent and discontent, but student values can also produce other forms of political participation. Only a minority of students participate in protest activity (Blackstone et al, 1970), but many can be considered political engaged through their involvement in political party campaigning (via associated student societies and youth wings), voluntary action and participation in campaign/charity associated student societies, such as Amnesty International (Brewis, 2014, *Manchester University Amnesty Group, 1969, Craig, 1981*). These students hold the same values as student protesters and recognise injustices and inequalities, but seek to address them through more conventional political and social engagement. Student values and frames have a clear motivational role in student activism, but are insufficient alone to explain the emergence of student protest activity. Other factors must also be present for student mobilisations to occur on and off campus.

It is important to address that the emphasis on progressive values here is not a claim that all students equally share such values. Both *The Beaver* and *The Mancunian* report suspicions that students are National Front members in the eighties, indicating that despite students'

reputation for liberalism they can also hold repressive political and social views (Crossley, 2008, *IMG and IS, 1976*). More ordinary students also hold less egalitarian values, exhibiting sexist, homophobic and racist behaviour (Sherriff, 2013, NUS, 2012, NUS, 2014a). In 1982, UoM women students picket Whitworth Park Halls over the screening of a pornographic film, while the University is also host to a pro-life society for much of the eighties (*Rodgers, 1982, Collins, 1990*). Even student activists fall short. In the early seventies, LSE Women's Liberation and GLF challenged the homophobia and sexism they had witnessed amongst politically left men on campus, repeatedly pushing back against discrimination within the student political activist network and forcing value changes (*Wilde and Wilde, 1971, Mellors, 1971*).

Student values and movement frames act as motivational factors underpinning student protest. They do not facilitate the emergence of student protest alone, but work in collaboration with campus based resources, activist networks and changes in the political context. The persistence of these progressive values contributes to the survival of student protest activity across the twentieth century as they continue to underpin student activism. Further, these values inform various movement frames that act as an interpretative tool to explain arising social and political issues and justify collective action.

### Accessing Resources on Campus

RMT scholars note the importance of resources for the mobilisation of social movement organisations and so social movements (Jenkins, 1983). Resources include financial backing, meeting spaces, skilled participants and leaders. Although social movements often emerge with far more limited resources than the state and other authorities, they efficiently exploit their own resources, innovating and adapting to establish leverage and bargaining power (McAdam, 1983). For student protest, the campus must be seen as a key resource for mobilisation (Gusfield, 1971, Hanna, 2013). Through the students union, the campus provides students with various organisational resources that support and facilitate large and small scale mobilisations.

Firstly, the campus acts as a general meeting space for students, who form social networks. According to Crossley, campus provides space for politically inclined students to meet and

form activist networks that may be mobilised at a later date (Crossley, 2008). Activist networks are visible at both UoM and LSE, and their formation can be traced to student societies and groups that draw together students interested in similar pursuits, issues and activities. Political and campaign societies create space for politically orientated students to meet and form social networks that might transform into an activist network. Further, they bring together the likeminded, allowing them to bond, but also building on their political interest and transforming to make the emergent network open to protest as a tactic for expressing discontent. The role of activist networks on campus in the emergence of protest activity is discussed further in the next section.

Further, the campus, primarily through student unions, provides various practical resources to students that can support mobilisations. The students union provides students with materials for banner and placard making, particularly before NUS or union organised events. This provision removes the financial cost from students, which enables them to create visual representations of their dissent (The Guardian, 2010). Secondly, student unions provide financial resources that alleviate the monetary costs of political organising for students. Most student societies receive some union funding (*News Bulletin, 1957, LSESU, 2015a, LSESU, 2015b, Tower, 1970*), which political and campaigning societies can use to fund printing posters and leaflets to advertise protests and to communicate their dissent and ideas to other students and passers-by. Students union also fund transport to protest events by paying for (or heavily subsidising) buses or other transport (*Polan, 1968, Spencer and Kennedy, 1983, The Mancunion, 1976d*). The provision of financing reduces the monetary costs for students, making protest activity, particularly off campus actions, more accessible.

In addition to acting as a general meeting space, the campus also provides physical meeting spaces for societies and students to hold meetings and events. The provision of meeting rooms, often for free in student union buildings, enables societies to host activities that serve three broad functions. Firstly, they bring together like-minded and interested students, allowing them to bond and form social networks, which may be mobilised at a later date (Crossley, 2008). Secondly, meetings and events enable the sharing of political ideas and beliefs, grievances and concerns. Thirdly, they enable the recruiting of new society members, and potentially new activists, by allowing societies to host events that interest

and attract students beyond their membership, such as speaker events with MPs and other high profile figures. Additionally, the students union provides spaces where the planning and organising meetings necessary for protest event activity can take place.

Hanna suggests that the representative function of student unions is also a resource available to student activists (Hanna, 2013, 113). Through long established relationships with their universities, union officers represent student concerns to the university authorities. Hanna is vague on how activists can utilise this representative potential as resource, perhaps because student representation (or lack thereof) changed as a result of sixties student pressure. Historically, student representation has taken place through direct relationships between union officers and senior university staff, particularly in regular meetings between union presidents and university vice chancellors (Ashby and Anderson, 1970). Since the sixties, universities have increased student presence on various governance committees, mainly by including union officers, but also through departmental and course rep systems in response to student demands (Ashby and Anderson, 1970, Moodie and Eustace, 1974, see also Dahrendorf, 1995, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004, Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969). The sixties student generation pushed for greater representation in university governance at UoM and LSE.

Activists can and do use these structures to articulate their demands or negotiate with the university, but they cannot just request that union officers act on their behalf. They must often seek wider student support through General Meetings or Union Council for representation to take place. Both LSE and UoM union officers and other elected student representations engaged in formal negotiations with their university managements over South African divestment for student activists; their negotiations were officially mandated by students and ran alongside protest activity (Pullan and Abendstern, 2004). Union officers also act informally for activists, particularly when union officers are involved in the protests. For example, UoM's union officers were "in almost daily contact" with the Vice Chancellor following disruption to a speech by Michael Heseltine in 1983 to mitigate the university response (*Spencer, 1983a*). The documentary sources also hint that officers intervene during disciplinary disputes and occupations to support activists.

However, union representation is not consistently available to activists. There is no evidence in *The Mancunion* that student concerns about animal experimentations in the University Medical School were formally raised by union officers with University management. Student activists can also be condemned by union officers and sanctioned by General Meetings, and therefore denied official representation. In 1968, the Manchester University Student Union criticised disruption of a speech by George Walker MP as “discourteous behaviour” (*Student Action Group, 1968*); the criticism implied a lack of support for the protesters, although union officers did later condemn the university disciplinary process (*Manchester Independent, 1968*). Hanna is right that union representation is available as a resource for student activists, but it is not as easy to access as she implies (Hanna, 2013). Mass student sentiment did favour activism during the sixties and perhaps official union support was more forthcoming across British campuses, but the availability of union representation to activists varies considerably after the sixties. Official support depends on the salience, union involvement and general student support for a cause.

The student union can also be a source of legal resources, specifically legal advice and potentially funds for court costs for protesters. Both institutions appear to have had ‘fines funds’ available to arrested protesters during the sixties and seventies (*Manchester Independent, 1969, The Beaver, 1983*). The practice seems to disappear after the eighties, probably reflecting Conservative attempts to curtail student union spending on activism (Pullan and Abendstern, 2004, *Hansard, HC Deb 10 March 1988 cc645-64, Hansard, HC Deb 14 May 1980 c510W*). In 1967, the LSE union procured legal advice for David Adelstein and Marshall Bloom as part of action against the School’s attempts to discipline the pair (Kidd, 1969). Support and advice appears to be forthcoming for most disciplinary cases until the early nineties (*Terry, 1968a, Spencer, 1983b*). Again, legal resources appear to be primarily available during the sixties, seventies and eighties and even then inconsistently. It is unclear from the student press whether all arrested students received union support during the sixties and seventies or whether this is confined to cases perceived as injustices alone. With the exception of the LSE 3 case in academic year 1992/93, there are no reported university disciplinary cases (for protest activity at least) after the eighties so it is unclear whether union legal resources were available for activists in the nineties and early twenty-first century (*The Beaver, 1993a*).

The campus's role as a resource centre remains fairly consistent across time; it can always provide students with meeting spaces, practical materials and even financing. As such, this role not only contributes to the emergence of protest activity, but also to its maintenance on campus. The consistency of organisational resources on campus helps to explain the continuity of student protest activity at both LSE and UoM. Resources are always available to students, supporting their engagement in both sustained campaigns and smaller, localised protest events. The fluctuations in the pattern of activity are therefore dependent on other factors contributing to emergence and decline. For students to utilise the available campus resources, they need opportunities for action to appear.

### Activist Networks on Campus

Crossley argues that universities, which concentrate large numbers of young people, harbour critical masses of protest prone students, who can engage in collective action if they meet and form activist networks (Crossley, 2012, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012, see also Keniston, 1967). The university campus facilitates the formation of student activist networks by providing politically inclined students with the physical space to meet, share and develop political ideas and to recruit/mobilise other students. Crossley and Ibrahim identify the students union as central to facilitating activist network formation. From the activists they interviewed 51 percent become involved in student activism through the Fresher's Fair (a Union organised event) and a further 19 percent through another Union-related activity (Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012, 604-5). The documentary sources reviewed here support their findings, identifying the student union and its societies as the main routes through which activist networks are formed at UoM and LSE. Before examining their formation, it is important to note that campus activist networks are not static, but are renewed by each fresh intake of students. The changing demographics of the university campus means that potential new activists arrive annually and can be recruited into campus activist networks through student societies and the students union. This section will demonstrate that arriving students can join a dense, complex activist network. Provided with sufficient organisational resources and grievances, this campus network is able to mobilise collectively, but it is also comprised of distinct issue and/or ideology bound subnetworks, which can mobilise independently of the wider campus network. The separate mobilising of

activist subnetworks on campus as well as the mobilisations of the larger activist network will be demonstrated later.

Firstly, as already noted in the previous section, student societies draw together likeminded students around their shared interests and beliefs. For politically inclined students, campaign and political societies offer the opportunity to meet and socialise with similarly inclined students, but to also engage in further political education and activism (Crossley, 2008). Through their meetings and activities, societies further their existing member's political thinking and also recruit new members, bridging their political ideas with the specific society's own ideological framework. The textual data provides evidence of student societies providing activities, such as speaker events and reading groups that enhance society member's political awareness and understanding. Society meetings and activities are the campus equivalent of other social movement organisations educational and recruitment activities. Coupled with social activities, these society events build and strengthen the activist network by creating ties between society members (Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012). Student societies facilitate the formation of a wider campus activist network by bringing together students and by deepening their political thinking and commitment. They may also form their own distinct activist networks, mobilising around the core concerns of the society. Societies concerned with environmentalism, animal rights and liberation campaigns can be distinct subnetworks, mobilising independently of campus network on issues directly connected with their movement concerns and goals. The complexity of the campus network strengthens its protest potential, enabling the whole network or its comprising parts to engage in large and small scale mobilisation.

As society membership is relatively unlimited, students are able to participate in multiple political and campaign societies, which expands and strengthens networks, making the network denser and increasing the potential for mobilization (Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012). Evidence of membership across political and campaign societies can be found through reports on society events and activities, letters from society members and reports on union General Meetings and council meetings, where student names appear in connection to one or more society. The campus network therefore forms across political and ideological divides, enabling students to mobilize together despite political differences. The Suez Canal



Crisis protest at UoM in 1956 was collectively organised and led by the Labour, Socialist and Communist student societies (*News Bulletin, 1956a*). Protests around student finance, educational policy and university response to protest also reflect the collaborative nature of the campus network with many different societies participating in the organisation and action. The Overseas Student Action Committee, which formed in 1967, drew together international students from a range of political positions and working with the students union, Socialist Society and Labour Society (and later IS and other left-wing political societies) to challenge increases in international student fees (*Manchester Independent, 1967b, The Mancunian, 1976d*), while at LSE, GLF collaborated with the Women's Liberation group and other political societies (*Mellors, 1971, Wilde and Wilde, 1971*). The network is successfully mobilized, because its comprising societies and subnetworks share similar beliefs and values. While differences in understanding, tactics and even goals do exist, these are overcome in the campus network as it facilitates mobilization through the shared frames and values and through the organisational resources provided on campus.

Secondly, as Crossley and Ibrahim identify, the students union itself is the site of various events and activities through which the campus activist network is formed and strengthened. The dataset reveals union officers to be key organisers behind several protest activities, particularly driving participation in national mobilisations, but also organising local activities. For example, the University of Manchester Students Union Women's Officer organised a protest against Stockport Council for their discrimination against gay and lesbian staff members in March 1986 (*Bouchet, 1986*). At both LSE and UoM, the unions run and facilitate campaigns groups. They organise anti-cuts campaigns in the seventies and eighties to protest Conservative educational policies, but also facilitate campaigning by disabled, BME, LGBT and women students across the timeframe<sup>4</sup> (*Day, 2006, Power, 2003a, The Beaver, 1997, The Beaver, 1998, see also campaign and society information in available Manchester University Student Union Handbooks between 1976/77 and 1988/89*). These campaign groups add another layer to the network formation, drawing in students concerned with these issues, but who are disinterested in overtly political societies. Other

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<sup>4</sup> Liberation campaigning (disabled, LGBT and women's activism) emerges most visibly after the sixties, reflecting shifts in social attitudes. Anti-racism activism is visible across the timeframe (see Webster, 2015 and *The Beaver, 1963*).

union led events, such as the Fresher's Fair, where students can meet and join various societies, union organised speaker events and activist training sessions, all also facilitate network formation (Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, student unions own governmental structures facilitate network formation by engaging student (or at least those attending Union General Meetings) in political discussion and debate. Union politics is frequently characterised as highly politicised and factional, but much student activism is determined and sanctioned by the Union General Meeting or at least the Union Council (*The Mancunian, 1982b, The Mancunian, 1983a, The Beaver, 1966*). Union sanction for protest events on and off campus is framed as legitimising student action by making it officially representative of the student body (Kidd, 1969, Ellis, 1998, Hoefflerle, 2013); the student press reports students seeking union backing before, during (for occupations) and after protests. The debates and discussions about these protests and the issues they address are evidence of student political engagement, but also facilitate the formation of activist networks by cementing bonds between politically inclined students and potentially recruiting new participants and supporters.

Through student societies and union activities, the critical mass of politically engaged and protest prone student are drawn together into a network that can be mobilised (Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012, Keniston, 1967). Campus activist networks must not be misunderstood as one large network, but should be seen as complex, multilevel entities that can mobilise as distinct groups or as a large whole depending on the emergent grievance. While some activists can be traced engaging in protest activity around many different issues (see the UoM 1985/86 Women's Officer mentioned above), there are also protest events in the dataset that point to the existence of many distinct (although likely interconnected) student activist networks. These smaller subnetworks emerge around discrete sets of issues and concerns, mobilising members as opportunities to advance claims and protest injustices related to these issue groups emerge. GLF is an example of a distinct activist network. It formed from a group of politicised LGBT students and activists who framed the ongoing harassment of and discrimination against the LGBT community as an injustice and inequality that could not be tolerated (Member of GLF, 1970, Wilde, D and Wilde, J, 1971). As an organisation and through its members, GLF was connected into other political activism at LSE and in London, but it was also a distinct network. GLF mobilised separately to protest

police harassment (Member of GLF, 1970), but also joined the larger LSE network in mobilisations. Framing their struggle for justice as connected to the workers' struggle, GLF joined the wider LSE activist network (and students from UoM) on the TUC march against the Industrial Relations Bill (Robinson, 2007). Relegated to the back by trade union leaders, GLF protested attacks on workers' rights and homophobia in the British left.

Similarly, a distinct network forms around animals rights at UoM in the eighties. Animal rights activism spans the entire decade indicating the ongoing presence of networked animal rights activist students. A particularly active group appear between academic year 1982/83 and 1984/54, with their activity accounting for 13 (of 23) protest events during the decade. Their activism includes protesting the fur trade, animal experimentation in the University medical building and hunt sabotage (*The Mancunion, 1984, The Mancunion, 1982c, The Mancunion, 1983b*). This network can be identified as distinct and mobilising separately, because no connections between animal rights activists and other political activity on campus can be traced in the textual sources. Individual members of the animal rights society may well have participated in marches against cuts to student grants, attacks on union autonomy and against South African apartheid, but the textual sources do not indicate interaction between the animal rights society and other political/campaign societies.

Student societies connected to socialist politics, such as the Socialist Workers Student Society (SWSS) and student wing of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), can be seen as distinct from and as a key participants in the campus activist network. These societies mobilise their members and actively recruit other students for many student protest events, but also mobilise separately to engage in protest activity connected to their political ideologies (Cliff, 2000). At LSE, SWSS students joined a university staff strike in early October 2003 instead of attending Fresher's Fayre (*Barham, 2003b*). The 2003 strike solidarity evidences SWSS's ability to mobilise as an independent entity, but the society also coordinates actions that draw together the wider student movement. In 2008, various London university SWSS groups were key organisers behind protest against the Labour government's bank bailout (*Woodbridge, 2008*). This protest activity reflects SWSS's socialist politics and labour movement focus, but also their organising role in the student movement.

The campus activist network is complex, formed of many distinct networks who may mobilise separately and together. Evidence of the campus network mobilising together is found in protest activity around anti-nuclear campaigning, anti-fascist, anti-apartheid activism and student financing, when several different societies and groups are named as organisers and/or participants.

Activist networks on campus contribute to protest emergence in two ways. Firstly, they draw together protest prone students, the politically engaged, into a dense network. Provided with an opportunity for collective action, the network can be rapidly mobilised, either as a whole or as a distinct subnetwork. Networks quickly facilitate mobilisation by increasing communication and interaction between network members. Being in regular contact enables students to respond quickly to emergent opportunities. Secondly, the network can further politicise politically inclined students, making them even more protest prone. Politicised students are more likely to frame events and issues in ways that justify and support collective action as a response (Keniston, 1967, Van Dyke, 1998). Students arrive with social values and political beliefs and are further politicised through their interactions with one another (Keniston 1967, Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012). These interactions strengthen students' political beliefs and commitment, increasing their likelihood for participation in activism and protest activity. Activist networks contribute to protest activity emergence by recruiting, politicising and organising politically inclined students in dense social networks, who are inclined to and can be quickly mobilised when faced with opportunities for collective action.

The pattern of protest activity indicates that activist networks exist and operate at LSE and UoM for the majority of the timeframe. This ongoing presence means that these networks not only contribute to the emergence of student protest activity, but also help maintain that activity across the sixty-six year period. Students are continually recruited into campus networks through the students union and its student societies, and so continually available for protest activity. Networks are important for making small groups of students available for political activism and protest activity as opportunities for collective action emerge. Like the constant presence of campus based resources and student values, networks provide the

grounding for action, but require the creation of opportunities for action to facilitate protest activity.

### Seizing Opportunities for Action

Political process theorists recognise that strains and grievances are a social reality and their presence is not sufficient to mobilise collective action and struggle for change (Tarrow, 1998, Van Dyke, 2003). Instead, they stress that shifts in political circumstances (also known as the political opportunity structure) create opportunities for social movements to emerge and make demands upon power holders. The opportunities that they identify are the opening up of the political system to new actors; political instability and divisions within political elites; increased (or decreased) public access to decision-making; the presence of elite allies and changes in power holder's use of facilitation and repression (Tarrow, 1998, Van Dyke, 2003). This section argues that it is the presence of elite allies, or rather the lack thereof that contributes to the emergence of student protest activity across the timeframe.

The presence of elite allies, who are sympathetic to the broad claims of social movements, has been stressed as a key factor for protest emergence. US based studies found higher levels of protest event activity under Democrat state and federal governments, suggesting that movements mobilise more when they perceive a sympathetic audience to hold legislative and reforming powers (Van Dyke, 2003). However, this finding does not seem to hold true for UoM and LSE students, in regards to protest event activity directed towards state power holders. Student protest activity occurs under both Labour and Conservative governments, with the highest levels of unrest in the 1980s happening under a Conservative government. Further, it is possible to discern drops in protest coinciding with the election of Labour governments. This pattern of activity fits with Van Dyke's study, which found higher levels of student protest at the state level when Republicans hold state power. According to political processes theory, Republican and Conservative governments should constrain opportunities for protest, because they are not sympathetic audiences for social movement claim-making (Van Dyke, 2003). Van Dyke suggests that student protest activity persists in apparently unreceptive environments, because Republican rhetoric, policies and actions antagonise student activists (Van Dyke, 2003). As well as conflicting with traditionally progressive student values, Republican power-holders are often perceived to threaten

student rights, wider social values and goods and marginalised groups (Keniston, 1967, Van Dyke, 2003). The actions and rhetoric of antagonistic elites is an affront to student values and their movement frames, creating grievances and providing opportunities for collective action (Keniston, 1967). Antagonistic elites are framed by students as a perpetual threat to themselves, to workers and to marginalised groups. These perceived threats provoke mobilisations and campaigning amongst student activists, leading to the emergence of protest activity when classic political process theory identifies a lack of opportunities.

