

12-2017

The Vanguard of Racially Reconstituting Higher Education Black Student Campus Activism: #STANDwithUs!

Marcellus James Davis

St. Cloud State University, drmarcellusdavis@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.stcloudstate.edu/hied_etds



Part of the [Higher Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Davis, Marcellus James, "The Vanguard of Racially Reconstituting Higher Education Black Student Campus Activism: #STANDwithUs!" (2017). *Culminating Projects in Higher Education Administration*. 21.
https://repository.stcloudstate.edu/hied_etds/21

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Educational Leadership and Higher Education at theRepository at St. Cloud State. It has been accepted for inclusion in Culminating Projects in Higher Education Administration by an authorized administrator of theRepository at St. Cloud State. For more information, please contact rswexelbaum@stcloudstate.edu.

The Vanguard of Racially Reconstituting Higher Education

Black Student Campus Activism: #StandwithUs!

by

Marcellus Davis

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

St. Cloud State University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

December, 2017

Dissertation Committee:
Steven L. McCullar, Chairperson
Michael R. Mills
Semya M. Hakim
Tamrat Tademe

Abstract

This study researched the current role of black student campus activism in a Midwestern, predominantly white institution (PWI). The researcher employed Critical Race Theory (CRT) framework and qualitative methodology to amalgamate 10 black student narratives about their participation or nonparticipation in Black Student Campus Activism (BSCA). The researcher found that BSCA is active at this PWI, as it shows up in various forms, such as sit-ins, teaching and awareness of peers, social media organizing, and participation in the campuses black student organizations. The development of black students' racial identities and critical racial-consciousness development (or being "woke") enhanced participants involvement in BSCA. Black oppression on and off campus nationally triggered BSCA, as well as everyday racism and pro-Trump political hate speech. Fear of campus administration by expulsion, legality, students' fear of their names being associated to BSCA, and interfering with future career opportunities were impediments to BSCA. While this dissertation provides critical insight about being Black in predominantly white spaces of higher learning, it also provides imperative suggestions on ways to create racially-equitable campuses for all students, in particular, black students.

Acknowledgement/Dedication

Throughout this process, I have often had to draw upon the strength, knowledge and wisdom, and support from individuals whom love and believe me. This body of work is dedicated to my ancestors, my loved ones, Pan Africans, Black students, Black struggle, Black resistance, and Black Liberation. I am a byproduct of the sacrifice of my ancestors, elders, and family members. With the highest level of gratitude, I honor you with this body of work.

To my mother Teri Davis Franklin, I would not be than man I am without your continued sacrifice. Your tireless work ethic has been instilled into me, and your commitment to serving others has been instilled into me. I literally and figuratively would be nothing without you. Mom, I love you, and I thank you for your unconditional love of me.

To all my Clay, Coleman, Davis, Davies, Hughes, Sublett, Robinson, and Tyus family members, I thank you for the support you all provided me in completing this dissertation. From babysitting my children, fixing and maintaining my home, or just providing words of continued encouragement. Again, I thank you.

To my brothers Marlon, Chad, and Kaliq, I'm finally done, and your patience and understanding for my distance during this journey is much appreciated. North High Brothers transforming the world.

To my mentor's Alex, Brother Kenneth, and Harry, your continued guidance and patience with my revolutionary thought and growth has been much appreciated. Your insight and direction to helping complete this process was necessary. To the Abdur Salaam family, I thank you for the continued reminder of accomplishing this task, paying attention to home and self-care. Lastly, my sister and brother Vanessa and Jonathan, your scholarly support and insight to the completion of this dissertation has been greatly appreciated. Tag, you all our next.

I want to affirm my dissertation committee, Dr. Hakim, Dr. Tademe, Dr. Mills, and Dr. McCullar. Thank you for the guidance throughout this journey. I want to provide affirmation for lifelong pillars of support. I still love her; Hip-hop has been a huge influence in my intellectual growth. Black studies, Black scholars, Black history, and elders have helped in my development of knowledge of self, and my African critical consciousness. 612 has been the place I have called home for over years. I represent 612 to the fullest. Thandi, Sadiq, Syra, Shelby, and Anthony, your regular check-ins held me accountable to completing my goal. Lastly, I want to thank my cohort 3 members and Corey for encouraging me throughout this process. Dr. Davis and Dr. Roan, you all assured me that your brother would complete this process, and I thank you all for this.

To Mama Freedom, Ms. Bland, Queen Quet, Dr. Degruy, and Dr. Dennis, when this process got rough, I drew upon your commitment to black people, and your continued fight for freedom to get me through this process. I am the extension of your work for Black liberation. I will continue the work you and many others started before me. Lastly, thank you Dr. Kendi, you opened up my eyes to the under researched area of Black Campus Movement. I intend to keep adding to the scarce scholarly research of Black college students whom participate in Black student campus activism.

All the Black students, and Black student organizations that participated in this study, I thank you. Without you, this body of work could not have come to fruition. Your insight, your truth telling, and your commitment to Black student campus activism is shared in the forthcoming pages to the world for change. Continue to demand, continue to be African/Black, and continue to challenge the oppression present on higher education campuses and in society.

