



Education for Societal Transformation: Alternatives for a Just Future

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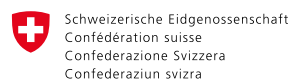
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NORRAG Special Issue 10
English Edition, October 2024

Coordination and Design Concept
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Production
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NORRAG is supported by



Swiss Agency for Development
and Cooperation SDC



Printed on FSC certified paper

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Education for Societal Transformation: Alternatives for a Just Future

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Student Activism in Secondary Education: A World of Alternatives

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Summary

It is common to consider university students as the younger actors in movements and in political participation, but political activism can start before individuals reach higher education. This paper will provide an overview of the alternatives produced by school students fighting across the planet for an improvement of the educational system and for a fairer society, showing how they are manifesting their political agency. A reflection will emerge on the need to consider school students as potential key actors for change, hence abandoning paternalistic stances.

Keywords

Student activism
 Secondary education
 Participation
 Student movement
 Alternatives

Student Activism in Secondary Education

In the understanding of how education works and on its connections to broader societal issues, it is quite common to overlook the active role of learners, especially while they are enrolled in secondary education. Effectively, comprehensive studies start to appear just related to the behaviour of older students, already in tertiary education. This paper, while far from exhaustive, will give an idea of many examples, of the different natures and from various areas of the planet, of secondary student participation in proposing alternatives to the hegemonic ideas of neoliberal education and society. Often, school students have been active in key social movements, even initiating some of them. The '*mochilazo*' and the '*pinguino*' movement in Chile represented key school student initiatives with a broader impact at the beginning of this century. However, high school students also mobilised in support of other movements as well, such as the ones against the neoliberal reform of the labour market in Italy and France or the movements against the Iraq War and in Solidarity with Palestinian people in the UK (Ancelovici, 2011; Donoso, 2013; Le Mazier, 2020; Lipari, 2022; Somma & Donoso, 2021; Woodcock, 2020). *Democracy and Disorder* by Sydney Tarrow (1989) underlines the relevance, both for number and disruptiveness, of learners of secondary education and vocational education and training in the mobilisations between the 1960s and the 1970s in Italy. Given the relevance of school students and the affirmation even at a global level of movements led and composed by them (e.g., Fridays for Future), I think it is time to give them space and produce studies that are useful for a better understanding of their participation.

The concept of student agency, as described by Manja Klemenčič (2024) related to higher education (HE), can be a valuable starting point and should be introduced to analyses of student political action in secondary education as well:

Student agency refers to students' capabilities to navigate and influence their learning and education pathways and environments. These capabilities are conditioned by agentic opportunities that emerge for students from the external environment, from the [higher education (HE)] 'structures

and processes' and agentic orientations that are internal responses of the student to the HE environments. [...] Students enact political agency—individually, collectively or through proxies—toward changes in HE environments (i.e., institutional changes) or toward changes in society (i.e., societal changes). (Klemenčič, 2024, p. 11)

This brings together with a student impact theory, which visualises the fact that learners are not passive elements in the political arena but that their agency can be purposefully and strategically directed towards social change (Klemenčič, 2024, pp. 13–15). This notion is an essential premise for an analysis wishing to abandon paternalism and to learn from students as from any other component of society.

An Unexplored World of Alternatives

The first alternative I would like to show is the [School Strike for Climate Action](#) (SS4C) in Australia and [Aotearoa New Zealand](#). These two networks, which share the same name, emerged in the wave of environmental global protest launched by Greta Thunberg and adapted the general claims and goals of the movement to their national contexts. Although other groups did something similar in different parts of the world (including Fridays for Future), the two SS4Cs are different from other groups against climate change for the fact that school students were in leadership roles. The students demonstrated an incredible confidence in the use of social media and built an official list of chapters based in different towns and cities, here connected to strike maps elaborated to ease participation on mobilisation days. According to Hilder and Collin (2022), the birth of these incredibly skilled activists in Australia should be connected to more than a decade of actions in schools of the Australian Youth Climate Coalition in a process of 'educative movement building' in which 'they are shaping a new politics of climate justice; not merely reflecting shifts in political norms, values and actions but enacting them' (p. 808). This was a quite strong manifestation of student agency, coming after many years of learning through mobilising in diverse ways, without renouncing new elements and accepting the opportunities of a broader, global wave of protest.