The impact of antagonistic political elites on protest activity at UoM and LSE is most evident in the eighties (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2 and Table 4.1 in Chapter 4). The entire decade proved contentious, marked by strikes, pickets and marches. Student involvement in the eighties protest cycle is often overlooked in popular accounts (Turner 2013, McSmith, 2010). Yet, British students were active participants in other social movements mobilisations, joining pit picket lines during the 1984 miners' strike and participating in CND and Anti-Apartheid demonstrations (Day, 2012, Davies, 2010, Perritt, 1984, Horton, 1984, *The Mancunian*, 1980). Further, they also brought forward their own claims about student financing, educational policies and student union autonomy, and highlighted other movements' claims through their own actions (*Gardner, 1989, MUSU, 1980, The Mancunian, 1980, Glennon, 1988*). This diversity of protest activity is difficult to explain with the classic political process arguments as the decade seemingly lacks the political context to support protest activity. In addition to an unsympathetic government, activists also faced an unsupportive social context. Homophobic and racist attitudes were still prevalent, evidenced by growing anti-immigration rhetoric, attacks on Manchester's Gay Village and ongoing fascist activity across Britain (Foster, 1994, Turner, 2013, McSmith, 2010). Further, despite their unpopularity on campuses, the Tories and their policies had electoral support and their union-bashing, anti-protester rhetoric limited public sympathy for social movement causes.

For students, powerful elites appear to act as antagonists; their rhetoric, decisions and behaviour capable of provoking collective action (Van Dyke, 2003). Students are galvanised into action by their anger and discontent with political authorities. Elite antagonism can take the form of rhetoric or policies. In academic year 1979/80, the start of the eighties protest

cycle, LSE and UoM students marched and occupied to protest government imposed tuition fee increases for international students and education cuts (*Jones, 1979b, Perry, 1979b, The Beaver, 1979*). The Conservative government's decision to force fee increases by cutting public funding to individual universities based on their numbers of international students was an antagonistic action that galvanised the campus activist network into collective action. The new higher fees were framed as deeply unfair, even racist (*The Beaver, 1979b, MUSU, 1980*). Students saw the increased fees as pandering to national anti-immigrant sentiment. They understood the new fees as cutting international student numbers by making it inaccessible for less wealthy students to attend British universities. Student activists were able to bridge international students' sense of outrage at the sudden increases with an injustice frame, recruiting non-activist students into collective action. Political rhetoric, particularly rhetoric expressing discriminatory, prejudiced views, such as Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968, is equally powerful enough to antagonise students into taking action to express their opposition and discontent. Powell's visit to Manchester in October 1974 was picketed by Conservative students opposed to the racism he represented (*Hardy, 1974*). His speech, even five years later, antagonised students as it contradicted their own anti-racist beliefs. A further visit in 1985 saw Powell picketed again for the racist rhetoric he represented (*Nisse, 1985*).

The Enoch Powell protest is a useful example as it shows the dual role that antagonistic elites have in mobilising protest activity (*Hardy, 1974*). Firstly, they provoke dissent and discontent by imposing grievances. Secondly, they provide the opportunity for protest. Powell's speech provoked anger and opposition, it created a grievance, but alone does not provide an opportunity to mobilise. There are no records of protests about Powell's speech involving UoM students in 1968, which suggests, in line with social movement theory, that the grievance alone was not enough to spark a protest (*Crossley, 2002, Tarrow, 1998*). It is Powell's actual presence in Manchester that sparks the protest. His presence creates an opportunity for protest to take place, but not through any of the shifts expected by political process theorists (*Tarrow, 1998*). Students do not see Powell as a potential ally, nor does his visit represent a more pluralistic political system or divides amongst political elites. Instead, his visit is an opportunity to fight back against institutional and state racism, as represented by Powell and his supporters (*Van Dyke, 2003*). His visit to Manchester (although not

actually to the University) provides UoM students with an opportunity to express their anger and dissent.

Visits to university campuses by Tory MPs in the eighties proved to be similarly antagonistic. Firstly, the Thatcherite Government had provided students with numerous grievances to mobilise around through their actions and rhetoric. Students objected to Tory economic, policing and immigration policies, to Clause 28 and other anti-equalities proposals and to Tory governmental support for nuclear weaponry and human right abusing regimes, such as apartheid South Africa (*Peppercorn, 1988, The Beaver, 1988, Burgess, 1988, Turner, 2013, McSmith, 2010, Burkett, 2013*). Secondly, through MP visits to university campuses, the Tories provided physical opportunities for student anger to be vocalised on campus. MPs accepting invitations to speak on university campuses risked meeting picket lines and heckling audiences (*The Mancunian, 1985a, Pullan and Abendstern, 2004, Davies, 2010*). What the students were protesting was not a specific issue that each MP might be representative of, but rather the Tories and their policies in general (Pullan and Abendstern, 2004). The visits provided student activists with opportunities to mobilise around the grievances provoked by Conservative policy. The structural shift to enable protest came from the physical presence of an antagonist on campus; they provided a focal point for collective action on grievances caused by Tory policy.

Antagonistic governmental actions, such as education funding cuts, attacks on student union autonomy and proposed restrictions to abortion, operate in the same way. They are not indications of a more open political system, but rather present an opportunity to express discontent and to fight against perceived threats to public services and civil rights. Elite antagonism mobilises student protest not by opening up the political system to student and wider social movement demands, but by providing an opportunity to fight back against perceived threats to public services, civil liberties and rights and perceived contradictions with democratic values (Van Dyke, 2003, Keniston, 1967). The decisions of the Blair and Cameron Governments to push ahead with the introduction and increase of tuition fees in 1997 and 2010, despite NUS criticism and public unease, can be understood as antagonistic actions, specifically legislative proposals, that mobilised student protest. Student financing is a long running student grievance, predating the timeframe considered here, so these policy



proposals were not a suddenly imposed grievance, but rather reignited underlying discontent over inadequate funding, student poverty and debt. The proposals therefore provided students with an opportunity to fight fees, but also to push back on the problems of student financing in general.

Labour governments seem to provoke less protest activity, at least initially. The election of Tony Blair in 1997 coincides with a drop in protest visible in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, but also other examples. The student press reveals that students are broadly supportive of the Labour Party, expecting it to be sympathetic to their claims and concerns. Further, they join other movement activists in anticipating progressive reforms from Labour governments (Gardner, 1990). This student sympathy for the Labour Party explains why protest activity drops around elections, but not why students continue to protest under Labour governments. Some protest activity emerging in this periods will have non-state targets, for example animal rights protests at UoM in academic year 1999/00. However, elite antagonism can also be seen to contribute to the emergence of protest cycles under Labour governments, and under less controversial Conservative governments. The actions, policy proposals and rhetoric of these governments can be antagonistic if they threaten student's sense of social justice and equity (Keniston, 1967). Although broad support for Labour can be traced through editions of *The Beaver*, *News Bulletin*, *Manchester Independent* and *The Mancunion*, there is no evidence that UoM and LSE students see Labour governments as more sympathetic to their claims in the long-term. The Labour Party's support the Vietnam and Iraq Wars was interpreted by students as antagonistic behaviour, thus contributing to new waves of collective action (Crouch, 1970). In 2003, large numbers of LSE students joined marches organised by Stop the War to protest the Iraq War (Bourke, 2003, Power, 2003b, Heathcote, 2003). Student Stop the War societies formed on both campuses, recruiting student participants into off campus protest actions and on campus awareness raising (Peckett, 2002, Barham, 2003a, *Student Direct: Manchester*, 2002, Murray and German, 2005). Activism against the Vietnam War was initially led by the British student movement, although it seems to have quickly expanded to become a cooperative effort between students and anti-war/peace activists (Hoefflerle, 2013, Ellis, 1998). Student protests during the Wilson Ministry (1964 to 1970) framed Labour's support for the war as antagonistic, because it contradicted the political ideology and values associated with the

Party (Cockburn and Blackburn, 1969, Fraser, 1988). Students were angered by the Party's apparent failing to uphold its own values; these perceived failings provided them with a grievance and opportunity to mobilise.

Other targets of student protest can also be understood as an antagonistic, although not necessarily being political elites. Anti-fascist activism at both LSE and UoM emerges in response to opportunities created by far-right organisations. Announcements of marches by the National Front, BNP and EDL are met with immediate mobilisations by LSE and UoM students, who cooperate with other anti-fascist campaigns to organise counterdemonstrations. The presence of fascist organisers on or near campus also antagonises students into action. In academic year 1978/79, National Front members attempted to distribute their literature outside the UoM students' union building. This was a highly provocative action, which students understood as an attempt not to recruit, but to intimidate BME students. It was met with an immediate physical response; UoM students quite literally drove the National Front off campus, forming a solid wall of bodies that marched the handful of National Front members to the very edge of campus (*The Mancunion*, 1978). In 1984, Patrick Harrington's, a prominent National Front member, enrolled at the Polytechnic of North London, which antagonised the institution's own students into protest. They argued that Harrington's presence on campus was intolerable and dangerous for BME students. Joined by LSE anti-fascist students, they picketed and boycotted his lectures, succeeding in barring his entrance to several classes (*McCallum*, 1984, *The Beaver*, 1984b). Harrington obtained an injunction against the protesters, which they ignored, backed by their students union and the other London unions (*The Beaver*, 1984). Court rulings banning the protests and ordering lecturers' to name demonstrators simply fanned the flames. Students found not only Harrington, but also the apparent efforts by the State to enforce his attendance at the Polytechnic despite their considerable opposition deeply antagonistic.

Universities can also act as an antagonist for students. Proposed cuts to library opening times at UoM prompted work-in protest; the proposals angered students who already felt that the existing weekday only opening times of the affected libraries already negatively impacted on their ability to study (*The Mancunion*, 1981a). The dataset shows that

contention with the university, particularly when prompted by an antagonistic action on behalf of university management, quickly escalates with students opting for more confrontational tactics, such as meeting invasions and occupations to express their dissent. University responses to protest activity are particularly antagonistic, often mobilizing previously uninvolved students in defense of their 'victimised' peers. Disciplinary actions are framed by students as injustices, attacks upon their rights to free speech and protest, and attempts to curb further protest by intimidating students. Famously, the LSE's suspension of David Adelstein and Marshall Bloom in 1967 for allegedly organising a meeting/protest criticising the appointment of Walter Adams provoked a week long occupation (Ellis, 1998, Hoefflerle, 2013, Kidd, 1969). LSE students saw the School's disciplinary action as arbitrary and unfair, targeting Adelstein and Bloom when responsibility for the contentious event was held more collectively. Adelstein's suspension in particular was framed as victimisation, not least because he had attempted to calm students at the event, suggesting they move to a different location to discuss the ban and their criticisms of Adams appointment (Kidd, 1969). Many students perceived the entire disciplinary process to be biased, citing concerns that students could not have a fair hearing when their accusers also acted as judges (Kidd, 1969, *The Beaver*, 1967b, *The Beaver*, 1967c). While the occupation is famously remembered, it was actually a tactical escalation by the students. The School had disregarded previous expressions of opposition issued formally via the Students Union and reiterated by two protest events, a picket and a march (Kidd, 1969). Already antagonised into action by Adelstein and Bloom's suspensions, the School's failure to respond to student concerns provoked the occupation. UoM management also found their disciplinary responses to student protest to be provocative in the sixties (*Terry*, 1968a, *Manchester Independent*, 1968b, *Terry*, 1968b).

Not all protest events involving UoM and LSE students emerge due to antagonistic elites creating opportunities to defend values and rights. Students join national mobilisations by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and CND, because these movements have recognised opportunities to bring forward their claims. Students participate in these actions, because their values and beliefs align with those of the mobilising movement (Snow and Benford, 1992). Students see a connection between their movements, recognising an opportunity to advance shared claims about social equality and justice. The protest events may emerge in

relation to opportunities created by antagonistic elites, but also to other shifts in the political context. For example, early CND mobilisations seized sympathy for the anti-nuclear causes amongst the political elite and general public as an opportunity to push for disarmament (Parkins, 1968). Intensifying tensions between the West and the USSR coupled with rapid nuclear weaponry development also contributed to the creation of opportunities for action by intensifying worries about the possibility of nuclear war, but it was the presence of a sympathetic audience, including political allies, that created space for the CND mobilisations in Britain. CND was able to bring forward its claims, because it had public and political attention. Anti-nuclear mobilisations in the eighties similarly can be explained as a response to shifting political and public sympathy (for nuclear disarmament), but also as a response to Thatcher and Reagan's antagonistic military policies, which seemed to increase the possibility of war (McSmith, 2010, Turner, 2013).

Antagonistic political elites create opportunities for student protest to emerge. By contradicting and threatening student values, they provide students with grievance and/or reignite existing grievance and with the opportunity to protest. Opportunities emerge to act in the defence of the progressive values Keniston outlines in the form of policy proposal, rhetoric and actions. Elite antagonism facilitates the emergence of defensive action as opportunities to press movement claims emerge as the result of actions threatening existing conditions, but it can also contribute to actions advancing movement claims. In responding to opportunities for action, students draw on their activist networks, frames and campus resources to effectively mobilise. These contributory factors are consistently present on campus, but are vital to mobilisations. They operate together to facilitate action, making available to politically inclined students the necessary rhetorical and organisational resources and providing participants. These factors are consistently available, making protest possible at all points in the timeframe and so facilitating the continuity of protest activity at UoM and LSE. Activist network also ensure the inheritance of frames, beliefs and goals between student generations. They pass on the student movement's tactical repertoire, ensuring that these tactics are available to new student generations. This continuity between generations further ensures that protest is always a possibility for students; they are always able to use protest as an expression of dissent, because the

campus retains and transfers the necessary expertise between generations, whilst also making resources, networks and frames consistently available.

### Explaining Decline

Protest cycles eventually decline. Such declines are not the end of social movements, but rather indicate drops in activity levels and entrance into periods of abeyance that maintain the movement until the next major mobilisation (Taylor, 1989, Tarrow, 1998). Social movement theorists suggest that co-optation, repression and factionalism all have a role in the decline of movement and protest activity (Tarrow, 1998, Miller, 1999). However, the documentary sources indicate that co-optation and repression appear to have less impact on student protest than social movement scholarship would suggest. They contribute to declines in participant numbers, and possibly to protests, but have less impact than factionalism and university authority responses.

The section discusses protest activity decline in relation to the protest tactics students use to advance their claim-making and express their discontent. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 record the diversity of protest tactics by decade<sup>5</sup>. The tables reveal that the student movement draws heavily on the British labour movement's well-established tactical repertoire, frequently using and engaging in marches and pickets to display dissent. They also chart the diffusion of disruptive, confrontational direct action tactics and their inclusion in the student movement repertoire. Occupations, sit-ins, teach-ins and creative direct actions, like flashmobs, culture jamming and street theatre are tactical innovations adapted by the British student movement from other movements. There is not sufficient space to discuss every tactical diffusion, but it is important to recognise the influence that cross-movement interactions have upon the British student movement (Prince, 2007, Hoefflerle, 2013, Soule, 1997).

Important tactical additions in the twentieth century were sit-ins and occupations. These tactics increased the disruption that student protesters could generate, enabling them to

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<sup>5</sup> It was noted in Chapter 3 that some tactics are potentially underrepresented in Tables 5.3 and 5.4 due to a coding decision to include only one tactic per event.

escalate their mobilisations in response to inaction and repression by the targeted authorities. The tactics were not movement innovations though; they come from the tactical repertoires of CND, the US Civil Rights Movement and American student movement (Prince, 2007, Hoefflerle, 2013). Simon Prince's historical review of the emergence of these tactics in sixties Northern Ireland notes this pattern of diffusion, but also identifies CND as the source of the tactical innovation (at least for Western movements) (Prince, 2007). The US Civil Rights movement were inspired by CND tactics, exchanging ideas with CND leaders and reworking non-violent direct action for their own context; their mobilisation in turn directly influenced the emergent American and British student movements in the sixties (Prince, 2007). British students had also been heavily involved in CND's early protest activity, including the Committee of 100 non-violent direct action (Hoefflerle, 2013, Parkin, 1968). Further, many late sixties activists identified CND as an early influence on their political life (Fraser, 1988, Hanna, 2013). This direct engagement with CND suggests that its tactical radicalism remained latent in the British student movement, re-emerging as an acceptable tactical choice in the late sixties as students were inspired by the US Civil Rights and other national student movements. The next chapter discusses how the British student movement maintains itself over the entire timeframe, touching on how tactics and issues remain available to students.

**Table 5.3: Protest tactics for activity involving University of Manchester students by decade.**

Tactics	45/46 - 59/60	60/61 - 69/70	70/71 - 79/80	80/81 - 89/90	90/91 - 99/00	00/01 - 09/10	10/11	Total by Tactic
Academic Boycott		2	1	3	2			8
Blockade		3	3	5			1	12
Boycott	2	4	2	4				12
Direct Action	1	1	2	8	1	2	2	17
Direct Action (Creative Visual)		1	2	4	11	6	1	25
Eviction Resistance		2	7					9
Leafleting		1	2					3
Lobby		1	3	21	4	1	1	31
March	5	26	39	145	22	37	9	283
Meeting Disruption		2	1	1	1	2	1	8
Monetary Strike			5	4	1			10
Occupation		2	17	15	12	5	3	54
Petition		4	2	21	2		1	30
Picket		5	40	98	25	57	6	231
Property Damage			1	9				10
Rally		4	8	11	1	2		26
Sit In (and Similar)		10	3	11	3	4	2	33
Teach In		6						6
Unknown				1				1
Vigil		2	1	12		3	1	19
Withdrawal of Labour		4			2			6
Written Protest (Not Petition)	3			3				6
Total By Decade	11	80	139	376	87	119	28	840

In Chapter 4, it was noted that post-sixties student generations owe their available tactical repertoire to the sixties student revolt. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 demonstrate that occupations, sit-ins, teach-ins and other direct action tactics first appear in the sixties; the result of tactical diffusion between movements (Soule, 1997, Prince, 2007, Hoefflerle, 2013). In General Meetings and probably also in organising meetings and during protests, sixties students at UoM and LSE hashed out the acceptability of disruptive tactics. Supporters argued that such tactics were highly demonstrative of student power and feeling, but were also effective for escalating contention. Tactical debates continued, but by the eighties, these tactics are firmly established in the student repertoire, remaining available to all subsequent student generations.

**Table 5.4: Protest tactics for activity involving LSE students by decade.**

Tactics	45/46 - 59/60	60/61 - 69/70	70/71 - 79/80	80/81 - 89/90	90/91 - 99/00	00/01 - 09/10	10/11	Total By Tactic
Academic Boycott		1	1	6				8
Blockade			3		1			4
Boycott	1		3	3		1		8
Direct Action (Creative Visual)					1	4	3	8
Direct Action			2	1		1		4
Monetary Strike			5	2	2			9
Written Protest (Not Petition)					1	1		2
Lobby		2	5	6	3	5		21
March	9	24	24	45	24	27	4	157
Meeting Disruption			4	3	1	10	2	20
Occupation		2	11	8	2	3	4	30
Petition	1	1	7	7	4	7	1	28
Picket	1	8	27	43	38	38	3	158
Property Damage			1					1
Rally	4	4				3	1	12
Sit In (and Similar)		3		3	2	1	2	11
Teach In		4	3			1		8
Vigil				2	4	8		14
Withdrawal of Labour		1	1					2
Total by Decade	16	50	97	129	83	110	20	505

This section explores how the student movement resists attempts to curb its protest activity through co-optation and repression. Contrary to PP theory, these processes appear ineffective in curbing student protest activity. Instead, the section notes that inaction by LSE and UoM management is relatively successful in (at least temporarily) quelling unrest. The approach works by placating activists with promises of reform and then frustrating and disillusioning students into believing that campus change is either too slow to be productive or impossible. Further, authority inaction works, because students misguidedly believe promises of future action are victories in themselves. They miss opportunities to maintain the necessary pressure through lobbying and protest on university authorities to ensure change takes place, which allows university management to get away with doing nothing (Sawyers and Meyer, 1999). Generational loss is also shown to impact activity, although again the effect is temporary as lost core activists are gradually replaced with new entrants. Finally, the section notes that campus factionalism negatively impacts student activism. It



argues that factionalism makes mobilising difficult to sustain as internal division make achieving agreements on tactics, targets and frames impossible.