Lastly, I want to thank the people whom have been most directly affected by my absence over the last 7 years. My queen Keisha, my princess Khamarei, my prince Justus, and my Prince Naszir. I thank you for your willingness to allow me the space and time to be able to complete this seven year body of work. Throughout this process, all of my children were born, and my Queen was the major pillar of support providing me encouragement to complete this process. While my studies have often pulled me away from you, we have endured this strenuous process as a stronger family because of it. Our sacrifice, your sacrifice for me will benefit us. My love for you all is infinite, and I don't have enough words in my vocabulary to express this. Thank you, for your unwavering support and commitment to me. Your daddy, husband is all yours again. I'm eager to watch our family grow.

This body of work is dedicated to the memories of Joyce Coleman, Grandma Louise, Grandma Betty, and Grandpa Tracy. I love you and miss you all.

Table of Contents

	Page
List of Table	9
Chapter	
1. Introduction	10
Purpose and Significance of the Study	16
Statement of the Problem	17
Description and Scope of the Research	18
Research Questions	21
Conclusion	21
2. Literature Review	23
American Higher Education Student Activism in the 1700-2016	23
Factors Influencing Individual Participation in Activism and Social Movements	29
Black Student Development and Student Development Theories	32
Campus Climate for Black Students Attending Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)	35
African American/Black Students Campus Activism	36
Critical Race Theory & Critical Race Theory in Education, and Critical Race Theory as a Methodology.....	42
Summary	47
3. Methodology	48
Data Sources and Collection Methods	49

	7
Chapter	Page
Research Design	49
Population/Sample	50
Analysis	52
Human Subject Approval	54
Summary	54
4. Findings	55
Themes	57
Fear	65
Black Racial Identity Formation.....	71
Black Students' Campus Activism Forms of Resistance.....	78
Summary	82
5. Discussion	84
Discussion	85
Emergent Themes	85
Limitations	93
Implications for Research	94
Implications for Theory	96
Implications for Practice	97
Conclusion	99
References	101
Appendices	
A. IRB Approval Form	113

Chapter	Page
B. Consent Form	114
C. Interview Guide	119
D. Participant Interview Receipt of Payment	124
E. Procedures and Timeline	125

List of Table

Table	Page
1. Participant Demographics	57

Chapter 1: Introduction

Dubois (1903) wrote about two emergent themes which have transcended time through the 21st century—the color line and the concept of double consciousness for the Negro. Both of these concepts are applicable to what this study defines as Black Student Campus Activism (BSCA). Dubois stated, “The problem of the twenty first century is the problem of the color line.” In which, he is stating that the Black-White Divide (binary) is holding back both races and destroying the possibilities of humanity within society. The concept of double consciousness is the idea of always having two identities. For black Americans, it is the identity of being American in a space that has always tried to deny one’s existence or membership to this country. Dubois (1903) stated:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife- this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He does not wish to Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He wouldn’t bleach his Negro blood in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face. (pp. 2-3)

These two concepts are correlated to the spirit of BSCA; black students who wish to be parts of American higher education and American Society, both whom appear on the surface to want them, but historically and presently have demonstrated acts of metaphoric violence to black students on campus (policies that do not protect black students from campus racism, lack of faculty, low graduation rates, poorly-funded multicultural services, and a lack of African American studies on many campuses nationwide).

Grier and Cobbs (1968) explained that many blacks are in search of a better understanding of their environments or societies before they can fully understand themselves and their positions within their environments or society. Most black people have come to the realization that only when both are understood that the possibilities of changing either can happen. This is a central point to BCSA. When black students become more conscious about their society (on-off campus communities, country, world, etc.), their intolerance for the oppressive state will not be tolerated.

Rogers (2012b) described the Black Campus Movement (BCM) and the past 40 years since the height of the work of 1965 to 1972:

Forty years have passed since the demise of the Black Campus Movement. Has the knife been fully removed? The BCM pulled out the knife several inches. The new ideals, the new racial constitution gave higher education tools to fully extract the knife and heal the wounds inflicted by one hundred years of whiteness, and ladder altruism. Forty years have passed since the demise of the BCM. Has the knife been fully removed? Have the wounds healed? Higher education racially advanced? Are we making progress? (p.161)

He emphasized that BCM created new contradictions to the racial constitution of higher education; the use of new ideals, supposedly to eliminate the old. This study sought to understand the phenomena of Black Student Campus Activism in 2016. Has there been a resurgence of BSCA? Has it been dormant? What does it look like in 2016? These are some of the questions that need to be understood to add scholarly research to the higher education community in commitment to enhancing Pan African students' learning experiences, as well as all students and staff on campus who will graduate to lead, develop, and influence the United States, as well as the world (Rogers, 2012b).

College campuses have been home to some of the most important black student activism that the world has seen. In particular, the United States has changed race relations, oppression, and societal issues perplexing society, in particular, black communities and college campuses or institutions. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense emerged out of Merritt College campus meetings. Students Joseph McNeil, Franklin McCain, Billy Smith, and Clarence Henderson attended North Carolina AT&T and staged a famous sit-in at Woolworths in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Stokely Carmichael (known as Kwame Toure), one of the country's foremost innovative minds on the ideology of Black Power, was a part of the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC was one of the most influential groups to help push the U.S. government for civil rights. They worked side-by-side with Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Committee (SCLC), who organized and strategized on and off college campuses throughout the country. Lastly, the Congress on Racial Equality, John Lewis, and a host of college students got together to create the Freedom Riders bus tour to agitate and expose laws of the most vicious discriminatory laws of the South in an effort to expedite change. The duality of the black college activist on and off campus has long been

discussed. The Talented 10th was a concept developed by W. E. B. Dubois that stated the top 10% of black students would go off to college and return to cultivate the teachings of higher education institutions into the black communities to germinate groups of accomplished, educated black residents; an idea that leads to the idea that all should give back to the community in which you came from (Rogers, 2012b).