Staying in the southern hemisphere, we look at what is probably the biggest democratic school student organisation on the planet: the Brazilian Union of Secondary Students (UBES). With a huge organisational structure covering the vast South American country, [UBES has been an active voice of Brazilian politics](#) since its foundation in 1948. The fight for better and more equal public education for all goes together with an increasing role of Black activists and leaders subverting the hierarchies of class and race (Gomes, 2022). With a rich history that includes the action in clandestinity during the dictatorship, a successful [campaign for the reintroduction of the teaching of philosophy and](#)

[sociology](#) in Brazilian schools in the 2000s and, in more recent years, the fight for quality education together with the struggles against authoritarian backlashes and broader societal causes. The year 2016 saw more than 1,100 schools occupied by secondary students in the country against cuts to the secondary education budget (Gomes, 2022), and new mobilisations were organised accompanying the developments of Brazilian political life in opposition to Bolsonaro's policies. The 2021 campaign '[Vida, Pão, Vacina e Educação](#)' (Life, Bread, Vaccine and Education) in partnership with higher education student unions (UNE) and of postgraduates (AEPG) managed to merge traditional demands with claims for social justice and for an adequate national vaccination policy against COVID-19 that was devastating the country. After the electoral defeat of the far-right in 2022, UBES has been defending the result from the accusations of fraud by Bolsonaro and even recently has co-organised [rallies for democracy](#) under the slogan [#DefendaADemocracia](#). The organisation has a standing on international politics as well, being part of the OCLAE (Latin American and Caribbean Confederation of Students), for example, being vocal on the need for a ceasefire in Gaza. Additionally, UBES arranged and diffused the list of events for the global call for action on [January 13, 2023](#), and shared data on [the disruption of Palestinian schools](#) to foster Solidarity (Borges et al., 2024).

Travelling to Europe, we can find a great variety of unions representing school students. Their European umbrella, the [Organising Bureau of European School Student Unions](#), plays a double role. One is as a student representative body, with assemblies and working groups directly participated in by school student leaders. The other is a nongovernmental organisation, with a board (executive political body) and a secretariat (composed of employed professional officers) involved daily in advocacy and bargaining towards the European Union and other international bodies. What effectively is an example of movement institutionalisation, reinforced for decades since the foundation in 1975, keeps elements of clear radical action with [campaigns](#) on topics beyond sectoral classifications and [projects](#) involving the unions creating an environment of transnational learning, producing tools for action and supporting the members in organising on the ground.

As previously mentioned, Italy and France are good examples of school student resistance to educational cuts and changes. To illustrate, della Porta et al. in 'Contesting Higher Education' (2020) describe how university student mobilisation was triggered by neoliberal adjustment, with a reduction of students' rights. Complementary to this, secondary school students also mobilised when similar reforms targeted their educational sector. Secondary school students, moreover, focused their protest actions on broader societal issues in

these countries, with huge protests being organised against labour market reforms in Italy (2014) and France (2016); in partnership with labour unions, secondary school students contributed to the protests of the [Yellow Vests](#).

In my activism and now in my studies, I have had the opportunity to see school student unions at work. Despite having extremely limited financial resources and facing enormous obstacles to access the mainstream media and the political debate, these unions have always produced interesting examples of well but self-organised action. A case that is worth mentioning is the [second-hand school book market](#). In multiple Italian cities every summer, the two school student unions UdS and RSM put in place this measure to fight against the high costs of textbooks and dictionaries, which are not covered by welfare measures (with limited exceptions). Occurring in schools or in friendly places, such as cultural centres, these markets see the unions selling and purchasing used books, helping families to understand which editions are still appropriate for the ones adopted in the classes and also allowing students with limited economic resources to access the needed textbooks. This grassroots action also represents an opportunity to denounce divestment on education and argue for the need of a stronger and more comprehensive social welfare.

Looking at School With Different Eyes

This overview of cases of student action can let us look at secondary schools and their students through a different lens, even though many more examples could have been added. What makes all of these pieces part of an alternative is the centrality of school student leadership. Despite not having the right to vote and being quite frequently patronised, secondary school students express clear will of participation and, when put in the right conditions, express a conscious understanding of their own agency and potential impact. The mix of participation and structure enables these organisations to spread in their contexts, tackle different tasks and keep radical goals and objectives, maintaining high competence related to their own constituency without renouncing broader societal and political goals. The examples taken from the academic literature of the past few decades and the more recent ones discussed in the present paper are also evidence of great transformative potential of organised school students. I believe that these should be more commonly thematised and analysed, not just put at the side of other movements or actors that are more frequently object of research and public debate.

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