### Co-opting the Student Movement

Co-optation is offered by social movement theorists as an explanatory factor for drops in protest activity (Miller, 1999, Tarrow, 1998, McAdam, Tilly and Tarrow, 2001). According to Freeman, co-optation operates in two ways for social movements. Firstly, political elites can align themselves with a movement, co-opting its values, beliefs and goals. Such alignments may be sincere, reflecting elites' own political ideologies and/or a willingness to grant concessions, but can also be strategic decisions for political gains (Freeman, 1999). The evidence gathered here suggests that students are mistrustful of political elites aligning themselves with the student movement and its goals.

Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats have previously aligned themselves with student calls for free university education, increased access to higher education and no tuition fee increases (Carvel, 1996, Alley and Smith, 2004, Shackle, 2010, see also Fisher and Hillman, 2014). According to Fisher, such alignment was a vote winner for the Liberal Democrats in the 2001, 2005 and 2010 elections (Fisher, 2015). However, both parties rescinded on promises to not introduce or raise tuition fees (Alley and Smith, 2004). Students protested, vocally expressing their discontent and sense of betrayal (Brough and Ranasinghe, 1997, Rogers, 2010). Fisher and Hillman note that Labour received less student votes in the 2005 election for renegeing on their explicit 2001 manifesto promise to "not introduce tuition fees" (Fisher and Hillman, 2014, 20, Alley and Smith, 2004). LSE and UoM students participated in sustained protest campaigns against fees in academic years 1997/98 and 2010/11, supporting both NUS and non-NUS organised events to express their anger and betrayal (*Student Direct, 1997, Student Direct, 1998, Brough and Ranasinghe, 1997, Rogers, 2010, Riese, 2011*). Political elite attempts to align with students seem to backfire quickly, prompting fresh waves of action as students become angry at political failings.

This form of co-optation has served to deepen student and young people's disillusionment with politicians and the political process in Britain (Henn and Foard, 2011, Henn et al, 2002). Students struggle to reconcile their values and beliefs, particularly a commitment to free

higher education, with broken manifesto promises, which manifests as low student voter turnout and a mistrust of politicians (Fisher and Hillman, 2014, Henn and Foard, 2011 Henn et al, 2002). It is possible that student disillusionment with formal politics underpins their activism and protest. Keniston argued that disappointment with authorities coupled with the disparity between student values and the social reality underpinned American student protest and that seems to hold true across the timeframe for LSE and UoM students (Keniston, 1967, Parkin, 1968, Thomas, 1996). Politicians and the political system has remained delegitimised for students and young people in Britain; they feel that their participation in formal politics will change nothing (Henn and Foard, 2011, 10, Green and Rigby, 2014). However, students continue to see protest as a possible route to change (Rheingans and Hollands, 2013).

University management can also align themselves with students. A succession of Vice Chancellors and Directors at UoM and LSE have issued statements supporting student goals. The statements do appear to have been issued to head off militant action, but have had mixed results. In 1967, Vice Chancellor Mansfield Cooper publicly supported student objections to increased fees for international students, but this did little to quell protest activity by UoM students (*Manchester Independent*, 1967). He stated that “no-one engaged in the pursuit of knowledge is a foreigner”, sanctioning a student lecture boycott and march to protest the fee increases (*Manchester Independent*, 1967). Director Howard Davies also found that his relatively mild criticism of tuition fee increases provoked, rather than curbed, protest action (*Wong, 2011b, Patel, 2010b*). Davies disagreed with the rapid rise to £9000, a criticism that students welcomed. However, they wanted robust action, specifically for Davies to pressurise the government directly. His reluctance to do more prompted creative actions around campus, including a balloon release outside his office (*Poojaru, 2010*). Whether Davies and Mansfield Cooper had hoped to curb campus unrest with their comments is unclear; student protest continued regardless. It is clear that university management alignments with students around student finance issues have not quelled student protest activity.

In contrast, both LSE and UoM management found that vague statements condemning South African apartheid and promising action on university investments and links with South

Africa was enough to quiet unrest. Encouraged by their universities' responses, students appear to have dropped protest activity, allowing representatives (normally union officers or union council members) to engage in discussions (*Crequer, 1973, Crequer, Jaspan, and Brown, 1973, Boyd, 1987, Saunders, 1977*). These discussions were held on the universities' timetables, which can move achingly slowly as issues must often pass through several committee and review processes before action is taken (*The Mancunion, 1973, Crequer, Jaspan, and Brown, 1973, Ford, 1974, Mitra, 1988b*). The pace of change can be disillusioning for students, who want swifter action on issues they frame as social injustices. The university process is frustrating, leaving many with the impression that their activity will change nothing. Campus activism around university investment in South Africa faded due to combination of conciliatory promises and limited meaningful action. The divestment campaigns always re-emerged, galvanised by the increased salience of South African apartheid or new activist recruits. They were also ultimately successful, but both institutions were able to effectively delay meaningful action for over ten years (*Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004, Mitra, 1988b*).

University co-optation of student beliefs and goals can contribute to declines in protest and campaign activity, but its impact appears to be issue dependent. Aligning with students around humanitarian issues, such as apartheid, seems to (at least temporarily) quell unrest directed at the university. Yet, attempts to align with students on student financing and other education policy issues do not limit action directed at the university or other targets. Instead, these supportive moves appear to encourage students to expect more robust responses from university authorities. They recognise the potential lobbying power of university managements on governmental policy and want the verbal support they receive to be turned into real action. In 2010, the reluctance of UoM and LSE management to push back against fee rises prompted tactical escalations, primarily in the form of long running occupations (*Topalovic, 2011, Qureshi, 2010, NCAFC, 2010, Butterworth, 2010*). UoM students also escalated contention by attempting to auction Dame Nancy Rothwell's car on eBay, writing in the fake sale description that the Vice Chancellor was selling her car to help students pushed into financial hardship by fees (*McKeown, 2011*).

The second form of co-optation is the inclusion of social movement organisations into the authority's official system through formal invitations to participate in decision making and discussions (Freeman, 1999). Social movement theorists understand such co-optation as curbing movement organisations and their leaders' inclination to engage in protest activity. Included in the political system, movement leaders worry that protest activity will damage relationships with the authorities, harming the possibility of concessions and reforms being granted (Freeman, 1999). Concerned about the reputational damage of protest, co-opted organisations opt for institutionalised approaches to claim-making, leading to declines in protest activity. Further, for movement participants, the inclusion of movement organisations in the political system can be a sign of success, particularly when their demands have encompassed greater representation (Freeman, 1999). Interpreting co-optation as success leads to declines in protest activity as the assumed granting of concessions and reforms makes protest less urgent.

The student representative system should not be viewed as co-optation. Despite the close working relationship that union officers and other student representatives often enjoy with their university, they are not prevented from bringing forward complaints. Nor are they forced to disengage from on and off campus activism over fears about damaging the union/university working relationship. The archived newspapers are full of examples of activist union officers (*Rodgers, 1986, Mashru, 2010, Patel, 2010a*). There is some evidence that union officers worry that protest, particularly highly disruptive actions, will damage union/university relations and opt to not support such action (*Mancunion, 1985b*). Or they favour institutional processes as potentially more effective (*Yule, 1997, 1998, Livingstone, 1998b, Roe, 1997b*). Officers across the political spectrum express these concerns, suggesting that the responsibility of representing the entire student body and maintaining good ties with the university does have a moderating impact on some. This is perhaps better seen as self-censoring rather than co-optation as many also support and organise protest actions.

There is no evidence in the documentary sources that in disputes between students and the state, UoM and LSE student protesters are co-opted into institutional processes at the state level. However, NUS's formal engagement with government ministries should be

understood as a partial co-optation that can contribute to declines in protest activity at the campus level. Founded as an education pressure group, NUS expounded considerable energy establishing itself as the authoritative voice on students, (Day, 2012, Blackburn and Cockburn, 1969). It continues to engage in institutional processes to exert influence on governmental policy towards students and further and higher education. However, it is also an activist organisation, encouraging the diversity of student activism and campaigning through its liberation campaigns and organising protest events, typically around student finance issues. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine in detail NUS's complicated relationship with activism and the full impact of its engagement in the British political system on the student movement. However, from the dataset, it is possible to see NUS's relationship with the government as contributing to declines in protest activity at UoM and LSE. The impact of NUS's co-optation is slight; it appears to only impact on mobilisations around higher education issues.

Firstly, NUS's position of potential influence appears to instil confidence amongst students that campaigns against loans and fees will be successful. In all the mobilisations around student financing, which first appear in the sixties and span the entire timeframe, there is textual evidence of student confidence that a combination of NUS lobbying and a few large scale protests will halt unpopular proposals (Wong, 2011a, Rogers, 2010, *The Mancunian*, 1988). The data finds that NUS-led protest events early in campaigns on student finance attract high rates of participation, but that this participation does not translate into sustained engagement in campaigns. In November 1984, 4000 students marched against cuts to student grants, increased parental contributions and the proposed introduction of tuition fees (Major, 1984). Some 30,000 marched in London on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1984 led by NUS (*The Mancunian*, 1984). But in February 1985, despite grant cuts going ahead, only 800 marched in Manchester on a follow-up action (Rowan, 1985). Minor concessions by the Conservatives (dropping fee proposals), which were welcomed by NUS (Jones, 1984), possibly explains the participation drop. The concessions appear like a victory, particularly as NUS welcomes them, which appeases non-activist participants, who drift away from protest as it appears less urgent. They may also drop out due to disillusionment, not participating in further action due to a sense of futility. NUS had not won a better grant or halted the cuts, but their acceptance of governmental concessions is sufficient to satisfy

some UoM students, or perhaps disillusion them. LSE students joined the NUS march in 1984 and there no subsequent protests on student finance reported in academic year 1984/85, which suggests that LSE student participation also dropped either due to appeasement or disillusionment (*Richards and Lunn, 1984*)<sup>6</sup>. Drops in participation have a knock-on effect as diminishing numbers mean that protest activity becomes less frequent and feasible. It seems that student participation is not sustained, because students expect the NUS leadership to sway government ministries. Overlooking NUS's long running relationship with the British state, many students appear to understand NUS's statements about discussions with ministries as success, expecting these to result in concessions. As such, they disengage from protest activity, because they perceive the need to protest as less urgent; they are confident that sufficient action has been taken to force grant increases, stop student loans being introduced or prevent fee hikes.

Secondly, and somewhat ironically, NUS is frequently unable to win sustainable concessions, which also contributes to declines in protest. When concessions fail to emerge or prove to be temporary, students become disillusioned with activism, believing that they can exert little change. Students may disengage soon after a large scale protest, or in subsequent weeks, depending on their own personal commitment. In 2010, many students mobilising for the first time hoped that NUS led Demo-lition 10.11.10 would cause a serious reconsideration of the tuition fee proposals by the Coalition Government (*Palmieri and Solomon, 2011, Solomon, 2011, Rogers, 2010*). They did not expect a complete reversal, but anticipated a watering down and rebellions by Liberal Democrat MPs, who had signed pledges during the 2010 General Election to not vote for fee increases (*Shackle, 2010*). They expected the NUS leadership to utilise the demonstration and its display of student power as leverage in discussion with the government. While some MPs did rebel at the Commons vote in December 2010, the leadership and majority of their MPS were unmoved by student opposition, introducing fee increases and other education cuts. Disillusioned by this failure and by NUS's candlelit vigil outside Parliament during the vote, which many radical activists saw as an acknowledgement of defeat, students drifted away from activism around the fee increases (*Palmieri and Solomon, 2011, Meadway, 2011*).

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<sup>6</sup> There are missing issues of *The Beaver* for February and March 1984, which means that this apparent drop in activity might be explained by uncollected data as well.

Anti-fees protests did not end in December 2010 (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Actions take place throughout the rest of the academic year, but they are less frequent than might be expected given student anger. Those who remained engaged were primarily drawn from existing campus activist networks. The textual evidence shows that many students who appeared as organisers and leaders were already engaged in campus based activism and protest. Clare Solomon, President of ULU in 2010/11, emerged as a leading figure, organising protest beyond NUS's sanctioned events and calling for more militant activism (Badcock, 2010). Solomon was already part of student activist networks in London, having been active at SOAS (Badcock, 2010). Similar patterns can be found amongst activist students at LSE and UoM with contention around fees remaining present on campus through the existing activist network. It seems then that NUS co-optation influences the participation of less well networked students and so contributing to declines in activity. Strong network ties facilitate ongoing activism around fees and other issues, while less connected students drop out as they have few ties to the mobilising networks to maintain their engagement. NUS's co-optation contributes to their disengagement either by encouraging them to understand discussions between NUS and governmental officials as concessions in themselves or by disillusioning them when no concessions are won.

Other factors also contribute to the disengagement of less networked students, perhaps having a greater impact. Anecdotally, UoM students involved in anti-fees activism in 2010 report that participant numbers dropped rapidly, despite more than 100 students attending the first campaign meeting<sup>7</sup>. They cite political factionalism, particularly hostility towards more moderate views from far-left activists, as contributing to drops in participation. Less politicised students found the ideological arguments and hostile reactions to moderate voices intimidating. Factionalism seems to have a far greater impact; it prevents moderate students participating and limits cooperation by making organising work time-consuming and difficult.

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<sup>7</sup> With thanks to current and former student activists who shared their experiences of anti-fees campaigning in academic year 2010/11.

Students also anecdotally report that participation declines, because they look to NUS and their student unions to facilitate protest activity. Not all students are able to commit the necessary time to participate in the mobilising and organising work around protest activity, but in periods of increased contention do want to engage in both protest and other campaigning activity. They look to NUS, their unions and campus activist networks to provide actions for them to participate in. From petition signing to marches, these students are willing to participate, but require their engagement to be enabled. This facilitation is not necessarily forthcoming. In 1979/80, UoM students union and its Overseas Student Action Group facilitated mass participation in protest activity against increased fees, but in 2010 the same union failed to retain students (*The Mancunion, 1979a, The Mancunion, 1979c, Perry, 1979a, MUSU, 1980*). Ordinary students, who did not want to join occupations, found little non-direct action protest to participate in with many campus activist network members, including union officials, being unwilling to direct student activism. Further, they found political factionalism within campaign off-putting. Despite their strong opposition, they drifted away, because they were either unable or disinclined to participate in organising activity.

Co-optation fails to quell student unrest. Attempts to co-opt the movement's values and so quieten their demands through appeasement are ineffective. University attempts encourage students to may greater demands upon the university, seeing their engagement as an opportunity to win further concessions. Political elite attempts are treated with suspicion, prompting collective action if promises and alignments are abandoned. The partial co-optation of the NUS also has a limited impact on campus activity levels. While less politicised students are affected by NUS co-optation, students within the activist networks appear immune to the impact. They continue to mobilise around student issues, facilitated by the campus network, resources on campus and their own values.

### Violence and Victimisation

Social movement theorists suggest that repression quells protest activity either by limiting the opportunities to protest or by frightening participants (Earl, 2013, Tarrow, 1998). Repression increases the potential costs of protest activity, making it a less reasonable method for expressing demands and discontent. States can generate repression through



bureaucratic and legislative restrictions on rights of assembly and protest, making it difficult, even impossible to organise protest activity (Kriesi et al, 1995, Earl, 2013). Violence towards protesters by the police and/or military and the harassment of movement leaders and participants are also forms of repression that may contribute to declining activity. University management can also use repressive tactics against protest activity. Some have used their own security and/or the police to remove and intimidate protesters, while others have opted to severely discipline alleged ringleaders in attempts to quell unrest on campus (Warwick for Free Education, 2014a, Coldwell, 2013, Collington, 2014). There is limited evidence that repressive action by either the state or the university effectively contributes to the decline of protest activity at UoM and LSE. This section argues that repressive action tends to be interpreted by students as an unreasonable injustice. Instead of being subdued, activists and often previously non-participating students are galvanised into further action to defend the right to protest and their fellow students from unjust actions by the university or state.

Police tactics as a form of state repression and university attempts to curb protest activity through violence and disciplinary action are discussed here. Neither are shown to be very effective in quelling student activism; both appear to prompt further action, often in larger numbers. Legislative restrictions are not discussed in detail, because they appear to have little impact on student protest activity. Both the Public Order Act 1986 and the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 impose regulations on protest activity, but have not significantly constrained student activism (*Public Order Act 1986, Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994*). The 1986 Act has no visible impact on activity at UoM or LSE, but the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, might explain the drop in protest activity between academic years 1993/94 and 1994/95 at LSE. No comparable drop is visible at UoM, which saw 4 protest events in 1993/94, but then experienced an increase to 10 events in the following two academic years. Critics described the Act as "explicitly aimed at suppressing the activities of certain strands of alternative culture", targeting raves, squatting, hunt sabotage and anti-roads protests (Gilbert and Pearson, 1999, 150). Raves, squatting and direct action protest were all associated with the early nineties environmentalist movement, but social movement participants more broadly were concerned about the limitations that the Act placed on protest tactics (*Hansard*, 19 October

1994 cc395-6, Gilbert and Pearson, 1999). UoM and LSE students joined protests against the Act, worried that it might curb their activism (*Takhar, 1994a, Takhar, 1994b, Cheetham and Delany, 1994*). However, there is no lasting impact on protest activity or the tactics deployed visible in the data. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 demonstrate ongoing usage of supposedly prohibited disruptive tactics, such as occupations (which the Act classed as trespass) and other forms of direct action.

Whether the Act contributed to declines in protest activity at LSE, as drops in the number of events in 1994/95 possibly suggest, is difficult to determine without interviewing contemporary activists. The textual data gives little insight into why protest activity declined at this point. Tactically, LSE students opt to exclusively deploy the traditional protest tactics of marches and pickets (with one rent strike – a well-established method in the British student movement by the nineties having been used by students at UoM and LSE throughout the seventies and eighties). These tactical choices may indicate that students were wary of using direct action tactics in the wake of the Criminal Justice Act; however, this seems unlikely as UoM students did use direct action, suggesting that these tactics were not unavailable to the student movement (Tilly, 1995). It is more likely that the tactical choices and the decline coincidentally occur after the Act's passing. It is possible that other factors, such as activist fatigue following the contentious Thatcher years, or the lack of political antagonism offered by the Major Government to spark protest, are more responsible for the decline.

Aggressive protest policing tactics, including violence towards protesters, aimed at containing and dispersing protests are understood by political process theorists as state repression, contributing to declines in protest activity levels (Earl, 2013). These police tactics are understood to increase the risks of protest activity for participants, contributing to declines in activity as the risks of collective action begin to outweigh the potential benefits. Police violence and the use of tactics, such as kettling prompt concerns that students will be intimidated into not participating in further action (Patel, 2010c). However, police repression has routinely failed to curb student protest activity. Students interpret police tactics as unreasonable and disproportionate, understanding these tactics as attempts to limit the right to protest. Police violence acts to antagonise students, providing them with a

new grievance and opportunity to mobilise. Police repression prompts amongst activists and sometimes other students a commitment to resist intimidation, repression and attacks on the right to protest.

Students can be seen responding to police repression of their right to protest in three ways. Firstly, they utilise existing institutional processes to complain about police behaviour at protest events. In November 2008, *The Beaver* reported that a peaceful student picket on campus was violently disrupted by the police, apparently at the behest of the campus security team (Cherryman and Manek, 2008). Activists and uninvolved eye-witnesses accused the campus security team and police of threatening students' right to free speech and protest on their own campus. Students raised concerns about the attack on their right to protest with the School Director, Howard Davies, during his appearance at a Union General Meeting (Patel, 2008). Davies dismissed student complaints, allegedly describing the violence as a "storm in a teacup" (Patel, 2008). Using the existing institutional process to express concern was an attempt to hold LSE security and to some extent the police to account for their actions. Despite pushing from activists and *The Beaver*, the complaint did not progress.