Garza (2016) clarified that in recent years, there have been numerous murders of black people in the U.S., many due to the systems of white supremacy (political, judicial, law enforcement [officers], educational, unemployment, and the prison-industrial complex that receives slave labor from incarcerated prisoners). There are more recent data which supports the development of why Black Lives Matter (BLM) has come to fruition in the U.S. It argues that black lives/people/human beings do not matter on the very land in which they have been fundamental contributors economically, culturally, and intellectually, making the country a super power. Garza further explained that Patrisse Cullors, Opal, Tometii, and two unnamed sisters of hers started Black Lives Matter as a call to action after the murder of Trayvon Martin and the subsequent trial which put the 17-year-old child on trial for his own murder, while George Zimmerman was not held accountable for his actions of the crime he committed. It was also a response to the anti-Black racism that permeates America.

Garza further elucidated that Black Lives Matters is an ideological and political intervention in a world where black lives are systematically and internally targeted. It is an affirmation of Blacks' contributions to this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression. It illustrates the value of black activism triggered by the events that happen in contemporary society (religious settings, political platforms, the streets, college campuses, and k-12 classrooms) and calls to action via social media those transcended racial/ethnic groups,

geographical locations, and institutions. It is a wakeup call to America that demands better systems for its citizens, in particular, black people, to provide the promises made by the “founding fathers” included in the Declaration of Independence and the Bills of Rights.

Collins (2013) argued that higher education trained her to wield the language of power to serve the interest of the gatekeepers who granted her legitimacy. She argued that her professors would have never believed that she would use her teachings to fight against what she learned. She explained that power claims to monopolize the truth and higher education provided her with truth designed to debate the more powerful who have co-opted the truth, thus, any form of diverse thinking through ridicule and perjury. Rogers (2012a) revealed that on February 13, 1969, higher education campuses in the U.S. saw a nationwide movement towards BSCA. San Francisco University, University of Wisconsin, Duke University, City College of New York, and Mississippi State University were some of the participating institutions spanning all the regions of the country: West coast, South, Midwest, East coast, the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Predominately White Institutions (PWIs), public and private institutions, and community colleges and universities. Black students led campus takeovers that articulated the frustrations of internal and external treatment of black people and students. Lists of demands ranged from the development of cultural centers, the hiring of more black faculty, increased financial support for black students, institutional support for the eradication of racist policies and practices in and out of classrooms on campuses, the ability to express their African heritages through clothing without reprimand, and no paternalism on campus to oppress black students. Many students who participated in the Students Non-Violent Coalition Committee organized and developed community protests on campuses across the nation for civil rights (Rogers, 2012a).

Leonardo and Grubbs (2014) expounded that racism in education is a described, structured condition that many, if not most, students of color experience. Delgado (1995) argued that racism is a normal function (on a daily basis) in American society. White supremacy is ingrained into the fabrics of U.S. political, legal, and educational systems and are mostly unrecognizable to the average person. Mills (1997) stated that white supremacy is the unarmed, global political system that profoundly shaped the modern world. Despite its pervasiveness and impact, most standard textbooks of philosophy, political science, history, and education rarely mention that this domination through white supremacy is the background against which other systems are defined. Racism is a global white supremacy and is itself a political system, a particular power structure of formal and informal rule, privilege, socioeconomic advantage, and wealth and power opportunities.

Wong and Green (2016) highlighted the most recent high-profiled, student-campus activism, campus movements, campus complaints, students' lists of demands, and the most up-to-date results of student protests. At Harvard, student concerns over racial tensions on campus stemmed from portraits of black faculty faces being covered with black tape. At Missouri University, a graduate student's hunger strike prompted the black students, along with black football players refusal to participate in football games, illuminated racial tensions on campus. At Princeton University, the Black Justice League staged a 32-hour sit-in over the usage of Woodrow Wilson's name on the School of Public Policy's building. Wilson was a Princeton faculty member, as well as a U.S. President who was a devoted segregationist, someone who publicly affirmed the Klu Klux Klan, and was admittedly against the admission of African Americans at the University. They further explained that there were at least 80 documented campus movements including numerous student groups (multi-racial, gender, sexual orientation)

within the past 3 years. Most of the movements have involved BSCA which suggests that many of the campus movements have elements of racial tension on the campus of various magnitudes triggering BSCA to create lists of demands on campuses throughout the nation.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

Student activism is a global phenomenon that unites students in the call for justice and peace. It involves student engagement in the current dictates of society without leverage. Student Activism is often driven by thoughts and expressions of other liberators like Anne Frank (1947), who explained “How wonderful it is that nobody need wait a single moment before starting to improve the world.” Or like Mother Theresa (1979) when she stated the following:

At the end of life we will not be judged by how many diplomas we have received, how much money we have made, how many great things we have done. We will be judged by ‘I was hungry, and you gave me something to eat, I was naked and you clothed me. I was homeless, and you took me in.’

It is considered a passage of caring for Earth and all that is in it. As Malcolm X (1959) put it, “I’m for truth, no matter who tells it. I’m for justice, no matter who it is for or against. I’m a human being, first and foremost, and as such, I’m for whoever and whatever benefits humanity as a whole.” It is a call to be selfless and engage in what Elie Wiesel (1986) expressed by stating, “We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.”

In every decade and generation, there has been the need for people to stand up for what they believe in. Mahatma Gandhi (1914) explained it as follows:

It’s the action, not the fruit of the action, that’s important. You have to do the right thing.

It may not be in your power, may not be in your time, that there’ll be any fruit. But that

doesn't mean you stop doing the right thing. You may never know what results come from your action. But if you do nothing, there will be no result.

Hence, the purpose of this study was to determine in what forms does Black Student Campus Activism still exist; how does it operate; factors that ignite black student activism today; and what methods of activism are presently occurring today?

Statement of the Problem

In the 1960s, civil rights student movements produced empirically grounded research; there has been relatively little scholarship produced on current BSCA activities. This study addresses how black students at a predominantly white, Midwestern university define student activism today. To be able to clarify issues of student activism, Pascarella and Terenzini, (2005) explain that “very few studies examine the nature of changes among black or other non-white minority students during college or try to identify the factors that might promote (or attenuate) those changes” (p.166). They believed that current research theory and research on college student change and development appear quite clearly to assume that identity development-related characteristics and backgrounds students bring with them to college, their experiences while there, and the processes of such development are more or less uniformly the same for minority students as for white, middle-class students. Therefore, they explained that a number of studies offer rather dramatic evidence that such is not the case as black and other students of color differ from white students in a variety of personal and socioeconomic characteristics upon matriculation, and their experiences of college differ in important ways from those of their white peers (p. 166).

This study looks to add to the body of research in regards to BSCA. A challenge that has emerged in contemporary higher education is the lack of exhaustive research into the

African/black student activism at American higher education institutions. Haney-Lopez (2010) explained that the election of Barack Obama, the first African-American President has inspired many to wonder about what he called the “evaporation of race.” He described this as the social ordering of the United States, a euphoria believing all to be a “post-racial” America. As President Obama declined to lead a national conversation on race, Haney-Lopez, nonetheless, believed that the very facet of his ascendancy to the country’s most powerful position suggested that there has been a change in race relations in the United States. On the contrary, West (2014) claimed that President Obama’s ascendancy represented a large shift of African-American leaders enmeshing themselves with the political establishment. As a result, he argued that Obama’s presidency has made it harder for African-Americans to criticize U.S. policies which continue to make their lives difficult. He further lamented that “The unprecedented historical symbolism of the first Black president has misled many if not most Black people to downplay his substantial neo-liberal policies and elevate his and his family’s brilliant and charismatic presence.”

Description and Scope of the Research

Black Student Campus Activism was born in the early 1900s from three main movements. The first movement in 1920-1930s was called the New Negro Campus Movement (NNCM). This movement started as resistance to the inferior education black students were receiving at many historically black institutions. During that time, many HBCUs operated under white boards of regents, presidents, and faculty with curricula designed to keep the “Negro” in a subservient position to white America. The two main professions HBCUs produced at the time were “Teachers and Preachers.” Rogers further explained that some presidents of HBCUs had toured students around the country to perform and sing for white audiences, similar to minstrel

shows. Black students resisted the paternalistic, nefarious education and engaged in BSCA. Their desire was to set in motion better learning conditions for future black students (Rogers, 2012b).

The second wave of BSCA was during the 1930s to 1965, and this wave connected black students to the Civil Rights Movement taking place outside of college campuses. Black students were in fights against systemic forces in higher education and their own government. Many movements emerged during this period. The original bus-strike movement originated from Southern University in Louisiana and was later made popular by Rosa Parks in Alabama. The country witnessed the lunch-counter strike out of the University of North Carolina AT&T. Black students were the foot soldiers, along with many others who helped cultivate and sustain the movement.

The third and final movement was called the Black Campus Movement. This period took place from 1965-72. This was the timeframe that the connection to blackness emerged (Black is beautiful, black unity, black pride, black Love, black self-worth). This was the time when national campus protests began through students for better campus conditions. Biondi (2012) stated, “Black students organized protests on nearly two hundred college campuses across the United States in 1968 and 1969, and continued to a lesser extent into the early 1970s” (p. 1). Hall takeovers, protests, and lists of demands which included black faculty, staff, administrators, students, cultural centers, and African-American Studies departments, happened to be occurring simultaneously nationwide during this third wave of BSCA. Black students have always had to fight higher education and its traditions to become parts of it.