Following the 'Battle of Brittan' in March 1985, UoM students complained to Greater Manchester Police about the apparently pre-planned violence by police officers towards students picketing a speech by Leon Brittan (*The Mancunion*, 1985a). Using the official institutional process was intended to hold the police accountable and provide some resolution to the events. An official police investigation was launched, although the Students Union and many staff and students refused to participate in it, suspecting that the investigation would be biased (Pullan and Abenstern, 2004, 202). The police investigation completely failed to hold either the force or individual officers to account, effectively rescinding responsibility (*Stanton*, 1985a). Unable to hold the police to account effectively through the institutional process, the Students Union held their own investigation with Manchester City Council's Police Monitoring Committee, to express their complaints and concerns (Pullan and Abendstern, 2004, 202, *Ash*, 1985). With no official power, they could issue no sanctions, but they were able to criticise Greater Manchester Police and attract considerable public support. After the 2010 tuition fee protests, which were marked by

violence, several formal complaints were brought to the courts. Three schoolchildren challenged the use of 'kettling' for extended periods as a breach of their human rights, while Jody McIntyre launched a complaint with the IPCC after being dragged from his wheelchair by officers and struck with a baton (Malik, 2011, Casciani, 2011). The IPCC eventually upheld the complaint, noting that officers had used excessive force (Casciani, 2011). Students' experiences with institutional complaint processes are mixed, often failing to adequately hold the police to account.

Alongside attempts to hold the police accountable for their actions via the established institutional systems, students continue to engage in collective action, but adapt their use of protest tactics to counteract police violence. On 9<sup>th</sup> December 2010, ULU issued marching students with green helmets as protection following police violence at National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts (NCFAC) organised marches on 24<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> November (Walker and Paige, 2010)<sup>8</sup>. Using helmets was a direct response to the perceived threat of violence. Students also used the 'Book Bloc' tactic, making large foam books bearing the titles of classic academic and intellectual texts to provide protection to the front lines (Author Unknown, 2011). Book Bloc is highly effective, because it provides practical protection against police batons, but also serves as a visual reminder of the protesters' cause: access to higher education. The helmets and Book Bloc demonstrate student commitment to protesting fee increases they framed as unfairly limiting access to higher education despite the potential risks. Further, the tactics demonstrate an understanding of protest as a fundamental civil right to be defended from repressive state action. LSE and UoM students continued to attend protest events, partly to sustain pressure on the government to alter the fee proposals and partly to resist attempts to curb student protest activity (Wiseman, 2011, Butterworth, 2010, Riese, 2011, Wiseman, 2011, Topalovic, 2011).

In the seventies and eighties, UoM and LSE anti-fascist student activists clashed with the police during their attempts to disrupt National Front marches and meetings. They responded to police attempts to corral anti-fascist and fascist protesters separately by moving in more fluid groups. In 1985 in Stockport, anti-fascist protesters disrupted attempts

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<sup>8</sup> With thanks to activists who reminisced about the green helmets

by the police to escort National Front members to their agreed meeting place. Anti-fascist activists hampered their progression through town, cutting off streets and so effectively blockading the entrances to the Town Hall that the National Front were forced to hold their meeting in a car park (*Sanders, 1985*). Deciding to move around Stockport meant that anti-fascist activists avoided being corralled into a static picket by the police and were able to offer a more serious and disruptive challenge to the National Front. LSE students attended an anti-fascist action in Red Lion Square, where similar tactics were deployed (Warwick Union of Students, 1974, *Boscher, 1974*). Neither action avoided police violence towards students; a University of Warwick student, Kevin Gately, died at the march in Red Lion Square (Warwick Union of Students, 1974). However, they demonstrate a determined resistance to police tactics and commitment to continue with activism. Students determined that their right to protest, and specifically to protest fascist mobilisations, would not be curtailed by protest policing.

Finally, UoM and LSE students have responded to police tactics framed as disproportionate and violent with protests against the police. The 'Battle of Brittan' on the University of Manchester Student Union steps between students and the police in 1985 resulted in a sustained anti-police campaign by UoM students (*The Mancunion, 1985a, Stanton, 1985b*). Leon Brittan's visit is an example of elite antagonism providing an opportunity for protest in action. Hundreds of UoM students joined a picket on the Union steps to protest Tory policies. The protest was largely peaceful, but students were determined that Brittan would not enter their union and blocked the doors. Equally determined the police forcibly cleared an entrance, allegedly making 32 arrests to do so (*The Mancunion, 1985a*). Once Brittan was inside, and apparently unprovoked, the police allegedly charged the student protesters, seriously injuring two students. The violence rocked the campus with many University members expressing concern about the police response (Pullan and Abendstern, 2004, *Stanton, 1985*). When allegations emerged that the violence had been pre-planned and that the injured students were being harassed by the police, UoM students launched a sustained campaign against Greater Manchester Police. Students framed the violence and harassment as injustices, attacks on the right to protest and on civil liberties, and this framing coupled with a series of revelations and allegations ensured that the campaign ran for several years. In academic year 1984/85, there were two pickets targeting the police in response to the

violence (*The Mancunion, 1985c, The Mancunion, 1985d*). This collective action ran alongside formal complaints made by the Students Union. Police tactics failed to quell student unrest on UoM campus; subsequent visits by Tory MPs and other unpopular figures continued to be met by pickets and disruption throughout the eighties. Further, the police became a target for student unrest and discontent. Previous student generations at UoM had vocally challenged police tactics at student demonstrations and had joined protests against racism, sexism and violence directed at other movements and marginalised groups. But it is only following the 'Battle of Brittan' that UoM students use protest activity to challenge repressive police tactics.

Protest policing raises concerns about repression as contributing to declines in protest activity. During the eighties, students experienced police violence at their own events and in their engagement in the 1984 Miners Strike and at anti-fascist actions (*Alcock, Campbell and Jones, 1984*). Earlier generations had clashed with the police in anti-fascist mobilisations and witnessed police violence towards a peaceful crowd in the London anti-Vietnam marches in 1968 (Fraser, 1988, Henley, 2008). However, police tactics appear to have little meaningful impact. The quantitative data makes clear that student activism has not been curbed by police repression, but rather appears to have been galvanised by it. Framing police tactics as authority attempts to repress public contention, students are provoked into taking further action. Sometimes this targets the police, but mostly police repression has provoked further action within campaigns as activists become determined to push back against unpopular governmental actions and against curbs on the right to protest.

Repressive responses to student protest by either university also fail to curb student protest. As with the police, university responses can be seen as galvanising further action. Students frame the different university responses as unreasonable and further as failings to uphold academic freedom, support for critical thinking and civil rights. Students also frame disciplinary responses as victimisation, attempts to curb protest activity by arbitrary scapegoating of alleged ringleaders (Lanning, 1975). Disciplinary procedures in particular provoke further actions. University management at UoM and LSE have two main responses to campus protest, which students frame as repressive and reactionary. Both responses can

prompt further action, even galvanising previously uninvolved students, although disciplinary procedures tend to elicit the most anger.

Both UoM and LSE have used injunctions and court orders to end protests, although tend to only deploy them against particularly long running occupations or disruptive actions (Dahrendorf, 1995, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004). Students interpret legal measures as a failure by university authorities to engage with activists and their concerns. They argue that injunctions are used without proper negotiations taking place, suggesting that meaningful discussions would end actions more efficiently. Further, students suggest that legal measures are attempts by universities to curb the right to protest on campus, undermining their supposed commitment to academic freedom and civil liberties (Jones, 1979a, 1979b). Legal recourse has proved relatively ineffective though. In November 1979, UoM authorities got a court order to evict a student occupation against increased international student fees (Jones, 1979a). The eviction was seen as repressive, particularly as police officers had been called to complete the eviction. Furious at their perceived silencing, the protesters immediately reoccupied, although only for the day (*The Mancunion*, 1979c). Activists were furious and determined that neither legal action nor “bringing in the police would ... stop the Union’s campaign” (Jones, 1979b). A further occupation in early December 1979 was a direct response to the court order, which again the University sought to evict (Perry, 1979a). Students were not frightened away, staging further sit-ins, occupations and actions to protest fee increases they framed as racist and unfair (Perry, 1979b, MUSU, 1980). Eviction orders issued to an LSE occupation in 1987 prompt a picket of the court to protest what students understood as unreasonable legal action and to reiterate student demands for divestment (*Batman and Robin*, 1987). Ignoring the legal measures limits their impact; they are immediately shown as ineffective against committed activists. Additionally, students have variously responded with occupying a different space or mobilising with different tactics, which undermines the impact of the injunctions and court orders.

The (mis)use of university disciplinary processes against (alleged) student leaders in response to the more disruptive and confrontational events has also invariably backfired on both institutions. LSE’s most famous attempt to discipline students, the suspensions of

David Adelstein and Marshall Bloom, resulted in a week long occupation of the School supported by the wider student body (Ellis, 1998). In the same decade, an attempt by UoM to discipline the supposed ringleader behind disruption of speech by George Walker MP incensed the student body. Seeing the discipline process as victimisation, some 80 students confessed to being involved hoping to force the University to abandon the disciplinary action when faced with having to process 80 separate cases (*Terry, 1968a, Terry, 1968b, Manchester Independent, 1968b, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000*). The move failed to halt proceedings, and students responded by picketing the disciplinary hearings. Their chanting and constant presence was disruptive, but also undermined the University's attempt to curb disruptive protest activity (*Terry, 1968a, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000*). Both universities found that attempting to discipline one or two students simply provoked further protest activity as students framed discipline hearings as repressive attempts to curb their right to free speech and protest (*The Beaver, 1993a*).

Other universities have been accused of using campus security teams and the police to violently disperse student protests (Warwick for Free Education, 2014a, Centeno, 2013). Neither LSE nor UoM are immune from such accusations (*Cherryman and Manek, 2008, Perry, 1979b*), but both institutions appear to have been generally wary of using security teams or the police against students (Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, Dahrendorf, 1995). However, neither are very receptive to student protest, often refusing to engage with activists or using other measures to attempt to curb protest. The 'Gates Incident' at LSE, where the School installed security gates that could be used to cut off access and so prevent an occupation, is an attempt to curb protest before it happens. It famously did not work. LSE students ripped the gates down and staged an occupation, accusing the School of trying to curb free speech and student union autonomy (*The Beaver, 1969, Boscher, 1975*).

Repression by the state or the university has proved an ineffective tool for curbing student protest activity. The failure of co-optation and repression to quell student unrest contradicts the assumptions of PP theory. The student movement, like other social movements, should experience declines in activity caused by these factors, but the data shows this is not the case, at least for UoM and LSE students. It can be postulated that during periods of



increased contention that strong activist ties and students' sensitivity to perceived injustice work to maintain protest activity despite external attempts to quell unrest and discontent.

### Authority Inaction

For university management, repressive responses to protest activity on campus risks provoking further mobilisations by students. They risk that students will become incensed by management decisions they interpret as unreasonable and unjust. Both LSE and UoM management appear to have found that the most effective authority response for quelling unrest is inaction. They have found that placating student protesters, but delaying further meaningful action contributes to declines in protest activity. Campus contention fades for two reasons. Either students (mis)understand university management promises to act on student concerns and demands as sincere, demobilising because they see these promises as concession in themselves. Much like in the process of co-optation, where movement organisations and their participants can perceive participation in the political authority system as a success even if no other concessions are forthcoming, students perceive university promises of action as a success even if they are not immediately followed up on. Alternatively, contention fades as students become frustrated by the inaction of the university. Forced onto the achingly slow timetables of universities, they become frustrated and disillusioned by delays, bureaucratic processes and simple inaction.

Both LSE and UoM used inaction very effectively to dampen campaigns against their investments in South Africa in the seventies and eighties. Students repeatedly demanded that the universities condemn the South African government and divest from companies operating in the region (*Manchester Independent, 1973, Ford, 1974, The Mancunian, 1974b, Moreno, 1987, Mitra, 1988b*). Both universities condemned the racism of the apartheid regime, meeting one demand, but avoid further concession making by ensuring that the process of negotiating and taking action on divestment was painstakingly slow (*Crequer, 1973, Ford, 1974, The Beaver, 1988*). Both institutions delegated committees to investigate the possible impacts of divestment, citing concerns that economic sanctions hurt Black South Africans more than they hurt the apartheid regime. Arguments were put forward to student activists that as investors and shareholders, the universities could use their influence to push the companies and corporations to adopt more equal employment

practices and to push greater equality more generally. At UoM, delays were justified by insisting on waiting for Select Committee reports on sanctions before taking action (*Crequer, 1973*). Governance structures at both institutions created additional delays as motions to divest had to pass several stages before being considered by the main decision making bodies. Campaigns for divestment stretch over two decades at both UoM and LSE, because the delays and inactions disillusioned and frustrated students.

The impact of these delaying tactics is visible in the pattern of protest activity around divestment at UoM. In 1972/73 students mobilised to push for South African divestment (*The Mancunion, 1973*). The University agreed “that the Republic of South Africa contravenes the ‘spirit of tolerance’ basic to the University”, expressing its opposition to apartheid, but took no action on divesting (*Manchester Independent, 1973*). The University insisted on waiting for decisions of a Commons Sub-Committee, which frustrated anti-apartheid student activists. (*Crequer, 1973, Crequer, Jaspan, and Brown, 1973, Ford, 1974*) Activity petered out, but re-emerged in 1974/75. Attempting to placate the student activists, the Vice Chancellor attended a Union General Meeting (*The Mancunion, 1974a*). Students escalated their campaign with several actions taking place in quick succession as a direct response to the University dragging their feet (Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004, *Ford, 1974, Jones, 1974, The Mancunion, 1974d*). The University sold some shares, but did not fully divest and protest activity dropped (*The Mancunion, 1974b*). In 1975, students relaunched their campaign, but again protest activity declined in response to University inaction (*The Mancunion, 1975, The Mancunion, 1976a*). Inaction by the University worked. Divestment activism, both conventional campaigning and protest action, fluctuates across the seventies and eighties. Students appear to have become disillusioned, disengaging from activism around this particular concern (*Crequer, 1973, Ford, 1974, Mitra, 1988b*). The student campaign was eventually successful with both institutions divesting, but not until the eighties (Pullan and Abendstern, 2004, *Mitra, 1988b*).

Inaction is less effective against student financing and education policy issues though. The reluctance of university managements to respond to and support student demands related to student financing and education cuts does not curb unrest on or off campus. Inaction around these issues is framed as tacit support for antagonistic political elites and for the

policy proposals which students have framed as highly negative for themselves and future generations of students (*Patel, 2010b, Butterworth, 2010, Wiseman and Patel, 2010*). Activists understand university inaction as a disregard for their current and future students. This alleged (and unlikely) disregard contradicts student understandings of universities as educational spaces open to those able to benefit from higher education regardless of their background. While inaction around other concerns prompts declines, inaction on educational issues prompts further campus unrest, directed at both the state and university.

Generalised inaction appears to be an effective way for LSE and UoM to facilitate a drop in protest activity around certain issues, such as divestment and examination reform (*The Beaver, 1970, Stathatos, 1971, Crequer, Jaspan and Brown, 1973, Crequer, 1973*). Students are forced into the institutions' decision making structure, which involves discussions passing through various committees before being considered by the main university authorities. The process is painstakingly slow and fairly opaque with plenty of scope for delays. It is a frustrating process for students, which results in drops in protest, but also other activist activities as students become disillusioned. They become convinced that the University will not respond to their demands. It is clearly an effective tool for quelling unrest on campus. Whether it is a deliberate delaying tactic or simply the nature of university decision making is difficult to tell from the student sources. Uncovering how pre-planned university response to protest would require exploration of other university documents and probably interviews with senior staff. However, whether deliberately or not, both universities have used their own inaction relatively effectively to delay taking action on accommodation and other facility problems, student concerns with examination process, particularly at LSE, and addressing other divestment demands (*Stathatos, 1971, Jones, 1974*).

### Factionalism

The social movement literature understands political factionalism as having a negative impact on protest cycles and movement activity. As social movements splinter due to ideological and practical differences, movements tend to become less visibly and publicly active (Tarrow, 1998, Tilly, McAdam and Tarrow, 2001). At UoM and LSE, political disagreement across political party affiliations are a constant feature of political

engagement on campus (Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004, LSE IS, 1973, Shaw, 1969). Factionalism appears as a serious issue for protest activity in the late sixties. Between 1945/46 and 1966/67, pluralistic left wing societies brought together communist, socialist and Labour students in cooperation and joint mobilisations on both campuses. The Suez Canal Crisis protest at UoM is evidence of this political pluralism working cooperatively (*News Bulletin, 1956a*). The Socialist Societies (Soc.Soc) at both UoM and LSE originally had members from a mixture of left-wing traditions, including the Labour student society and Communist society. Political disagreements were debated, but do not appear to have curbed protest activity. Students from diverse political traditions can be seen mobilising together for protests against nuclear weapons, fascism and Apartheid. Ideological differences aside, these students shared similar values, beliefs and goals and saw no problem in working together.

From the late sixties (around academic year 1966/67), the pluralistic approach is replaced as several, competing far left societies emerge on campus. The Soc.Socs at both universities gradually become dominated by International Socialists (IS), now SWSS, and are eventually renamed (Hanna, 2013, Shaw, 1969). Other societies were formed representing former factions within the Soc.Socs. These new societies reflect the emergence of several left-wing organisations with differing political traditions from the British New Left (Chun, 1993). As left-wing politics enjoyed a revival in sixties Britain, competing groups formed, gradually splintering the New Left into factions. Off campus, these factions struggled to work together as they competed for organisational dominance (Hanna, 2013). These power struggles are reflected on campus, where student union General Meetings began to see left-wing students criticise and block motions (that they should have broadly agreed with) on minor political differences (Hanna, 2013). Factional groups began to use General Meetings, campaign meetings and speaker events for point-scoring, seeking to undermine their rivals and advance their own agenda. Meetings became dominated by “bickering and petty-mindedness amongst the various factions” (*Rooke, 1976, see also Greenwood, 1976, Londesborough, 2006 and The Beaver, 2008*). Students’ express disinclination to participate in union policies, let alone student activism, because the hostile environment created by factionalism (*Rooke, 1976, Greenwood, 1976, Clarke, 1987, Shaw, 1969*). One UoM student identifies the hostility, complaining that “I’m not the only one who objects to being sworn

at" (Rooke, 1976). Further, activist and non-activist students express disgust at how factional groups impose their political agenda and tactical preferences on protest events and other activists (Bennell, Butler, Hamilton and Darlington, 1978).

Factionalism creates chaos in campus activism as it limits cooperation and negatively impacts recruitment and retention as students drift away from hostile environments. At LSE, activity levels drop from 8 events in 1967/68 to just 4 in 1968/69<sup>9</sup>. The slump is surprising as it occurs at the height of student contention in Britain (Ellis, 1998, Crouch, 1970). It can be directly attributed to campus factionalism. The famous October 1968 LSE occupation that facilitated the Vietnam march by turning School buildings into a central point for protesters was riddled with factionalism (Shaw, 1969). Non-LSE students and non-student activists pushed to extend the occupation, wishing to transform the campus into a revolutionary base. While some far left LSE activists were supportive, the moderate majority resisted and the occupation ended as agreed on the Sunday. The factionalism remained though with the LSE left fighting over what to do next. Contemporary student publications offer criticisms of rival groups and their alleged inaction, but give little insight into levels of protest activity at the LSE (Shaw, 1969, *LSE International Socialists, n.d*, *LSE International Socialists, n.d*, *LSE Communists, 1973*). Martin Shaw recalls that contention over the School's connections with South Africa grew in this period, but mentions no protest events actually taking place, nor are any reported in *The Beaver* (Shaw, 1969). The rivalry and infighting hampered collaborative organising on campus with moderate students drifting away, unable to bear the hostile environment created by the far-left groups (Shaw, 1969, see also *LSE IS, 1973* and *LSE Communists, 1972*).

Factional groups have tended to act unilaterally when they disagree with collective decisions on collective action. For example, the LSE SWSS group staged their own picket of the School's Standing Committee over top-up fee proposals, without student union backing in January 1997 (*Udeshi and Ranasinghe, 1997*). More divisively at UoM, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) sabotaged a feminist action against pro-life campaigner Victoria Gillick in February 1985 by furiously heckling and storming the stage (*Rowland and Nisse,*

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<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that underreporting may be a factor here.