The connection of the 1900s to 2016 movements is strikingly similar. The date of the UC-San Diego BSCA-proposed protest of February 19, 2010, has historical connections. Almost 50 years to the day, BSCA was occurring in a similar fashion as on February 13, 1969, which

Rogers called this time the peak of BSCA. Rogers (2012b) wrote that on February 13, 1969, BSCA soared to record-level heights and was the most unruly, nationwide demonstration for the reconstitution of higher education. BSCA was occurring on the campuses of UW-Madison, Duke University, University of Illinois, UC-Berkley, San Francisco State, Roosevelt University, City College, and Mississippi Valley State. It is ironic that in the year 2016, black students were engaging in BSCA on multiple campuses in a call for a reconstitution of higher education. As the famous poet Scott-Heron (1972) wrote, "Change is overdue." He characterized the fantasies of the American Dream that are now recognized by black people as hoaxes and people are tired of trying to become a part of something that deprives them of the necessities of life, even after years of bogus study in preparation for this union. He explained that a college diploma is not a ticket on the Freedom Train. It is, at best, an opportunity to learn more about the systems which control life through opportunity to cut through the hypocrisy and illusion that America represents. This is very reminiscent of the 1965-1972 Black Campus Movement participants that stood grounded in establishing and affirming a black identity connecting them to Pan-African roots and denying the white oppressor identity forced upon them.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) was used as the theory of study to examine racial issues in education. When examining policies that govern American higher education or societal issues, CRT allows the space to ponder what role race has had in any particular situation, especially when looking at campus climate for black students attending a predominantly white institution (PWI). Taylor, Gillborn, and Ladson-Billings (2009) explained CRT as something scholars believe can be used for racial analysis to deepen understanding of the educational barriers for people of color, as well as exploring how these barriers are resisted and overcome (p. 9). CRT can be applied to give critical analysis and examination of students of color experiences and

allows for race to be at the crux of conversations—analyses with no apologies or tiptoeing around the conversations.

Research Questions

The study addresses the following research questions:

1. To what extent have the recent events of Black Student Campus Activism across America impacted BSCA on a predominately white institution in the Midwest?
2. What are the motivations or triggers of BSCA at a predominately white institution in the Midwest?
3. What are the different variations of BSCA in 2016?
4. What are contributing factors that impede BSCA at a predominately white institution in the Midwest?

It seeks to establish whether or not Black Student Campus Activism still exists; if so, how it has changed, factors that ignite BSCA today, and what methods of activism are presently occurring today.

Conclusion

Student activism is the struggle of students in defense of their interests and their participation in political struggles, in general. It is a phenomenon that unites students in the call for justice and peace. BSCA is a phenomenon that has historically scarce research, and BSCA research can add adequate information to black students' higher education experiences. Critical Race Theory was used for leading this discourse and it is used as the crux of the conversations.

Chapter 2 will provide a review of literature, which emphasizes student activism from a historical perspective, factors which influence individual student activism, black student development theories, campus climate for black students at predominantly white institutions,

African-American/black student activism, and Critical Race Theory. The purpose is to emphasize the historical presence of black student activism at PWIs. This chapter reviews and examine the development, growth, and implications of black student activism in the United States.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

American Higher Education Student Activism in the 1700-2016

To create an element of authenticity to this literature review, it behooves the reader to understand that research in the area of black student campus activism is scarce and is a relatively new researched phenomenon. Much that has been written about student activism has mainly focused on white students' activism, and when written about black students, the literature has been written through a white lens that speaks to white student activism. In order to gain perspective, the researcher, at times, will provide the racial identity of groups mentioned within the literature review for greater clarity for the reader.

Student activism has been an integral part of American higher education. Activism cannot be ignored in academia because institutions struggle with the difficult tasks of living with it, and at the same time, understanding the experiences it brings. To better understand activism in America, the past and the future, as well as the present, must be critically examined. To unravel such truth, student unrest must be examined in relation to its history in America, the causes of student unrest, the actors in such unrest, and the freedoms and responsibilities students enjoy because of such unrest (Ellsworth & Burns, 1970).

Historians described the 1940s and '50s as a periods of apathy for college campuses, similar to the description of the 1920s, the period before the 1930s student movement (Kerpelman, 1972; Obear, 1970; Rhoads, 1998). Students in the 1950s were "career-oriented, politically conservative, and uninvolved in social issues" (Braungart & Braungart, 1990, p. 96). In the 1960s, students began to actively respond to the current issues of the Civil Rights Movement, free speech, and the threat of expanding the Vietnam War (Braungart & Braungart, 1991; Kerr, 1970; Rhoads, 1998).

During the 1960s, there was increased access to higher education for white men brought about by the G.I. Bill (Foley & Foley, 1969; Heineman, 2001; Kerr, 1970; Laufer & Light, 1977). The increase in access to higher education meant not only that students had an increased opportunity to attend college, but also to engage with a more socio-economically diverse white student body. Students also had more opportunities to become members of multiple student cultural communities and organizations within their universities. Colleges and universities became centers where students could meet and exchange ideas. Students were encouraged to question established beliefs and seek meaningful professions (Kerr, 1970). They found their parents and churches more permissive than those of previous generations, and peers took on more importance in their development of beliefs and values (Kerr, 1970). Indicative of this newfound freedom was the dismantling of “in loco parentis” during this time, both legally and as a matter of tradition.

The student protests of the 1960s began with the black civil rights movement (Laufer & Light, 1977). Student activism began with the first model of American higher education—Harvard. In 1639, the first students at Harvard expressed their dissatisfaction over the discipline of their “master,” Nathaniel Eaton, and his wife’s cooking (Ellsworth & Burns, 1970). Meyer (1967) described Eaton as one with every qualification on paper for being a successful university president, but his troubles began when he used the rod more freely than college students were willing to accept. Eaton was investigated after he had beaten his assistant with a walnut cudgel, “big enough to have killed a horse,” and he was dismissed.