1985, *Debating Society Committee, 1986*). The feminists had planned to hold placards expressing their opposition throughout the event, but RCP appear to have ideologically rejected this action as rather wet and felt they could do better with their more aggressive approach (*Shillito et al, 1985*). It was hugely divisive, attracting criticism from attendees and the feminist protesters (*Shillito et al, 1985, Debating Society Committee, 1985*). The action left student feminists determined not to work with RCP, but also deepened wider factional divides, scuppering organisational work by creating mistrust and ill feeling amongst activists and potential recruits (*Shillito et al, 1985*). The RCP and other far-left groups are accused of attempting to force their dominance and control over campus activism through un-comradely behaviour (*Bennell, Butler, Hamilton and Darlington, 1978, Shaw, 1969, Rooke, 1976*). Factionalism undermines student activists' ability to organise effectively together for sustained periods, because certain groups vie for movement leadership.

Factionalism contributes to declines in protest activity by limiting the possibility of sustained action. It is possible to discern protest activity emerging with relative ease, but then stumbling as different groups compete for organisational dominance and factional arguments emerge about tactics and approaches. Following an initial action, far left groups can be frequently seen pushing for an escalation in tactics (*Shaw, 1969, LSE IS, 1973, Hanna, 2013*). For example, at UoM, SWSS pushed for non-cooperation with the University over disciplinary action following serious disruption to speech by David Waddington in 1985 (*The Mancunion, 1985b, Eltringham, 1985*). Their tactical suggestion was blocked by Union officers, who framed the tactic as too extreme and provocative (*The Mancunion, 1985b*). Far left groups argue that militant action, like occupations, sit-ins and direct action, will force authorities to grant concessions (*Shaw, 1969, McGovern, 1990, Patel, 2010a, Poojaru, 2010*). They clash with more moderate participants, who worry that rapid tactical escalation risks alienating sympathetic or at least willing to negotiate authorities and so damaging the possibility of meaningful change. Moderate voices further worry that escalation plays the students hand too quickly, leaving them with no options if the targeted authority proves reluctant to engage with student activists. They see escalating tactics as last resorts, used when other methods have failed (*Shaw, 1969, Wong, 2010, Riese, 2011*)<sup>10</sup>. Protest activity

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<sup>10</sup> With thanks to student activists and moderates who shared their experiences on this.

peters out, because organising and campaign activities become unreasonably time consuming as factional arguments prevent decision making. Students sometimes find that no meaningful steps are taken, moderate or otherwise, as the factional agendas prevent mobilising, and drift away, frustrated by inaction.

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show that protest activity continues despite the various factors that contribute to movement decline. The documentary sources indicate that factionalism does hamper sustained campaigning and recruitment, but demonstrate that this impact is countered by the campus activist network. Activism is maintained in two ways. Firstly, the student activist network is multi-level and infighting in one area does not necessarily limit a sub-network from mobilising independently. Far-left groups are key participants in activism around student finance, governmental policy and campaigning against the universities; their factional behaviour therefore mostly affects mobilising around these issues (*Livingstone, 1998a, The Mancunian, 1985b, Shaw, 1969*). The eighties are particularly dominated by infighting and rivalry, but animal rights activism and campaigning about the persecution of Russian Jews appears unaffected (*Epstein, 1986, The Mancunian, 1984*). These activist sub-networks are unhampered in their mobilising. Secondly, it is worth noting that while factionalism makes campus organising complicated, student activists do still work together. This collaboration is most evident in protests about student finance and university discipline. The combination of a seriously antagonistic grievance and opportunity for action appears to at least dampen the impact of factionalism on student mobilisations. Student anger can be sufficient to overcome political infighting. The impact can be short lived though with factional bickering quickly reappearing as campaigns progress. Students involved in the anti-fee protests in 2010/11 anecdotally report that competing far left groups effectively scuppered organising at UoM by creating a hostile environment through their infighting and search for control<sup>11</sup>.

The far-left are most frequently charged with factionalism, but it is important to note that other political voices can be equally badly behaved. During the eighties, the Federation of Conservative Students (the national Conservative student organisation) was suspected of

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<sup>11</sup> With thanks to activists who shared their experiences.

deliberately inviting controversial speakers in the hopes of sparking a student riot that would strengthen Conservative attempts to curb student union autonomy (Pullan and Abendstern, 2004, see also Evans, 1996). At LSE and UoM, Conservative students were certainly provocative on campus during the decade (*Gruenbaum, Le Quesne and Bouchet, 1986*).

Political factionalism contributes to declines in student protest activity by alienating ordinary and activist students from campus politics and by limiting the organisational ability of campus activist networks. Factionalism fractures and exhausts the activist network with considerable energy being expended arguing minor details to the detriment of action. Some sectarian student groups can be found effectively blocking and sabotaging attempts to mobilise, because the wider activist network is not following its specific political agenda and approach (LSE IS, 1973, LSE Communists, 1972). Other groups seek to dominate and control activism on campus, pushing their way into all campaign activity (*Harris, 1985, LSE IS, 1973, LSE Communists, 1972, Shaw, 1969*). Factionalism constrains campus mobilisations, contributing to declines in activity by making organising and activism so difficult as to be unfeasible.

### Generational Loss

Generational loss also contributes to the decline of protest cycles at UoM and LSE. Universities suffer annual generational loss through graduation as final year students complete their education. For student protest activity, generational losses can result to declines in protest activity if graduating students were central nodes in the campus activist networks. Crossley postulates that final year students can be the primary organisers on campus, directing tactical and strategic decisions (Crossley, 2012). Their removal from the network means the loss of expertise and experience, which can result in drops in protest activity. For example, there is a major upswing in protest activity in academic year 2008/09 at UoM, moving from 14 protest events in 2007/08 to some 30 protest events. Research on student activism in that period has indicated the presence of a radical activist network on campus, whose core members graduated in academic year 2008/09 (Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012, Harries, 2010). Although not necessarily the organisers of every event in that academic year, this core group of activists appear to have dense network ties (through



friendships, romantic relationships, society membership and union politics) to all the events through other network members (Harries, 2010). Further, the documentary sources reviewed here suggest that at least some of this core group were participants in each event. These students may be central nodes in the campus activist network and their departure from the campus seems to have an immediate impact. Protest activity in academic year 2009/10 drops to 18 protest events, suggesting that this core group had played a key mobilising role on campus.

The impact of generational loss must not be overstated. At UoM, protest activity resurged in academic year 2010/11 as students mobilised against tuition fee increases, suggesting that the lost activist core had been replaced. Generational loss has an immediate impact, but the campus activist network regenerates quickly. Recruitment into the campus network and its subnetworks is constant, so lost members are replaced and their expertise transferred and shared. This rapid network renewal and its ability to maintain protest activity is most evident during the eighties. Experiencing the highest levels of protest activity for the entire timeframe, the eighties is a distinct protest cycle on both campuses, mapping onto a wider cycle of contention in Britain under the unpopular Tory government. Many students will have graduated, including central nodes in the activist network, across the decade. However, the sustained protest activity indicates that the campus activist network and its subnetworks were able to rapidly recruit new members, transforming politically inclined students into activists. The impact of generational loss was therefore mitigated.

Undoubtedly, this rapid network regeneration is a product of the heightened contention of the decade. Students were more readily absorbed into the activist network, because their values were in conflict with the social reality. Many, but by no means all, students were incensed by Conservative attempts to introduce student loans and to curb student union activity (*Gardner, 1989, Parker, 1988, Hollier and Hartley, 1992, Glennon, 1988*). Further, many were outraged by the rolling back of public services and attacks on trade unions and workers (Davies, 2010). This heightened contention and dissent made them more available for mobilisation than they might have been during quieter periods.

Generational loss has an impact, but it is mitigated in periods of heightened contention by rapid network recruitment and the conflict between student values and the social reality.

The impact of generational loss is therefore limited, having an immediate effect, but not creating a lasting drop in activity. This is true for many of the factors outlined here as contributing to the decline of protest at LSE and UoM. Attempts at co-optation cause declines in participation by non-activist students and protest activity instigated by NUS, but appears to have little impact on activity by the core activist networks at LSE and UoM long-term. Repression is equally unsuccessful in curbing protest. In fact, it has been shown to frequently have the opposite effect. Angered by police violence or the victimizations of activists, students mobilise specifically to object to this repression and further continue to engage in protests around the original issue of contention. Factionalism and authority inaction have more sustained impact. Both disillusion and frustrate students, leading to drops in activity and participation. However, neither completely destroy protest activity on campus. They have a limited impact that is mitigated and overcome by the factors contributing to the emergence and survival of protest activity.

## Conclusion

Here explanations for the emergence and decline of student protest at UoM and LSE, and arguably more broadly within the student movement, are offered. Most of the explanatory features identified are drawn from social movement literature. The chapter also uses Van Dyke's reworking of the classic political opportunities concept to examine how political elites create opportunities for collective action through antagonism. It also identifies an explanatory feature possibly unique to the university context, authority inaction, which contributes to declines in protest activity by creating disillusionment and so disengagement amongst student activists.

Three factors found in the social movement literature are identified here as explanatory features of the student movement. Values and frame, organisation resources and activist networks are all established as features contributing to the emergence and maintenance of student protest activity on both campuses. The first factor acts as a motivational influence and interpretative tool for students. Through their values and these frames they interpret social problems and political failings as injustices and inequalities that must be addressed.

Organisational resources available on the campus and provided primarily by the students union provide student activists with the practical resources necessary for mobilisation.

Activist networks contribute to the emergence of protest activity by drawing together politically inclined students into dense, complex social networks, which provided with organisational resources and opportunities can be mobilised. These factors facilitate protest, making it easier for students to mobilise around their grievances and concerns, but the wider political and social context must also provide students with opportunities to protest. Van Dyke suggests that antagonistic political elites create opportunities for student protest activity. Instead of opening up the political context for social movement claims to emerge, political antagonism forces students to act in defence of their values and conditions.

The chapter establishes that co-optation and repression are not effective tools for curbing student protest activity for either political authorities or universities. These factors only explain disengagement from activism by poorly networked students; the loss of participants has a small impact on protest activity levels. Repressive actions are particularly ineffective as they are shown to galvanise further activity, inciting students by providing them with new grievances (threats to the right to protest) and renewed commitment to their causes. However, the impact of the factors is too insignificant to explain the declines in protest seen in the dataset. The chapter identifies authority inaction on behalf of universities as an effective tool for quelling campus unrest around non-student issues. Authority inaction has not been identified in the social movement literature and is perhaps unique to the university context. Political factionalism is also identified as contributing to declines in protest by alienating students, limiting their participation, and by making organisational work so difficult, time-consuming and exhausting that mobilisations become unfeasible.

No universal explanation for the emergence or decline of student protest is offered here. The explanatory features identified are best understood as contributory factors, which seen together explain why and how the pattern of protest activity on campuses rises and falls. However, there may well be other processes and mechanisms at work both on campus and in the wider political and social contexts that play important contributory roles. For

example, the rise and fall of protest activity in the eighties owes much to Thatcher's role as an antagonistic political elite (Tuner, 2013). She became a focus of discontent, motivating a variety of movements and organisations into collective action against the state and other targets. Protest activity declines after her exit from office, because students and other social movements lose the antagonistic central figure, who had long motivated their contention. Her departure indicated an end to the urgent need for defensive protest action (*Gardner, 1990*). The explanatory factors likely operate on other university campuses, but it is important to remember that each campus is unique with its own history and traditions. The next chapter explores how some university campuses become and remain sites of unrest, examining the unique features that facilitate the continual mobilisation of students.

This chapter deals with the emergence and decline of student protest activity at UoM and LSE in the timeframe, but what is most apparent is the enduring continuity of protest activity at both sites. A sustained history of activism and protest is clearly visible in the data presented here and in the previous chapter. It is also apparent that some of the factors contributing to the emergence of protest activity also play a role in maintaining student activism on campus. These factors are the motivational and interpretative role of progressive values and various movement frames, campus based organisational resources and activist networks. Together, these factors maintain protest on campus by ensuring that collective action is a consistently available choice for expressing dissent and discontent. They ensure that the available physical and interpretative resources are available to students and maintain students' propensity to protest by facilitating the creation of activist networks and ensuring the politicisation of students within those networks. However, these factors are not alone in maintaining student protest across the twentieth century. Both campuses are 'hotbeds of activism' with cultures of resistance that maintain traditions and practices of protest activity and activism. These cultures of resistance, of which the three factors above are part, ensure the survival of student protest by maintaining a protest-conducive subculture on campus that facilitates student engagement in protest activity. How these subcultures develop and their role in maintaining student protest traditions is explored further in the next chapter.

## Chapter 6. Maintaining Protest on Campus

### Introduction

Quantitative data presented in Chapter 4 demonstrates the continuity of student protest activity beyond the sixties epoch. There are annual fluctuations in activity, but students at LSE and UOM have been continuously involved in some protest activity since the mid-fifties. Beyond this pattern of protest activity, the documentary sources indicate an ongoing and sustained participation in political and social affairs by LSE and UoM students. In Chapter 5, the factors contributing to the emergence and decline of protest activity have been identified, but they do not explain how protest activity survives beyond the student movement's visible mobilisations. This chapter addresses the third research question:

#### **How is student protest activity sustained on the university campus across time?**

Social movements are most publicly visible during protest cycles, when they emerge and engage in sustained periods of protest and other movement activity, such as lobbying, media stunts and consciousness raising (Tarrow, 1998, Tilly, McAdam and Tarrow, 2001, McAdam, 1995). As the political and social context shifts, contracting opportunities for protest, movements enter a period of decline, where their activity drops and participants fall away. Movements become less publicly visible as they decline, which has led to the popular, if flawed assumption that social movements collapse at the end of protest cycles (Foss and Larkin, 1986, Byrne, 1997). Social movements that reappear are sometimes treated as new movements by the media and public. Fuelled by the student apathy narrative, popular opinion has it that the British student movement died in 1969 (Barker, 2001, Baldock, 1997, Hanna, 2008, 2012). Subsequent mobilisations by British students are not seen as directly connected to protest activity in the sixties through tactical and issue continuities. However, the sixties are frequently evoked to describe the re-emergences of publicly visible student protest. Recent protest activity around Israel's military interventions in Gaza in 2009 and mass demonstrations that met the introduction of £9,000 fees were heralded as a return to the sixties (Yeza, 2009, Dugan, 2009, Barnett, 2010). Protest was

acclaimed as a return of youthful idealism and political activism, a temporary break from the supposed pervasive apathy of students (Dugan, 2009).

Social movement studies offers two challenges to this populist conception of movements. Firstly, Tarrow's cycles of protest theory has prompted several studies, which have demonstrated that protest activity often continues beyond a social movement's public visibility and the end of a protest cycle (Tarrow, 1998, Soule et al, 1999, Doherty et al, 2007, Koopmans, 1993). Secondly, through an extensive study of the American women's movement between first and second wave feminism, Taylor developed the concept of social movement abeyance (Taylor, 1989). Between protest cycles, social movements enter periods of abeyance, where outreach activities decline and the movement attention is directed inward. Movements develop abeyance structures that maintain collective identity, shared beliefs and goals and tactical repertoires (Taylor, 1989). Further, these structures help to retain activists by providing them with activities to channel their movement commitment in hostile and unreceptive political environments. Taylor states that abeyance structures retain a movement's protest potential, keeping movement organisations and participants ready for the next mobilisation.

Taylor's abeyance theory is applied here to protest activity at LSE and UoM. The chapter demonstrates the existence of abeyance structures on both campuses, which facilitate the continuity of protest activity on both campuses. It is a very useful way for understanding the organisational, ideological and tactical continuities between the protest cycles established by the quantitative data. (Taylor, 1989, 772). However, the theory faces challenges in explaining student protest activity that have been addressed by combining abeyance structures with Van Dyke's theory of campuses as 'hotbeds of activism' (Van Dyke, 1998). Drawing from the abeyance framework, Van Dyke argues that some campuses develop activist subcultures that maintain the traditions and practices of activism on campus through political, cultural and social endeavours. Considering university campuses as possessing unique activist subcultures accommodates the annual loss of activists, which in Taylor's version of abeyance would result in movement collapse. It also explains the rapid cycling between mobilisation periods evident at LSE and UoM and the diversity of protest

activity seen on both campuses, which a direct application of abeyance is unable to adequately explain.

The chapter suggests that the forties and fifties served as a sustained period of abeyance for the British student movement, maintaining protest potential through political and social engagement at UoM, LSE and other campuses. It goes on to argue that the sixties student movement has a fundamental role in the survival of student protest activity, turning the latent protest potential into a continuous pattern of protest activity. While this thesis maintains that the exceptionality and unprecedented status of the sixties is overstated, it also acknowledges that the decade's student unrest and discord were remarkable. Further, it suggests that the sixties are a transformative moment for the British student movement. The decade made protest a part of the student lexicon. Protest was transformed into an acceptable method of expressing complaints and discontent with the university and the state for British students.

### Abeyance Structures

In *Survival in the Doldrums*, Rupp and Taylor establish the continuity of the American women's movement between first and second wave feminism, specifically focusing on the period 1945 to 1960. Documenting the National Women's Party (NWP) and other women's organisations, they establish the survival of the American women's movement through these organisations. They contradict the popular understanding that the women's movement disappeared following the granting of voting rights to women until the emergence of second wave feminism from the sixties student and New Left movements (Rupp and Taylor, 1987, Taylor, 1989). They acknowledge that the movement was less publicly visible, which Rootes notes explains why movements are often considered to have disappeared (Rootes, 2000). The political and social context between the feminist waves was openly hostile to feminist thinking and organising. The women's movement public activity declined in the face of an unreceptive political elite and public. However, Rupp and Taylor show that this public invisibility does not translate into movement collapse or even inactivity (Rupp and Taylor, 1987).

Protest and other visible campaigning became infrequent, but the organisations Rupp and Taylor trace remained active. They demonstrate that the NWP and other organisations engaged in lobbying efforts to secure the passage of the Equal Rights Act and appointment of qualified women to government appointments (Rupp and Taylor, 1987). The NWP also engaged in symbolic movement activity, marking important dates in women's history. Writing about the interwar years, Maria DiCenzo shows that feminist ideology and thinking was also maintained through essays (DiCenzo, 2014). These activities are evidence that the women's movement did not fold in 1920, but survived on a smaller scale until the emergence of second wave feminism. Rupp and Taylor are open about these organisations' race and class biases (Rupp and Taylor, 1987, Theodore, 1989). However, they also demonstrate that these organisations built a foundation for the resurgent women's movement in the 1960s. Although highly exclusive, they retained the women's movements' ideology, goals and tactics, ensuring their availability to future generations of feminist activists. The idea that social movement organisations ensure the endurance of a social movement is an important theoretical contribution to the field. It provides a way for understanding the survival of social movements.

Building on the empirical evidence and theoretical work of *Survival in the Doldrums*, Taylor developed the concept of social movement abeyance. Taylor explains that abeyance is

“a holding process by which movements sustain themselves in non-receptive political environments and provide continuity from one stage of mobilisation to another”  
(Taylor, 1989, 762).

Abeyance enables social movements to survive in non-receptive political environments. Periods of abeyance involve social movements focusing inward, working to maintain activist networks, shared ideologies and tactical repertoires. Outreach work, such as protest activity or public campaigning, becomes less frequent as shifts in the political and social context contract the opportunities for visible activity. Borrowing from Mizruchi (1983), Taylor states that movements develop abeyance structures that facilitate the continuity of the movement (Taylor, 1987). Again borrowing from Mizruchi, Taylor cites organisations as the primary abeyance structure. Her exploration favours formal social movement organisations, which Taylor understands as possessing the right organisational features to ensure that abeyance



periods successfully maintain the movement and its collective identity, tactics, ideology and activist network.

Formalised social movement organisations are favoured in Taylor's abeyance model, because they exhibit the centralisation of leadership and exclusivity that Taylor sees as vital to movement continuity (Taylor, 1989, Bagguley, 2002). Centralising leadership and power produces the necessary organisational stability and coordination for movement survival. Leaders provide direction, creating niches to absorb and retain activists, who may be disillusioned in a non-receptive political environment. Further, the process of centralisation can ensure the retention of technical expertise and the most effective use of highly skilled activists. Taylor points to Alice Paul's influence over NWP members, demonstrating how she directed their activity to pursuing the passing of Equal Rights Act (Taylor, 1989). Echoing Zald and Ash, Taylor understands exclusive organisations as better suited to surviving abeyance periods (Zald and Ash, 1966). Exclusive membership policies are negative during periods of contention as they keep out potential activists, who can assist in achieving movement goals and aims. However in abeyance, Taylor suggests that inclusive, open organisations are unable to effectively pursue organisational and movement aims. Creating membership cliques can put off potential recruits, but builds the purposive commitment that ensures membership retention and loyalty to the cause (Taylor, 1989). Activists in an exclusive network appear to be more committed, offering more time and energy to movement activities due to their inclusion in a homogenous group. Taylor rates purposive commitment from activists as important in abeyance; these activists continue to participate in and work for movement goals despite limited success and hostile responses.

The concept of abeyance can be readily applied to student protest activity at LSE and UoM. Both campuses see the re-emergence of certain issues across the timeframe, which indicates that they are maintained as concerns by activists (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2). Concerns about student financing and debt emerge in every decade, prompting local and national protest activity and campaigning. Student finance campaigns are often short-lived, but occur frequently as these concerns are never fully resolved. Individual campaigns often fail to sustain mass engagement beyond initial outbursts of anger at perceived financial threats to students, but campus activists re-launch these campaigns repeatedly, either hoping to tap

residual anger or in response to new governmental proposals. Taylor's abeyance model explains that these concerns are absorbed as movement goals during periods of abeyance. The movement retains them as areas of concern, ready to be acted on as new opportunities for protest activity emerge, such as inadequate proposed increases in student grants or sudden fee hikes (NUS, 1942, NUS, 1974, NUS, 1979, NUS, 1985, Parker, 1988, Poojaru, 2010, Rogers, 2010, Brough and Ranasinghe, 1997, MUSU, 1980, Gardner, 1989).

Abeyance structures are also readily discernible at LSE and UoM, and arguably on other British campuses. Taylor's abeyance organisations can be found in the students union and some political student societies. These movement organisations are the carriers of the student movement's tactics, frames, goals and collective identity. They retain a core of politically inclined and engaged students, who possess protest potential that can be mobilised when provided with the necessary resources and opportunities (Crossley, 2008, Keniston, 1967). The LSE and UoM student unions are the most obvious abeyance organisations on campus. Through their own organisational structures and institutional memory, they retain the collective identity, shared beliefs and goals of the student movement and retain traditions and practices of campus activism. Further, through union led campaign activity and its facilitation of activism by student societies and informal groups, the unions are active in the generational transfer of practical activist knowledge and expertise. It maintains the constant availability of mobilising resources that activists can draw upon as opportunities for action emerge (Crossley, 2008). Through its officers, activities and support for wider student activism, the unions facilitate the continual sharing and development of a collective identity amongst campus activists, supporting the dissemination and articulation of movement beliefs and goals. Student societies can also act as abeyance organisations, operating in a similar way to the student unions to retain and share activism and protest on campus.

The Socialist Workers Student Society (SWSS) is an example of a student society operating as an abeyance organisation at both LSE and UoM<sup>12</sup>. SWSS is the student arm of the Socialist

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<sup>12</sup> The SWP has been in crisis since January 2013, which has affected its campus presence at LSE. LSE no longer has an official SWSS society and the UoM SWSS group voted to disaffiliate and disband in academic year 2012/2013. However, the SWP have maintained a presence on campus through the use of external organisers.

Workers Party. It is a formal social movement organisation, which exhibits the key features that Taylor considers important for ensuring movement continuity. Leadership and power is centralised in the SWP leadership with SWSS groups following and promoting party positions on various issues. Party-appointed student organisers ensure that SWSS groups follow SWP directives, supporting recruitment and organising on campus<sup>13</sup>. Although officially a mass membership organisation and keen to recruit, most SWSS groups are relatively small, thereby developing the exclusivity that ensures their continuity on campus and by extension the continuity of student protest through their activities in the campus activist network. SWSS societies ensure the presence of socialist politics on campus, but their involvement in many aspects of student activism means that they also assist in the maintenance of the student movement's tactical repertoire, collective identity and broader aims.

Through various incarnations, the SWP have maintained a presence at LSE and UoM since at least the mid-sixties. During the International Socialist (IS) period, student members were active in the pluralistic Socialist Societies (Soc.Soc) at both universities (Cliff, 2000, Shaw, 1969). As Soc.Soc members, LSE IS students helped organise student resistance against Walter Adams appointment and the anti-Vietnam marches (LSE IS, 1973, Shaw, 1969). Like many other far-left organisations, IS operated as a faction in Soc.Soc, contributing to the demise of these pluralistic societies on both campuses. Martin Shaw acknowledges that political factionalism effectively sabotaged LSE activism in 1968/69, as rival groups wrestled for control, alienating moderate students and damaging mass support for protest (Shaw, 1969). IS societies remained heavily engaged in student activism, becoming SWSO in 1977 and SWSS in the mid-eighties following changes in the national organisation. The organisational role within the campus activist network demonstrated by IS in Soc.Soc has been maintained by SWSS. The society has mobilised students for various causes across the timeframe (Woodbridge, 2008, Udeshi and Ranasinghe, 1997, 3, Livingstone, 1998a). This organisational role helps to maintain the tradition of protest on each campus thereby keeping protest available as a tactical option for future student generations.

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<sup>13</sup> The author has observed this organiser role on several British campuses, but is also indebted to student activists who have confirmed and commented on this operational approach.

Although deeply unpopular on many university campuses and frequently accused of aggressive factionalism, SWSS has been a key abeyance structure for the student movement (*Harris, 1985, SWSS, 1990, The Beaver, 1993b*). Their organisational role in some campus activism helps to ensure that protest is retained as a route for student anger and dissent to be expressed. Society activities have ensured the continuity of socialist thought on campus, helping to maintain radical political traditions within the student activist network. In 2003, LSE SWSS moved their Freshers' Fair stall onto Houghton Street to show solidarity with striking university staff, evidencing their maintenance of socialist and labour movement politics on campus (*Barham, 2003b*). Further, SWSS have carried many student movement goals, beliefs and tactics, particularly direct action tactics, between protest cycles. Generational transference of this activist expertise has been shared within the society, but also with the student population through SWSS interventions in General Meetings and campaign organising, particularly their history of pushing for direct action (*The Mancunian, 1985, SWSS, 1990, McGovern, 1990, Livingstone, 1998a, LSE IS, 1973*). Other left-wing groups, like the International Marxist Group and Revolutionary Communist Party, have played similar roles in maintaining the student movement's collective identity, shared beliefs and frames, goals and tactics.

SWSS, or rather the SWP, have maintained various front groups to facilitate their involvement in other aspects of student activism across the timeframe. These front groups are the Anti-Nazi League and its reincarnations Unite against Fascism, Stop the War and Education Activists Network (Boothroyd, 2001). Through these groups, SWSS has helped to retain wider student movement beliefs and goals, particular anti-racist, anti-fascist and anti-war beliefs, and maintained distinct activist sub-networks around these issues (*Durchfort, 1978, Desai, 1980, Bourke, 2003*). Student activists are often clear that these organisations are SWP fronts, noting that their hostile factionalism and attempts to dominate campus organising. In 1978, UoM student feminists charged SWSS with deliberately establishing a rival women's group rather than collaborating with existing feminist groups so SWSS could push their own political line (*Bennell, Butler, Hamilton and Darlington, 1978*). There is significant membership overlap between SWSS and its front groups, but many non-SWSS students participate in and even lead these groups, ensuring the maintenance of activist expertise and networks across the LSE and UoM activist networks. The fronts can be

aggressively factional, but also bring various students together to campaign, thus ensuring the continuity of movement goals and ideals, but also tactics, frames and strategies beyond far-left student activism.

Taylor favours formalised organisations as the carriers of social movements, but does not exclude informal organisational forms as potential abeyance structures (Taylor, 1989, Bagguley, 2002). At LSE and UoM, it is possible to see informal groups maintaining traditions and practices. Liberation campaigning at both institutions demonstrates how formal and informal activist groups can both act as abeyance structures. Union officers organise anti-racism weeks, which ensure the generational transference of anti-racist and anti-fascist attitudes and campaigning between student generations. More informal are responsible for anti-racist and anti-fascist activism (see Webster, 2015, *Mancunion*, 1979b); these networks help maintain shared beliefs and values, but also retain tactical practices for opposing racism and fascism. Campus feminist campaigning is led by the LSE and UoM women's officers, who have organised protests against discrimination, sexual objectification and harassment, which helps maintain feminist activism on campus (*Bouchet*, 1986, *The Beaver*, 1997, *Lodge*, 2007). Less formalised groups can also be seen playing a role. In November 1983, participants in the NUS Women's Conference occupied a sex shop in Manchester to protest the objectification of women, while three UoM women students ripped objectifying materials from the walls of a Canal Street bar to protest casual sexism (*Wilton*, 1983, *The Mancunion*, 1983c, see also *Carr-Saunders Action Committee*, 1984). These actions represent the maintenance of confrontational feminist direct action, but also the retention of critiques of casual sexism and harassment. Through these semi-formal structures, the beliefs, goals and values of these liberation campaigns have been maintained, articulated and developed on campus across the timeframe.

A direct application of abeyance to student protest activity at LSE and UoM runs into three problems. Firstly, the entire British student movement suffers annual membership losses as students graduate. Taylor's conception of abeyance emphasises the long-term retention of activists as central to movement maintenance (Taylor, 1989, Bagguley, 2002). Activist retention helps movement organisations retain their protest potential for future mobilisations. A steady loss of members, as experienced by the student movement, should

lead to movement collapse. Yet, it endures, passing its tactical repertoire, shared beliefs, goals and frames to new student generations and remaining protest ready. There is an obvious answer to this problem. The student movement recruits new activists annually, replacing lost members and so ensuring the survival of student protest across time. Chapter 5 outlined how the university campus, through the student union and student societies, facilitates the continual formation of activist networks by bringing together politically inclined students. Taylor allows for recruitment in her model of abeyance, but not on the scale that is occurring at LSE and UoM. The campus activist network is at least annually reformed as graduates leave and new members are absorbed. It is difficult to judge how many students join the campus activist network each year, but it is probably more than Taylor would expect in her model. Student society membership data is patchy and does not reflect students who never formally join societies, but become active or peripheral members of the campus activist network or a specific sub-network. Explaining this continual recruitment and its purpose in the continuity of student protest requires an adaption of Taylor's abeyance model, which is offered in the next section.

Secondly, Taylor implies that social movements experience long periods of latency (Taylor, 1989). This does not hold true for student protest activity at either LSE or UoM. Visible drops in protest activity are apparent, but these declines are not sustained for long periods (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The student movement seems to cycle rapidly through periods of high and low protest activity. Taylor's model insists that abeyance retains social movement organisations protest potential; they are ready for new mobilisations of collective action. In this conception, the student movement is simply better at seizing opportunities for protest than other movements have been (Sawyers and Meyer, 1999.). This is a compelling explanation, but it needs expansion as it does not account for why student protest emerges in unreceptive political and social contexts. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 (see Chapter 4) demonstrate that most student protest activity involving UoM and LSE students happened during the eighties, when the political elite were deeply hostile to social movement activity (Davies, 2010, Turner, 2013). Although this protest activity maps onto a wider cycle of contention in the eighties, its emergence in the dataset must be explained by an argument about movement continuity.

Finally, Taylor's model fails to account for the diversity of student protest witnessed at LSE and UoM. Exploring the American women's movement, she found that movement aims contradicted during periods of abeyance, focusing on a limited number of goals (Taylor, 1989, Rupp and Taylor, 1987). During protest cycles, social movements are able to act on various aims, but during abeyance this diversity becomes unsustainable and un conducive to the survival of movements. In abeyance, Taylor assumes that movement organisations will focus on core concerns. For the British student movement, core concerns might be identified as student finance issues and academic worries. Yet, in academic year 2004/05, where just 3 protest events took place involving UoM students, not one event was related to 'student issues'. In that year, students participated in anti-reproductive choice (pro-life), anti-poverty and anti-war actions (*Tierney, 2004, Eatwell, 2004, Bolsover, 2005*). Similarly at LSE, the 4 protest events of 2004/05 were about the Iraq War, global poverty and Israel/Palestine relations (*Macartney, 2005, Cole, 2005, Davies, 2005, Oliver and Soon Lim, 2005*). According to Taylor's model, this diversity should not be seen as student protest activity had slumped, indicating a decline in opportunities for activism and so a period of latency and perhaps abeyance.

The social movement abeyance model fails to account for a unique feature of student movements. While much student activism focuses on so called 'student issues', students also campaign on the concerns and claims of other social movements. Across the timeframe, students at LSE and UoM are involved in anti-war, anti-fascist and anti-poverty mobilisations. They take action on workers' rights, women's rights and sexism, LGBT rights and discrimination and many other issues. The student movement is not a single movement, it encompasses a broad range of issue specific movements (Van Dyke, 2003). What the social movement abeyance model misses is that the campus activist network is comprised of multiple sub-networks, which form around student societies and issue families. These sub-networks can mobilise independently of the campus network, seizing opportunities relevant to their issue and/or associated social movement. Protests can occur even if the wider movement is experiencing a quiet period. The multi-level network structure means that the student movement is highly responsive to political opportunities and can perhaps mobilise more regularly than Taylor conceives. How this movement diversity is retained across time

without damaging the survival of protest activity on either campus is addressed in the next section.

### Hotbeds of Activism

Experiences of student protest activity are not equally shared by universities. Some campuses are high profile sites of repeated unrest, while others experience protest activity only in conjunction with wider protest cycles. Seeking to explain this phenomenon in relation to sixties student protest in America, Van Dyke suggested that some campuses become 'hotbeds of activism' (Van Dyke, 1998). The 'hotbed' campuses in her study had histories of student unrest in the thirties and were four times more likely to experience unrest in the sixties than campuses with no such history (Van Dyke, 1998). Both LSE and UoM experienced unrest in the thirties and were key sites during the sixties making them likely 'hotbeds' (Dahrendorf, 1995, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, 2004). Van Dyke posits that 'hotbeds of activism' sustain protest and movement activity through the development of activist subcultures. These campus subcultures maintained the traditions and practices of activism through political, social and cultural activities (Van Dyke, 1998, see also Buhle, 1989). There are clear links here with Taylor's abeyance theory and Van Dyke does see activist subcultures as the campus abeyance structure. The subcultures comprise multiple organisations (student societies and the students union) and informal networks, which form the wider campus activist network of politically inclined students. Through the campus network, or rather its constituent organisations and sub-networks, the activist subculture ensures the transference of the student movement's collective identity, shared beliefs, goals, frames and tactical repertoire. It maintains the protest potential of the campus activist network by ensuring that student activists retain and share the expertise of activism. This is similar to Taylor's understanding of abeyance organisations, but Van Dyke moves beyond organisational features to emphasis the role of cultural and social interactions in maintaining protest activity. These activities support generational transference of the traditions and practices of activism, but also develop and support a wider sense of campus resistance and dissent that underpins student mobilisations.



Van Dyke is not explicit about how activist subcultures maintain the traditions and practices of protest on university campuses. However, it is possible to see that some of the factors contributing to protest emergence play a role here. The student societies and informal groupings that form the campus activist network are the key site of generational transference. Networks have been shown to be important in bringing together, further politicising and mobilising students (Crossley, 2008). As part of the activist subculture, the constituent parts of campus networks share political ideologies and social values and beliefs, connecting these to the frames used to interpret the world and justify protest. This generational transference happens through the formal and informal organisational structures of student societies and groups. These interactions also facilitate the sharing of practical knowledge and expertise between student activists, building the tactical repertoire and ensuring its long-term retention.

Campus activist networks are key to the emergence and survival of student protest, but Van Dyke stresses that the activist subculture is more than networks. Van Dyke points to the role that campus folk clubs had in maintaining radical political ideas on American campuses in the forties and fifties (Van Dyke, 1998). Caught up in McCarthyism and fears about communism, many university administrations limited the visible political organising of students, but cultural groups, like folk clubs, emerged as alternative spaces in which progressive political, social and cultural values and beliefs could be shared and developed (Van Dyke, 1998). Folk clubs were not a site of political activism, but they helped to maintain a wider campus culture of resistance and critique. Van Dyke suggests that activist subcultures not only ensure the generational transference of practical skills, movement goals and shared beliefs, but they also maintain a broader sense of resistance. Van Dyke's 'hotbeds of activism' are therefore universities where intellectual, social and political dissent thrives amongst students, even during periods of relative quiet and/or supposed conservatism.

Van Dyke's 'hotbeds' are also Keniston's 'protest prone institutions', which stimulate campus activism through their traditions of academic freedom and critical thinking (Keniston, 1967). Keniston suggests that universities with traditions of academic dissent encourage students (consciously and unconsciously) to criticise accepted norms and

practices, thus stimulating the intellectual dissent that also fuels student activism. Both UoM and LSE have established traditions of academic freedom, critical thinking and intellectual innovation (Dahrendorf, 1995, Pullan, and Abendstern, 2000. 2004). They also meet the criteria to be 'hotbeds of activism' having experienced protest activity beyond the sixties epoch, including in the thirties (Simon, 1987). Both also display evidence of an activist subculture maintaining traditions and practices of resistance. It has already been outlined that both campuses have dense, multi-level networks that include organisations that can maintain activist expertise during abeyance, which indicates strongly that LSE and UoM are 'hotbed' campuses. There is also evidence of a wider activist subculture which is found in student journalism on university and political affairs in *The Clare Market Review*, *The Beaver* and UoM's various publications. At LSE, this activist subculture is also present in students' self-conception of the LSE as a site of radicalism and militancy, as potentially revolutionary, which they trace through strong traditions of activism and debate on campus (Doherty, 2007, *LSE Occupation Committee, n.d*).

At UoM, a quiet rebellion indicates the activist subculture of resistance. Women students in the fifties and early sixties grew increasingly frustrated with the gendered regulations of university halls of residence. Rooted in sexist assumptions about women's vulnerability, women students had earlier curfews and stricter rules about visitors than men students (*Manchester Independent, 1965b*). Women students routinely flaunted the rules, creating their own community of resistance, assisting each other to break curfew. From propped open doors and gates to those with ground floor rooms answering quiet taps on windows, women students broke rules they perceived as old fashioned, unfair and sexist, resisting archaic restrictions on their autonomy (Robinson, 2010, *Manchester Independent, 1961*). This was a quiet resistance. Complaints were expressed in *News Bulletin*, but women staged no protests against these rules. Their repeated flaunting exposed the rules as petty and unfair, leading to their gradual relaxation in the late sixties. This quiet rebellion indicates a wider culture of resistance and critique at UoM. They were able to challenge intellectually and through their actions the regulations imposed on them, because their campus fostered a subculture where dissent was welcomed and supported.

Van Dyke's activist subcultures as the primary campus abeyance structure answers the problems faced when applying just Taylor's model. The continual loss of student activists should weaken student protest and activism on campus, hampering new mobilisations, but this is not the case. In discussions about protest emergence, it has been emphasised that campus activist networks and its constituent subnetworks and societies are continually renewed and reformed (Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012). The campus activist network is a constant presence on campus across the timeframe. The network is always available and able to recruit political inclined students; this role is maintained by its constituent parts and by the campus activist subculture. The subculture provides the wider framework of dissent and resistance that fuels a variety of movement and campaign activity, including recruitment drives, within the activist network. Further, the activist subculture provides a broad range of campus activities that support the development and renewal of campus networks. Emphasis has been placed on recruitment through society and campaign meetings, but Van Dyke's idea about subcultures directs attention to the social interactions that bond students. It is over shared beers in the union bar that students move from society members to comrades and friends, deepening their sense of collective identity and solidarity and enhancing their potential for mobilisation (see also Hanna, 2013).

Campus activist subcultures also explain why movement diversity is maintained across the time frame. Taylor's idea that movements focus on narrow, more defined goals and aims during abeyance and her model struggles to explain the nature of student protest at LSE and UoM. Van Dyke recognises that the student movement is not "a single movement separate from these specific issue movements"; she insists that the student movement is engaged in the campaigning and protest of other social movements (Van Dyke, 2003). Students can be participants and beneficiaries, for example in LGBT, women's and anti-racist campaigning. They also act on the behalf of others, joining movements advancing claims of the socially marginalised and oppressed. They engage, because they share movement goals and aims and because the conditions faced by movement communities spark their sense of injustice at the disparity between the social reality and their ideals and values. In articulating campus unrest as part of an activist subculture, Van Dyke allows this diversity of engagement, but also offers a way to explain why the diversity persists in abeyance and this is now outlined further.