In the spring of 1766, another recorded rebellion occurred at Harvard because of bad butter in the commons. Student rebellion flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. As Brubacher and Rudy (1958) explained:

Nearly every college experienced student rebellion or riots, some more serious than others. In certain cases, they eventuated in broken windows and cracked furniture; in others they resulted in deaths. All involved some kind of collective action either of a class or the whole student body. This outburst could be found in all sections of the country at state universities and denominational colleges, as “godless”. Harvard and Virginia and at pious Yale and Princeton. Everywhere the atmosphere was like that of a revolutionary brawl or a violent modern strike. (p. 53)

Violence was a reoccurring part of student demonstrations due to discontentment during the early nineteenth century. Student unrest prior to 1900 was revolts primarily against the confinement of collegiate life. By the 1900s, students could look back on their accomplishments, including the establishment of debating clubs and literary societies in the 1750s, Greek-letter fraternities in the 1820s and 1830s, literary magazines in the 1830s and 1840s, sanctioning of gymnastics, boat racing, cricket matches and many other sporting events as legitimate collegiate activities between 1820 and 1860, and finally, by 1900, an elaborate system of student government. Clearly, student activism was firmly established as a means of initiating and hastening reform in American higher education (Ellsworth & Burns, 1970).

Administrative responses against students involved in disorder these times, in most cases, were severe. In an 1802 college report, President Fitch discussed the position taken at Williams College in response to student protests:

We have lately have trouble in college. The judgment we drew up and published to the classes respecting their examination in March gave offense. Three classes in succession were in the state of insurrection against the government of the college. For ten days we had a good deal of difficulty; but the faculty stood firm, and determined to give up no

right. At last without the loss of a single member, all were reduced to due obedience and subordination. (p. 85)

At Princeton, half of the student body was suspended for participating in a violent rebellion (Ellsworth & Burns, 1970). Campus culture has been shown to greatly influence student activism (Van Dyke, 1998). The history of student activism is strongly associated with incidents of student protest. It shows that campuses with a single activism incident generally have multiple protests due to activist subcultures present at these locations. Institutional culture clearly has an influence on the presence or absence, as well as amount of student activism, within a campus community.

Participation in activism can have long-term effects on students. Student activism in college tends to be more than an occurrence happening in a single and isolated period. Studies conducted on student activists of the 1960s showed that those involved in activism were more likely to remain active in their adult years (Braungart & Braungart, 1990; Cole, Zucher, & Ostrove, 1998; Fendrich, 1977; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; Franz & McClelland, 1994; Hoge & Ankeny, 1982; McAdam, 1989; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). Most student activists continue to remain active in a variety of social movements and maintained the social networks that sustained their involvement in movements (McAdam, 1989).

Despite its turbulent history, student activism and its outrage, although isolated at first, ranged from dissatisfaction with administration and outrage over bad decisions to student altercations just gone wrong. Examples included incidents like the protest at Florida State University over the Republican state politician, John Thrasher, as the University's president. Various groups staged demonstrations, including an organized march to the city center. Another was at the University of Michigan when, amid frustration over their football team's losses,

students rallied at the home of the school's president to demand that he fire the athletic director. The Florida students' protest failed to change minds at FSU, but the Michigan athletic director was quickly sent packing (Wong, 2015). Students mobilizing to get their concerns heard and met sometimes resulted in their concerns being met and sometimes it resulted in their concerns just being heard with no further action. In both circumstances, students organized to make their concerns heard to peers, staff, faculty, and administrators. There was increased emphasis on ensuring that the changes being made were sustainable, including pushing for better education funding and policy or leadership changes that engage students as decision-makers at schools.

The development of well-informed citizens has long been a goal and mission of institutions of higher education within the United States (Newman, 1985; Pascarella, Ethington, & Smart, 1988; Rudolph, 1990; Sax, 2000). At the same time, colleges and universities were criticized for the lack of attention paid to developing civically-responsible students (AACU, 2002; Boyer, 1987; Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont, & Stephens, 2003; Kellogg Commission, 1999; Newman, 1985). They responded by providing a wide range of activities, such as making curricular changes (e.g., first-year programs, service-learning classes, capstone experiences), encouraging student community service participation, and establishing administrative/academic units with outreach missions (Thomas, 2000).

Current student activism is widely based on all types of educational-setting participation that includes all races, social economic backgrounds, and political perspectives. Some students have even focused on the internal affairs (faculty, curriculum, policy, cost, and campus climate) of a specific institution and broader issues, such as racism, while others have focused on regional or national policy impact, such as campaigns against government education policies. As it has been occurring in communities at large, campus protests against racism and bigotry, along with

related types of discrimination, have become commonplace. Students at the University of Chicago hosted a campaign to raise awareness about institutional intolerance. A “Hands Up, Don’t Shoot!” walkout was staged where roughly 600 students laid down in the middle of traffic for over 4 hours—the amount of time Michael Brown’s body was left in the street after being shot. Students at numerous other colleges did the same. At least 160 student protests took place in the United States in the course of the 2014 fall semester, and the majority of them were led by black student leaders (Wong, 2015).