Firstly, students are encouraged to pursue their academic and extra-curricular interests. Primarily through the students union, the campus creates space for students to pursue their interests individually and collectively. Diversity is deeply embedded in the student society system, which allows students to create societies on almost any topic. The space for this activity is maintained by student unions across the timeframe through the provision of practical resources. This provision of space and other resources supports student engagement with social and political affairs and other movements; student activists are relatively free to pursue their concerns and interests on campus. Protest diversity is maintained, because student interest in various social and political matters is not lost in quiet periods. Secondly, the diversity is maintained by the nature of the campus activist network. The network comprises of subnetworks, which are associated with other social movements or form around groups of issues, for example animal rights or engagement with Amnesty International campaigns. Protest diversity is maintained, because these subnetworks are able to mobilise separately from the wider campus activist network. They can seize opportunities specific to their issues and goals, which ensures a continuity of visible activist manifestations.

Finally, activist subcultures can explain the rapid cycling between mobilisations visible in the quantitative data. Taylor's model implies long periods of latency, but the pattern of protest at UoM and LSE is marked by short periods of lower activity following the sixties. Protest activity during the forties and fifties is low on both campuses and the next section posits that these decades are a sustained period of abeyance. It is very clear from the data that the pattern after the sixties has no such sustained periods of movement latency. The patterns are distinct to each campus. The LSE pattern is marked by several periods of low activity, which general last about two years with the longest period stemming from 1997/98 to 2001/02. At UoM, the mid-nineties and mid-two-thousands are marked by periods of lower activity lasting a few years. The data demonstrates that periods of abeyance are shortened in the post-sixties world. The social movement abeyance model makes no provision for this rapid cycling, but Van Dyke's activist subcultures can be used to explain these quick shifts in activity. Abeyance structures, including campus activist subcultures, maintain protest potential within movements, but the social movement literature notes that movements and

their organisations need resources and opportunities to mobilise. The university campus is unique in providing the necessary resources for protest constantly to student activists. Further, the activist subculture keeps alive the activist networks and student frames and values, which can be drawn upon as protest opportunities arise. The availability of practical resources, ideological resources (frames and values) and networks continually means that student activists are primed for collective action. They can respond more readily to emergent shifts in the political and social context, seizing opportunities for action that other movements may miss (Sawyers and Meyer, 1999.). The documentary sources suggest that students are particularly responsive to antagonistic elites, seizing the opportunities for collective action presented by antagonising rhetoric, policy proposals and actions by the state, university and other actors (Van Dyke, 2003). For example, visits to campus by controversial speakers have proved to be a particularly key opportunity that prompts the campus activist network to mobilise its resources (Ellis, 1998, Hanna, 2013, Hoefflerle, 2013). The activist subculture ensures that students possess the necessary knowledge and skills to engage in collective action as opportunities arise, but further the subcultures maintain the resources, networks and frames that students draw upon in their action.

Van Dyke's 'hotbeds of activism' is very much an extension of Taylor's abeyance model. The student movement is distinct from other social movements, operating in a different way, most notably through their ready engagement with multiple movements. In positing the notion of activist subcultures, Van Dyke has adapted Taylor's model to the unique context of the student movement. It is a useful framework for understanding protest continuity at UoM and LSE. Activist subcultures point to the role that the wider campus culture has in facilitating and maintained activism and unrest. Some campuses, including UoM and LSE, develop embedded cultures of resistance and dissent, often fostered by the academic freedom of their universities that underpin mobilisations (Keniston, 1967). Further, activist subcultures retain the practices and traditions of activism within activist subcultures on campus. Subcultures underpin the formation and retention of activist networks, helping to ensure the continual recruitment of political inclined, protest prone students and the generational transference of tactical repertoires, frames and goals.

## Examining the role of the Forties, Fifties and Sixties for Protest Continuity

The next two sections briefly explore how the forties, fifties and sixties shape the British student movement and its manifestations at UoM and LSE. It outlines how the forties and fifties can be seen as period of abeyance as conceived by Taylor. The decades see little protest, but act as links between mobilisations in the thirties and sixties, carrying over ideological, tactical and goal continuities. The thesis has already argued that the sixties was a transformative moment for British student activism. The argument is reiterated here, noting that that this transformative role has ensured the continuity of protest and activism on British campuses.

### A Note on the Forties and Fifties

Although the immediate post-war years are stereotyped as conformist and conservative, it is possible to trace growing student discontent at UoM and LSE that informs the sixties student revolt (Horn, 2009, Keniston, 1967, Flacks, 1967, Hoefflerle, 2013). The forties and fifties are a period of sustained abeyance between the activism of the thirties and sixties. Political activity at UoM and LSE during the decade closely resembles Taylor's conception of movement abeyance. There is little protest activity, but student engagement in political and social affairs is sustained through educational activities (society and union events), voluntary action and campus debate (*News Bulletin, 1952, News Bulletin, 1951*, Pullan and Abendstern, 2000, Dahrendorf, 1995). The political and social engagement activities outlined in the textual sources are the activities of a movement in abeyance, which ensure the retention and sharing of the movement's identity, beliefs and goals. Further, the student unions and political student societies act as abeyance structures, which retain and recruit potential activists, imbuing them with the shared beliefs and frames of the student movement. These activities retain the protest potential of LSE and UoM students. As a period of abeyance, the decades serve as a link between the thirties and sixties mobilisations, enabling the generational transference of activist expertise and practice between the temporally separated student generations. LSE and UoM's student unions and societies carry over the collective identity, goals, tactics and frames of thirties activists for sixties students to use in their mobilisation.

Interestingly, the fifties is also a period of change for the student movement. The ideological shift from the Old Left to New Left, which starts in the mid-fifties, alters the left-wing political framework that informs student activism at LSE and UoM (Hanna, 2013, Chun, 1993). Taylor emphasises abeyance as a period of stability, but also makes clear that movements and their organisations experience change (Taylor, 1987). Many changes are negative as activists are lost and movement aims contracted, but Taylor does not suggest that internal change cannot also be positive. Intellectual discussion is maintained during abeyance and reasonably may result in political and ideological developments (DiCenzo, 2014). An intellectual shift is well documented in fifties Britain that directly influences how sixties student mobilised. The New Left (to some extent) altered student movement frames and organisational formats with some students pursuing participatory democracy, direct action and the role of non-workers in the revolution. Thirties and sixties students share a collective identity and some tactical, issue and ideological similarities, but they are also politically distinctive. The shift between these two activist generations happens during the movement's long period of abeyance. The forties and fifties carry forward several continuities in the student movement, but also develop a new political framework that sixties and post-sixties student activism is rooted in. Abeyance is therefore important as a period of stability and maintenance, but also has the possibility to generate internal movement changes that manifest in subsequent mobilisations.

### The Sixties Student Movement as Transformative

Social movement abeyance as applied through Van Dyke's activist subcultures is an important theoretical tool for understanding student protest continuity at UoM and LSE. It explains how the campus, through its activist subculture and network, maintains protest potential across time. However, there is a radical shift in student protest activity visible between 1945/46 and 2010/11. Protest activity changes from an occasional tactical choice for students to being a constant feature of university life. Protest is transformed into the standard student repertoire for dissent and demands to the university and the state. That change is the sixties student revolt. The decade has a powerful, transformative impact on the nature of student claim-making, laying the foundations for the continuous protest activity visible in the quantitative data collected at UoM and LSE.

This argument was made in Chapter 4, but is outlined further here to demonstrate that the sixties student revolt ensures the effectiveness of the campus activist subculture and network in maintaining the continuity of student protest. Before the sixties, students were largely excluded from university governance structures and decision making (Moodie and Eustace, 1974, Ashby and Anderson, 1970, Jacks, 1973). Student concerns were represented through union presidents and representative councils, who negotiated with university authorities. The system favoured the universities who were relatively free to ignore student complaints. Protest against the university appears to have been a last resort when institutional means were exhausted and students frustrated by being ignored (Ashby and Anderson, 1970). At the state level, students were even less visible and it took several years for NUS to develop a productive representative relationship with the British government (Day, 2012, Savage, 1962).

Speaking in the seventies, John Randall, then President of NUS, sums up how frustrating student negotiations with power-holders can be. He notes that “bitter experience has shown that talking with the Government is not enough” (Randall, 1974). Student discontent with their own circumstances and with injustices and inequalities in Britain and beyond bubbled in the forties, fifties and early sixties. At the state level, inadequate grants, limited educational equality and ongoing social problems disappointed students. Further, mainstream political support for the Vietnam War and Labour’s failure to engage in nuclear disarmament after their 1964 election victory disillusioned and angered students (Prince, 2007, Hoefferele, 2013, Keniston, 1967). At university, students were frustrated with petty regulations imposed by university authorities in halls of residence (Robinson, 2010, Thomas, 1996). Frustrations are more visible at UoM as LSE students enjoyed greater freedom as limited university accommodation meant more students lived in digs or at home. Gendered differences in halls of residence rules were particularly resented with students criticising them as archaic. Women students faced more regulations and earlier curfews than men students (*Manchester Independent*, 1965b, *Manchester Independent*, 1961). Students criticised the University for treating them like children when it banned first year undergraduates from living in private flats and issued guidelines to landlords (*News Bulletin*, 1959b, *Manchester Independent*, 1963b). LSE and UoM students were also frustrated by their exclusion from university governance and their lack of voice in matters



affecting them, such as library facilities, curriculum content and the examination system (Smith, 1960, Stathatos, 1971, see also Jacks, 1973, Fraser, 1988, Thomas, 1996, Hoefflerle, 2013).

Frustrations bubbled away during the fifties and sixties as students found themselves increasingly at odds with and disillusioned by traditional authorities (Keniston, 1967, Thomas, 1996). What triggered students to understand protest and activism as acceptable means for expressing dissent and discontent is a little unclear. At LSE, the tipping point appears to be the School's attempt to discipline Union President David Adelstein for expressing union criticism of the appointment of Walter Adams in the press (Kidd, 1969, Ellis, 1998). For UoM students, increases to international student fees trigger a mass mobilisation and seem to cement protest in the student repertoire (*Manchester Independent, 1967b*). More generally, student horror at the Vietnam War, inadequate educational funding and student representation within the university seem to coalesce in a way that motivates sustained collective action (Fraser, 1988, Hanna, 2012, 2013). Students turned to the traditional British labour movement's tactical repertoire and drew on tactical innovations learnt from CND, US Civil Rights and other national movements to express their frustrations and dissent. Protest was no longer a last resort, used only to increase pressure when other means were exhausted. Protest became a legitimate tactical option to express discontent and dissent as well as to exert pressure and escalate contention. The sustained use of protest tactics to articulate student demands and claims and to pressurise governmental and university authorities (as well as targeting societal norms and values) between 1967 to around 1973 cements protest as a legitimate and acceptable method for expressing student concerns.

This transformation of the acceptability of protest for students was not without internal disagreement. Students debated fiercely the merits of traditional labour movement and direct action tactics for expressing their contention (Shaw, 1969). Concerns were expressed that protesting would undermine institutional efforts to generate change and alienate potential supporters (Shaw, 1969). Would-be protesters won, convincing more moderate voices that protest action had potential as an expressive and disruptive tactic. By resolving this debate and then engaging in sustained protest activity, the sixties student generation

cemented protest into the student repertoire for dealing with governmental and university authorities. This change is transformative for the British student movement. The new acceptability of protest dramatically increases how and when students can express their demands and exert pressure on their targets. This transformation has a lasting effect on British students and contributes to the continuity of student protest activity across the twentieth century. The sixties ensures that protest become a legitimate tactical and strategic choice for the student movement. Without this transformative experience, it is possible that UoM and LSE students would engage in less protest activity. The abeyance structures outlined above ensure that students retain their protest potential and continue to engage in movement activity, but this only takes place because the sixties exerts a powerful transformative influence that renders protest acceptable within the student movement.

## Conclusion

Social movement abeyance is a useful framework for understanding protest continuity at UoM and LSE. It is possible to recognise the abeyance organisations that Taylor describes operating on both campuses, facilitating the retention of the movement's collective identity, tactical repertoire and shared beliefs. These abeyance organisations are the student unions and well-established political student societies, such as SWSS, who retain activist practices through their organisational models, personnel and goals. Taylor's model does not completely fit with the unique features of student protest identified here, particularly its diversity and the ability of student activists to rapidly shift between periods of relative quiet and periods of heightened contention. Van Dyke's 'hotbeds of activism' theory is a carefully worked application of abeyance to the student context and it explains these unique features. The notion of activist subcultures sustaining protest activity through various political, cultural and social activities fits with what is happening on the LSE and UoM campuses across the timeframe. The documentary sources indicate that both campuses possess activist subcultures, which generate a pervasive atmosphere of resistance and dissent that underpins student protest activity. Understanding the LSE and UoM campuses as 'hotbeds' with a vibrant subcultural political life helps to explain how protest activity has remained a continuous feature of university life at both institutions.

## Chapter 7. Conclusion

This final chapter summarises the main empirical data and theoretical arguments explored earlier. It then outlines the main contributions offered in this thesis to the student movement literature. The thesis has added directly to empirical data on student mobilisations in Britain, which has been lacking in the literature as well as offering explorations of student protest at UoM and LSE since 1945. It demonstrates the continuity of student protest at UoM and LSE and suggests that similar continuous patterns will be visible at other British universities. Further, the thesis has applied a combination of the social movement literature and theoretical explanations for protest offered in the sixties student protest literature to build arguments about how protest emerges, declines and survives at UoM and LSE. The chapter notes that these findings are likely applicable to other British campuses, particularly those that could be identified as ‘hotbeds of activism’ due to their histories of student dissent (Van Dyke, 1998). Finally, future areas for research are also identified. There is considerable scope for explorations into student activism in decades other than the sixties and to examine the relationships between the student movement and other social movements and social movement organisations.

### Thesis Summary

This section summarise the main points outlined in the thesis. The PhD project had two broad research aims: to establish the pattern of protest activity at two British universities between 1945/46 and 2010/11 and to explore the emergence, decline and survival of student protest across that timeframe. It has established quantitatively the pattern of protest at UoM and LSE between 1945/46 and 2010/11 (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). In doing so, the thesis has directly challenged the dominance of the sixties student protest and student apathy narrative. The collated data has been used to refute claims that the sixties wave of student protest was an unprecedented and unrepeated period by demonstrating the presence of student protest beyond the sixties epoch. Further, it demonstrates that student protests beyond the sixties are not sporadic, grievance based explosions (Hoefflerle, 2013). The quantitative data provides verifiable evidence of sustained engagement by students in protest activity at UoM and LSE. Demonstrating the continuity of protest on both campuses, the data also refutes the insistence of the student apathy narrative that

post-sixties student generations are politically and socially disengaged. Although protest is the key focus, the thesis also establishes that UoM and LSE students participate in formal and informal political activities.

The quantitative data also reveals the distinctive pattern of peaks and troughs corresponding to periods of high and low protest event activity, which is typical of protest event analysis studies (Tarrow, 1989, 1998, Jung, 2010). Protest activity is continuous on both campuses, but it fluctuates annually. The thesis has sought to explain this emergence and decline of protest activity, drawing from the social movement literature and sixties student protest literature to identify factors contributing to the rise and fall of protest. Factors identified as contributing to the emergence of protest are movement frames and their interaction with values, social networks, resources and political opportunities. Previous works indicate that sixties students were highly motivated by a sense of injustice and outrage at the disparity between their values and ideals and the social reality (Keniston, 1967, Hanna, 2013, Thomas, 1996). It is established here that injustice frames and outrage at authority behaviour continue to be a key motivational factor for student protest. Echoing work by Crossley, the thesis also establishes that the consistent availability of mobilising resources on campus and the presence of a dense campus activist network are necessary for students to effectively seize opportunities for protest (Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012). The thesis also demonstrates that antagonistic political elites create opportunities for student mobilisations. Perceived threats result in more collective action than the emergence of presumed allies.

Factors identified as contributing to protest decline are factionalism, co-optation, repression, university authority inaction and generational loss. The thesis argues that classic accounts of movement decline, state repression and co-optation, do not explain falls in student protest. It suggests that repression and co-optation can cause peripheral participants (non-activist students for whom participation is exceptional) to withdraw from protest, but have limited impact on members of the campus activist network. Repression by the state (via police violence) and by university authorities particularly seems to provoke student action rather than quell campus unrest. Inaction by university authorities is found to have a greater impact with student protest fading away following conciliatory promises,

which appear to be misunderstood as successful outcomes by students. Protest also fades as students become frustrated and disillusioned when immediate change is not forthcoming. Political factionalism is found to hamper student mobilising, although appears to only directly affect mobilisations around issues that attract far left engagement. For example, protest connected to student finance, public sector cuts and contention with the university. Some activist sub-networks, notably animal rights activism, but also environmentalism, global poverty activism and mobilisations on Jewish persecution in Russia, are mostly unaffected by campus factionalism as they attract less involvement by far left student societies.

Having established the continuity of protest activity, the thesis explores the survival of student protest across the twentieth and twenty first centuries through an application of the Taylor's abeyance model. Abeyance is understood as the movement stage between decline and re-emergence; it is a period of relative inactivity with movements focused on a narrow selection of goals and on maintaining protest potential for future mobilisations. Abeyance is a way that movements cope during hostile political and social contexts. It is possible to discern abeyance structures at work at UoM and LSE with formal campus organisations, such as the student unions and political societies acting as effective carriers of collective identity, movement frames, goals and tactics. However, the abeyance model does not account entirely for student protest. The thesis uses Van Dyke's concept of 'hotbeds of activism' to reshape the notion of abeyance to encompass the diversity of student protest (Van Dyke, 1998). Van Dyke demonstrates that 'hotbed' campuses developing activist subcultures that maintain the traditions and practices of activism, ensuring that these campuses remain protest ready. Demonstrating LSE and UoM to be 'hotbed' campuses, the thesis shows that activist subcultures accommodate the diversity of student protest, creating an inclusive space for movement organising. Further, they underpin the formation and renewal of the campus activist network. The thesis shows that through the constituent parts of the activist networks – student societies, subnetworks and informal groupings – the activist subcultures at UoM and LSE ensure the generational transference of tactical repertoires, movement frames, shared beliefs and goals on campus.

## Contributions

The main empirical contribution of the thesis is the establishment of quantitative data on protest events involving UoM and LSE students between academic years 1945/46 and 2010/11 as recorded in the student press. There are some 840 events involving UoM students and a total of 505 events involving LSE students. No claims are made that these 1345 events represent the total number of protests by UoM and LSE students in the timeframe, but the data forms an accurate record of protest activity. Numeric data on annual levels of protest activity has been used to establish pattern of protest activity at both institutions between academic years 1945/46 and 2010/11. The resultant line graphs reveal a continuous pattern of protest activity stretching from the mid-fifties until 2010/11 (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). This continuous pattern of activity refutes the student apathy narrative that dominates the current literature on student protest. The data demonstrates a history of student protest, starting before and reaching beyond the sixties epoch, which is also indicative of wider political engagement by students across the twentieth and twenty first centuries. The quantitative data challenges the idea that the sixties student revolt was unprecedented, demonstrating the existence of student protest in the fifties. Further, it challenges that sixties student protest narrative's insistence on the sixties wave as the only sustained period of student unrest. The data shows not only ongoing contention, it demonstrates several periods of sustained activity in the seventies, eighties and early twenty-first century.

This is a significant contribution to the literature. No previous studies into British student protest have sought to establish protest activity levels or the pattern of protest on any campus. The literature is dominated by assumptions rooted in the sixties student protest narrative and student apathy narrative. The quantitative data alone refutes arguments that cast the sixties student protest wave as an unprecedented and exceptional period of campus unrest (Hoefflerle, 2013, Edelman-Boren, 2001). It also refutes the idea that pre-sixties student generations were conformists, accepting of the status quo (Thomas, 2008b, Keniston, 1967). They do not build barricades in the streets, but the protest event data reveals them to be engaged in contentious politics and indicates a wider engagement in social and political affairs, which is borne out in evidence of student political participation

(Brewis, 2014). The data also refutes concretely the student apathy narrative. Measuring political participation by protest activity reveals that apathy is not pervasive amongst students at UoM and LSE. Again this is supported by the qualitative detail, which reveals UoM and LSE students to be engaged in formal and informal political activities. This revelation of sustained political participation echoes numerous studies into youth and student engagement with political and social affairs, which also refute allegations of mass youth apathy (Henn, Weinsten, and Wring, 2002, White et al, 2000, Henn and Foard, 2011). These studies find that young people are disillusioned with political elites, but remain interested in political matters and engaged in political and social affairs through voluntary action and campaign activity for NGOs and social movements.