According to Johnston (2014), a history professor at the City University of New York who specializes in student activism:

There’s certainly something of a movement moment happening right now,” he said, pointing in part to the news media, which fuels activism by putting protests on the public’s radar. The campus environment right now has, for the past couple of years, reminded me a lot of the early- to mid-60s moment, where there was a lot of stuff happening, a lot of energy—but also a tremendous amount of disillusionment and frustration with the way that things were going in the country as a whole and on the campuses themselves.

He further stated that “A lot of the protests ... embrace national issues through the lens of campus policies.” He reiterated that “The University is big enough to matter but small enough to have an influence on. It becomes a site of organizing because there are opportunities to organize on campus that a lot of times you don’t have in an off-campus community.”

This renaissance in student activism became a new phenomenon. *The New York Times* called it “The New Student Activism” in 2012, ascribing the trend to the Occupy Movement, but

many researchers believe that this prospered because of different feelings, and triggers significant shifts in the way things are run. As Johnson (2014) pointed out:

A lot of the protests ... embrace national issues through the lens of campus policies. "The university is big enough to matter but small enough to have an influence on. It becomes a site of organizing because there are opportunities to organize on campus that a lot of times you don't have in an off-campus community.

He believed that there had been a powerful sense among student activists that the future that they were once promised was going to be taken away. He also stated that the sense of the future does not look as rosy as it was some few years ago.

Factors Influencing Individual Participation in Activism and Social Movements

Research on student activism has been centered on social justice issues in the field of sociology (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). Sociologists organized activism and the biographical consequences of involvement such as career choices, continued activism in adulthood, and political orientations. For instance, this research has consistently demonstrated that students' experiences and participation in activism continue to influence their social, economic, and political choices well into their adult lives (Rosas, 2010).

Examination of literature allows for an exploration of other factors influencing individual participation in activism and social movements. Sociologists explore how individuals are recruited into social movement participation or differential recruitment; the influence of factors, such as individual participation, in social movements (Jenkins, 1983; McAdam, 1986; Zurcher & Snow, 1981). Two of the explanations which explain protest participation are biographical availability and structural availability. Biographical availability is defined as "the absence of

personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities” (McAdam, 1986, p. 70). Structural availability refers to “the presence of interpersonal networks that facilitate recruitment to activism” (Schussman & Soule, 2005, p. 1086).

It is important here to differentiate between social movements and activism. Social movements are defined as collective or joint action, have change-oriented goals, and have some degree of organization (McAdam & Snow, 1997). The literature suggests that activism is participating in an event (protest, sit-in, boycott) and social movements are goal-oriented, collective actions that may be sustained over time versus a moment. The types of changes that movements seek to pursue requires sustained organized activity. Sociologists, interested in the process of how a group emerges and functions, have studied the emergence, recruitment, and sustainability of a social-movement group. Examples of social movements are the civil rights, anti-war, Black Lives Matter, and white power movements. While students have been involved in social movements, and this study includes individual activism in a social movement, this study did not examine activism within specific social movements.

Schussman and Soule (2005) found that young people are more likely to be involved in protests than are older individuals because young people are “more likely to be in school, unmarried, and free from obligations imposed by careers and families” (p. 1085). College students, therefore, who do not hold a job, who attend school full-time, and who live on-campus are more likely to be involved in activism. Students who attend college part-time, live off-campus, and are non-traditional, on the other hand, are less likely to be involved in activism.

In addition to being biographically available, research suggests that individuals are more likely to become part of a movement if they are involved within organizations and have strong

social networks involved in activism (McAdam, 1986; McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Paulsen, 1991). How connected an individual is to others increases the likelihood that he or she will mobilize. Specifically, the type of organization in which individuals are involved determines whether they mobilize. It is not necessarily who individuals are, but what they are a part of that determines their involvement. In their study examining the motivations of college student participation in service, Jones and Hill (2003) found that friends and peers played a significant role in influencing service participation. The students “consistently involved in college talked about volunteering with friends as fun, but also that this peer group shared values and social concerns” (p. 528).

The types of participation and activities students engaged in were influenced by the activities and participation of their peers. Connections to organizations matter for a number of reasons. Organizational involvement integrates people into activist social networks, deepens their ideological commitment to the cause, and develops an activist identity. A number of empirical studies have supported that networks matter (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam, 1986; McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Morris, 1981; Passy & Giugni, 2001; Paulsen, 1991; Snow, Zurcher, & Eckland-Olson, 1980; Walsh & Warland, 1983). For example, Morris (1981), in explaining the black, southern student sit-ins of the 1960s, found that the sit-ins were initiated through organizational and personal ties, which produced the first clusters of sit-ins in the South. For activists involved in the anti-nuclear protests, activists reported higher levels of political organizational affiliations, as well as participation in past protests (Walsh & Warland, 1983). Individuals who are also involved in a variety of political organizations are already joiners. The number of organizations that individuals belong to encourages activism because of the joining phenomenon. McAdam (1986) found that organizational participation produced feelings of

personal efficacy in their success as activists. The more active individuals were within an organization, the more likely they were to regard activism as effective and worth participating in.