The emergent pattern in protest event data is one of peaks and troughs, corresponding to periods of high and low protest event activity, which is typical of protest event analysis studies (Tarrow, 1998, Jung, 2010). Several studies establish that the pattern of rises and falls in protest activity across time is shared by other social movements, whose visible presence can be tracked through protest cycles in society (Tarrow, 1998, Jung, 2010, Van Dyke, 1998, 2003, Doherty et al, 2007). The thesis demonstrates that protest activity at UoM and LSE follows this standard pattern, indicating that that the British student movement experiences fluctuations in activity and public visibility in similar ways to other movements. The finding is important, because it challenges the populist assumption in the student movement literature that British student protest activity virtually disappears after the mid-seventies with only sporadic explosions of discontent in subsequent decades (Hoefflerle, 2013, Hanna, 2013, Fraser, 1988). The data shows that this understanding is rooted in a lack of empirical data, specifically protest event data, about student activism in Britain. The existing literature has created a flawed conception of student protest that rests in the gaps in knowledge left by limited research into protest and activism beyond the sixties epoch.

The thesis has identified some factors contributing to the emergence and decline of student protest at UoM and LSE. These factors are utilised to explain the rise and fall of protest on both campuses and likely have explanatory value for other British campuses as well. The identified factors are predominately drawn from social movement theory, particularly the RMT and PP traditions. Keniston's idea that a sense of injustice underpins student action is

developed with the framing perspective to explain the motivational impulse behind student protest activity. Student protest has been explored through these theoretical frameworks previously, although only Hanna, Crossley and Ibrahim apply the theories to the British context (Hanna, 2012, 2013, Crossley, 2008, Crossley and Ibrahim, 2012, see also Hensby, 2014). Here, the identified factors are used holistically to explain rises and falls in protest on each campus, demonstrating the combined explanatory power of the RMT and PP models and the framing perspective. Hanna successfully offered a holistic movement theory explanation for sixties student protest in Britain (Hanna, 2012, 2013). As a longitudinal study, this thesis builds on Hanna's contribution by firmly establishing the explanatory power of holistically applying movement theory to student protest during and beyond the sixties epoch. The thesis demonstrates clearly that a combination of student values and associated movement frames, mobilising resources, activist networks and political opportunities are necessary for student protest to emerge. It also shows that declines in student protest are affected by various factors external and internal to the campus, although establishes political factionalism and university responses to protest as key to drops in action.

The thesis makes a useful theoretical contribution by demonstrating the apparently limited role that co-optation and repression have on student protest. These are classic PP explanations for movement decline, but are shown to have only a minor impact at UoM and LSE. Both are found to contribute in declines in participation by students who are poorly networked into the campus activist network, but neither appear to directly contribute to declines in action. In fact, the thesis demonstrates that state and university repression tends to have the unintended consequence of provoking protest. Students frame repressive responses as attacks on the right to protest and as an attempt to silence student opposition, which fuels the sense of injustice and outrage that is argued to motivate student protest (Keniston, 1967, Hanna, 2013). Determined not to be silenced, students engage in further collection action to demonstrate their continued dissent, but also to defend the right to protest on and off campus. The thesis demonstrates that the existence of co-optation and repression during a cycle of protest are not sufficient to generate a patterned response in movement activity. Student activists do not interpret state or university repression as sufficiently increasing the risks of protest to prevent their mobilisation. Nor do core activists



understand NUS's partial state co-optation as a movement success. This finding agrees with Sawyers and Meyer that movement responses to political opportunities depends on how movement participants interpret openings and contractions in the political and social context (Sawyers and Meyer, 1999). Movements can miss emergent opportunities for their claims to be heard, but can also interpret supposed contractions as opportunities for further action.

The thesis emphasises the importance of university responses to student protest. Previous studies make clear that university authorities can provoke campus unrest, but do not explore how university management can quell dissent (Fraser, 1988, Thomas, 1996, Hanna, 2012). The thesis demonstrates that LSE and UoM authorities utilise a combination of inaction and appeasement to curb student protest. University management at LSE and UoM have found that conciliatory gestures and promises of future action correlate with a decrease in protest on specific demands, such as divestment from South Africa. Conciliatory gestures initially work by appeasing students, who drop protest as they (mis)understand university promises as movement successes. University management is then able to stall meaningful action, which frustrates and disillusion students, who abandon their activism as futile. However, the thesis found that conciliatory appeasement is only temporary. Sometimes the issue increases in salience, which attracts new waves of protest and activism; at other times, student frustration with the university builds sufficiently that activists return to protest to increase their pressure. This is an important contribution as it demonstrates how universities can temporarily quieten protest, which has not previously been outlined in the literature.

Taylor's social movement abeyance model is applied to the British student movement for the first time in the thesis (Taylor, 1987). Abeyance organisations are identified on campus and their role in maintaining student protest explained. The thesis echoes Taylor's suggestion that formal organisations are effective carriers of movement goals, identity, ideology and repertoires as it finds that student unions and formal student societies are key abeyance structures. It also notes that less formalised societies and groupings play a role in maintaining beliefs and values, tactics and strategies on campus. However, the thesis shows that Taylor's model does not make sufficient allowances for the unique nature of student

protest. To address the gaps, the thesis has applied Van Dyke's concept of 'hotbeds of activism' to UoM and LSE and demonstrates the value of the theory to explaining the continuity of student protest in Britain (Van Dyke, 1998).

Finally, the thesis demonstrates that both UoM and LSE can be identified as 'hotbeds of activism'; they are ongoing sites of contention and unrest. Further, both have histories of student protest predating the sixties waves of contention and the timeframe of this study, which is a key criteria for a 'hotbed'. Both have histories of campus contention dating to the thirties (Simon, 1987, Brewis, 2014). This is a key contribution as Van Dyke's theory has not previously been applied to the British campus. The thesis demonstrates its utility in explaining student protest continuity, but also shows that British campuses also meet the criteria to be 'hotbeds of activism'.

The thesis makes various empirical and theoretical contributions to the social movement and student protest literature. The key contribution here is the longitudinal exploration of British student protest, which has not previously been completed. Further, the data is potentially useful in future examinations of the British student movement; it will be particularly beneficial for comparative studies between British campuses and with other national movements. The theoretical contributions demonstrate the applicability of social movement theories to the British student movement. Hanna notes an assumption in the literature that the British student movement can be explained with reference to other movements, but this thesis shows, as does Hanna's, that the British movement requires its own careful consideration (Hanna, 2012, 2013). The thesis shows that British student movement is a 'mere echo' of its European and American peers, but rather a vibrant movement with its own grievances, goals and tactical repertoire.

## Areas for Future Work

The thesis identifies several empirical and theoretical areas that merit exploration in future studies. Firstly, there is scope for work into the emergent patterns of protest on other British campuses, particularly those with known histories of activism. Such work would deepen empirical knowledge about British student protest and could explore the explanatory value of the factors identified here as contributing to the emergence and decline of protest activity to other campuses. Secondly, the unexpected explosion of protest activity identified in eighties at UoM and LSE indicates scope for detailed historical studies on specific decades. Detailed explorations of the eighties and other decades are not possible here, but the thesis demonstrates that there is considerable activity to be examined in the style of existing literature on the sixties.

Substantial interactions between the student movement and other social movements are noted in relation to sixties student protest activity (Fraser, 1988, Ellis, 1998, Hoefflerle, 2013). The thesis has shown that these interactions persist beyond the sixties epoch with a visible cross-over of frames, goals, tactics and activists. Relationships between the student movement and other social movements appear to be a defining feature of British student protest across the timeframe studied here. This finding prompts a number of questions about how movement crossover functions in this context. There is scope to explore whether it is institutional alliances, such as NUS's supportive relationship of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, interpersonal networks or particular political contexts that generate student participation in multiple movements (Burkett, 2014). The role of far left political organisation on campus on movement crossover may also be a profitable area of study. Answering these questions requires a different kind of methodological approach than has been adopted here.

There is also space for in-depth explorations of the explanatory factors identified here. Factors contributing to the emergence, decline and survival have been identified here and their effect on protest activity at UoM and LSE examined. However, there is scope to explore these factors in greater detail through interview and observational data. The anecdotal evidence drawn from discussions with UoM student activists between 2010/11

and 2014/15 indicate that interviews with student activists and observations of activist meetings would give additional insight into the role of factionalism in declines in student protest activity. Interviews and observations could also be used to gather further data on frames, the role of authorities in prompting and curtailing mobilisations and the impact of police violence. Such research would build on the work done here, creating a fuller picture of how student protests rises and falls across time.

Finally, the political participation of right-wing students is underexplored in the existing literature, which reflects the dominance of left-wing traditions and voices in student politics. The documentary evidence consulted here demonstrates that right wing students are active in mainstream and student politics, but their participation has attracted limited academic attention (see Evans, 1996). Even with Conservative student societies being infrequent protesters, there is considerable scope to explore student conservatism from the social movement perspective. For example, the Federation of Conservative Students garnered a reputation for political extremism as strong proponents of Thatcherism and with connections to the Monday Club in the eighties (Evans, 1996). Further, the thesis indicates the presence of far right political organising at UoM and LSE. Student engagement with far right politics is under-researched with the literature suffering from an assumption that students are generally politically and socially progressive. It is clear that there is scope for studies into far right activism involving and/or directed at students in Britain.

### Summary

Student protest is a continuous feature of student life at UoM and LSE between 1945/46 and 2010/11. This thesis has clearly established the continuity of protest activity at both universities, but also indicates the continuity of the wider British student movement as well. The documentary sources reviewed here, and the secondary literature, suggest that several British campuses remain sites of contention and unrest beyond the sixties epoch. Explaining the continuity of student protest requires a holistic approach that draws from across the social movement literature to bring the theoretical traditions together. Using this approach, this thesis identifies various factors that contribute to the emergence, decline and survival of student protest. It explains how these factors influence protest activity at UoM and LSE

through the qualitative data drawn from the student press and other archival materials. Several other strands of exploration have been identified through the thesis. It provides valuable quantitative data on which future works can draw to build a clearer picture of the British student movement.

## Bibliography

This bibliography is divided into two sections. The first covers the archival sources referenced within the thesis. The second section lists all the academic and popular literature, organisational reports, official organisational sources, parliamentary sources, media sources and blogs referenced in the thesis.

It should be noted that the archival newspapers collections have been referenced with a slight variation on the Harvard format. More information on this can be found on p.27 in the Introductory Chapter.

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## Appendix A - Afterword: Student Protest Today

This thesis has argued that student protest is a continuous feature of campus life at UoM and LSE across the timeframe. Further, it suggests that the continuous pattern of protest activity is likely visible on other British campuses as well. As anticipated by the quantitative data, the continuity of protest activity persists beyond academic year 2010/11. The mass mobilisations of 2010 faded, but campus activists have continued to protest against the fees and other education and public sector cuts (Palmieri and Solomon, 2011, Rawlinson, 2012, Taylor, 2014). Both universities remain sites of contention, engaging in marches and occupations (Bainbridge, 2015, Spargo, 2015, Blinkhorn, 2015a). Other university campuses have proved more contentious in recent years (Centeno, 2013, Warwick for Free Education, 2014b, Lee and Jackson, 2014). Like previous generations, these students maintain a belief that higher education should be available to all, regardless of income. Free higher education, “open to all those who can benefit from it” remains a movement goal, held onto particularly strongly by the student left (NUS, 1942). They oppose the increasing fees and hidden course costs that can render university inaccessible to some. They also maintain a belief in the social value of higher education, believing that universities should be publicly funded and open to all, because universities and graduates make positive contributions to all aspects of British society (NUS, 1942, *NUS, 1980*).

Following the May 2015 election, a Conservative government will remain in power until 2020. Student activists have already demonstrated their opposition to the anticipated fee hikes and further welfare and public sector cuts (NCAFC Admin, 2015). It is perhaps tempting to describe this protest as a return to the eighties. There are obvious similarities in the austerity politics of the two Conservative governments. Further, like their eighties counterparts, students have been active in wider social movement contention against the state, such as protests about public sector cuts and fracking (Gorton, 2014, Gregory, 2015, NCAFC Admin, 2014). Without the quantitative data though, it is difficult to judge whether student protest activity at UoM or LSE is on a comparably level to the eighties. The sense of outrage and injustice on campus feels as strong as it does in the eighties student press, but we must wait to see whether that outrage is transformed into multiple student mobilisations.

There is a key difference between the eighties activists and the most recent generation. Student debt is far higher thanks to the introduction of loans and fees. Hanna has suggested that this increased financial burden curtails student protest. This thesis shows that protest continued beyond the introduction of loans and fees, suggesting that increased educational costs do not necessarily curtail activism. However, the financial costs are far higher now than in academic year 2010/11. Whether students facing £9,000 plus fees a year will be able to maintain this pattern of protest will only become visible in the next few years. Students also face an increasingly hostile environment towards political dissent (Little, 2013, Toyne, 2013, Blinkhorn, 2015b). Their eighties peers also mobilised in a hostile environment, experiencing police violence and harassment as well as being spied on. What impact the potentially unreceptive and unsympathetic political context will have on modern students will also unfold in the coming years.

NUS's future role in student activism is unclear. As an organisation, NUS has long been criticised as reluctant to engage in and support militant protest due to reservations about its reputation and relationship with government (Yule, 1998, Wong 2011). It seems unlikely that this reluctance will change, particularly as NUS increasingly fears being held legally and financially responsible for student protest activity even where it is not the organising body. In 2010, NUS attracted criticism for not launching a sustained campaign of protest against the fee increases. While students welcomed the lobbying efforts, they also wanted ongoing and visible action nationally and locally to maintain pressure on the government (Wong, 2011). It also attracted criticism for condemning student violence and militancy, although it did also condemn police tactics. The NUS's reluctance to back militant student activism reflects a very reasonable concern that such activism may damage the organisations' consultative relationship with the government and other organisations and may lead to NUS being held accountable for the actions of a student minority. It is unreasonable to criticise NUS as entirely abandoning student activism. It remains supportive of liberation campaigning, student activism on various issues and supports anti-fee activities, although continues to draw a line at backing militancy (Morgan, 2014). The NUS's refusal to back student militancy has arguably left a leadership void on the student left.

Other organisations have emerged to fill the void. NCAFC is now the main national student organisation directing opposition to fees, course cuts and the marketization and privatisation of higher education. In many ways, it is a reincarnation of the Radical Student Alliance (RSA) and the Campaign for Education (CFE) (which emerged in the late nineties) (Ismail and Buckell, 2014). Like its predecessors, NCAFC seeks to coordinate student activism around higher education issues locally and nationally. NCAFC works with various left-wing student organisations, although its leadership has previously been dominated by Alliance for Workers Liberty (AWL) members. Being (relatively) open to the diversity of the student left means that it has created national activist network of campus based activist groups and students, who share a commitment to free education. Campus based groups organise local action against governmental and university cuts and the privatisation of higher education with NCAFC also organising national protests. Like RSA and CFE, NCAFC also operates within NUS, working to centralise free education as a goal and to make the NUS more of an activist organisation. NCAFC activities can arguably be said to have resulted in the NUS Conference 2014 decision to back free education for all once again (Afifi-Sabet, 2014). How far it will be successful in its aims to transform NUS into a more activist organisation only time will tell.

From observations, it seems that the Young Greens are also filling the leadership void in the student movement. Previously associated only with environmental action, the Young Greens have adopted a left-wing political stance, supporting free education for all and opposing welfare cuts. At Manchester, Young Green members are active in various political campaigns on campus, but are especially active in free education and anti-privatisation activism. There appears to be significant crossover between Young Green and NCFAC membership, possibly reflecting shared goals and frames. It seems unlikely that the Young Greens will dominate NCFAC, but the organisation has certainly increased its role within student activism since 2010.

One should always be reluctant to predict the future, so only tenuous guesses about the future of British student activism are made here. Both UoM and LSE are likely to remain 'hotbeds of activism' in coming years, having retained an activist tradition since 2010. It is also reasonable to assume that student activism against the Conservative will also persist. Given its historical diversity, the student movement will likely remain engaged in activism beyond



its immediate movement concerns as well. The extreme peaks of the eighties may well be unrepeated, but student protest will continue.

## Appendix B: Additional Variables

A total of 25 variables were included in the coding schedule. Seventeen are considered core variables, because they record key information about the protest events. The eight additional variables, which are listed below, collected further event data that has not been used directly in the thesis. They were included to ensure that all relevant and interesting information was captured in the initial fieldwork. This is a recommended strategy to prevent having to repeatedly access and review the data sources (Koopmans, 2002). However, the research problems considered here can be addressed without reference to this data captured. Further, while the quantitative capturing of the data is useful, it is qualitative detail that is more pertinent to addressing the research problems. For example, as far as possible the dataset records the presence of police at protest events and any incidents of violence, but this information is more valuable as qualitative detail than as numeric data. Police violence is discussed in the thesis (see Chapter 5), but it is the qualitative details drawn from the textual sources that contribute to the discussion.

The data is interesting and can be used in a number of statistical tests to explore protest activity. For example, a previous analysis of the 'month' variable has revealed that student protest falls predominately in the autumn and winter, away from the examination periods of early January, May and June. However, analysis of these variables is not necessary for answering the research questions posed here.

**Table 1: Additional Variables**

<b>Additional Variables</b>	<b>Variable Type</b>
Month	Categorical Variable
Violence – to persons	Nominal Variable
Violence – damage to property	Nominal Variable
Violence – clash with police	Nominal Variable
Police Presence	Nominal Variable
Number of Arrests	Quantitative Variable
Authority Response	Nominal Variable
Response Type	Categorical Variable

## Appendix C: Details on Protest Issues Coded as ‘Other’

This appendix contains provides information on the protest issues that have been coded as ‘Other’ in the main thesis text. Two tables layout the data by university and decade.

**Table 2: Protest Issues Coded as ‘Other’ At University of Manchester**

Issue	45/46 - 59/60	60/61 - 69/70	70/71 - 69/80	80/81 - 89/90	90/91 - 99/00	00/01 - 09/10	2010/11	Total
Death Penalty UK	1							1
Student Arrests	1			1				2
Greek Junta		1						1
Chile			1					1
Drugs			1					1
Northern Ireland			9	3				12
Police Violence			2	2		1		5
Politics of Education			1					1
Death Penalty Spain			1					1
Torture					1			1
Human Rights in Peru					1			1
Violence in Chechnya					1			1
Disability Rights					1			1
Opposition to George Galloway						1		1
Human Rights in China						2		2
Human Rights in Burma						2		2
Human Rights in Egypt						2		2
Human Rights in South East Asia						1		1
Mumbai Terror Attacks						1		1
Student Oyster Cards						1		1
Pro Bush Rally						1		1
Human Rights Africa						1		
China/ Taiwan						1		
Estonia						1		
Global Financial Crisis						1		
HIV/Aids						2		
Greek Economic Crisis							1	1
Total	2	1	16	6	4	12	1	29

**Table 3: Protest Issues Coded as 'Other' At University of Manchester**

Issue	45/46 - 59/60	60/61 - 69/70	70/71 - 79/80	80/81 - 89/90	90/91 - 99/00	00/01 - 09/10	2010/11	Total
Anti-Violent Sports				1				1
BBC Reporting: Beijing Olympics						2		2
Bradford 12 Trial				1				1
Bus Fares		2						2
Counter to Festival of Light			1					1
Death of Patrice Lumumba		1						1
Death Penalty	1							1
Free Speech			6					6
Freedom/human rights			1					1
HIV/AIDS Activism				1	3	1		5
Human Rights							1	1
International Human Rights Day, 1968		1						1
Human Rights in El Salvador				1				1
John McCarthy Imprisonment					1			1
LSE occupation		2						2
MMU Cuts				2				2
Murdoch				1				1
Nazi War Crimes				1				1
NO2ID						3		3
Northern Ireland			4	6				10
Police Violence				5				5
RAG Prank		1						1
Reclaim the Park						2		2
Religious Persecution in Russia (Christian)				1				1
Social Inequality		1	1					2
Student Arrest			1					1
Tax Evasion							2	2
Tian'anmen Square				2				2
Traveller Rights		4	6					10
Unfair Eviction			1					1
Total	1	12	21	34	4	8	3	71