The research on the types and amounts of participation of college student activists supports these findings. Student activists tend to belong to more campus activities than are non-activists (Kerpelman, 1972). This phenomenon is not surprising. Engaging in campus activities provides opportunities for students to come into contact with other students and adults who are activists, and to learn about opportunities to become involved in activism. In fact, Heffernan (1992) studied the motivations of students involved in community service and found that students self-identifying as activists mentioned the influence of faculty members, peers, and mentors as reasons for becoming activists. VanDyke (1998) also found that “institutions where students are able to maintain a greater number of connections with other students are more prone to protest activity than those institutions where students are more isolated” (p. 213). A student’s network, in which there are shared political beliefs and values, opens up the opportunity for students to come in contact with student activists who encourage their involvement.

Black Student Development and Student Development Theories

There have been several concepts and theories on African-American students in cases of student activism. These theories are presented based on research on specific groups of African Americans in society, with particular reference to higher education in some cases.

Bakari, (1997) argued that African-American students and college personnel who enroll at PWIs must understand that their racial identity will play a dominant role in determining their academic success. Black student racial identity is an important factor that leads black students’ success while attending PWIs. Ahmann, (1961) quotes James Baldwin saying that “to be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time.” As black

students become critically aware of the conditions that they are facing on and off campus, it creates rage. Grier and Cobbs (1968) define black rage as being black people living in a racist, white supremacist society and are psychologically damaged by the effects of racist oppression. Black students attending PWIs experience this rage through this definition. There are two notable African-American/black student development theory models which have been utilized to understand black students' development in higher education—Nigrescence and Afrocentric Cultural Identity.

Nigrescence Theory, or Black Identity Development, (Cross, 1991) means the process of becoming Black. The identity development model has five stages. First, “pre-encounter” is characterized by self-hating. Next, “encounter” is the beginning of the awakening of one’s mental shift into being curious about one’s black identity. The third stage is “immersion-emersion” where old identities are battling new identity formations for dominance. Fourth, “internalization” is the process where one has found their black identity and does not want to accept anything outside of this identity. Finally, “internalization–commitment” is the process where one is comfortable living in their new black identity, well beyond the pre-encounter stage.

Asante (1991) described the Afrocentric Cultural Identity model as phenomenon that is described from the viewpoint of African people, thus, it is methodology. It is also defined as a thought process rooted in the interest of African people and a life orientation. Afrocentric Cultural Identity model encourages African students understand the African cultural values, morals, traditions, and to connect with the ancestors’ struggle for the current-day presence. Lastly, this reclaiming and reconnection with their African cultures creates power by having knowledge of self. There are five stages to the model that include the following: skin

recognition, environment recognition, personality awareness, interest concerns, and Afrocentric awareness.

Research has shown that there is a correlation between the degree of a student's involvement on campus and cognitive and affective development (Astin, 1984). Research with a national sample that included 82 outcome measures found that the strongest source of this development is the student's peer group. The nature of those groups and the amount of interaction within them has the potential to greatly influence a student's involvement on campus, leading to significant development in virtually all aspects of a student's experience. This study also identified non-involvement, such as being a part-time or commuter student, watching television, working an off-campus job, or working full-time as having a negative effects on this development (Astin, 1996).

Astin (1996) also linked positive peer group interaction with the likelihood a student engages in community service work and volunteerism, which are significant aspects of active citizenship. "Some of the specific forms of student interactions that have positive effects on volunteer participation include participation in religious activities, involvement in campus activism, and socializing with members of different ethnic groups" (p. 130). It is also clear that faculty strongly committed to social change do well in influencing their students to become involved in community service activities.

Chambers and Phelps (1993) associated student activism to student leadership. The key component connecting leadership and activism is the longing and action for change. In order for such change to be sustainable, it must be based in morality with a system-wide purpose (Fullan, 2005). Instead of being threatened by activism and dissent, administrative responses have been to recognize and design learning outcomes for these types of student engagements for the benefit of

the campus community (Biddix, Somers, & Polman, 2009). According to Quayle (2007), there are three learning outcomes of student activism in this generation: “appreciation of differences, cultivation of students’ voices, and connection to global society” (p. 3). He believed that colleges should encourage student activism to foster hope and student learning in this age of cynicism. In order to move past cynicism or relativism, higher education has the potential to move students “from naiveté through skepticism to commitment” (Parks Daloz, Keen, Keen, & Daloz Parks, 1996, p. 223).

The outcomes of activism identified are organized around the factual significances of participation such as career choices, continued activism in adulthood, and political orientations. While the research in sociology does not neatly package the long-term effects into easily identifiable learning outcomes, it does point to gains made along a variety of learning domains. For instance, sociological research has consistently demonstrated that students’ experiences and participation in activism continue to influence their social, economic, and political choices well into their adult lives. Research on the post-college impact of student activism have focused on the student activists of the 1960s, when students voiced their concerns on a number of issues, such as the Civil Rights Movement, free speech, and anti-Vietnam protests. Some studies were longitudinal, following student activists in the years after college and examined the effects of activism through different phases of their lives.

Campus Climate for Black Students Attending Predominantly White Institutions (PWI’s)

The experience of black students attending PWIs differs from that of the white peers. In order to change this reality, leaders of PWIs and student affairs professionals need to intentionally examine their racial climates on campus to determine factors that desegregate their campuses, reduce racial hostility, and create racially inclusive environment (Karkouti, 2016).

Theelin (2004) stated that PWIs have a history of exclusionary practices and limited access opportunities for students of color, suggesting that white students account for the majority of the student body. Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998) argued that PWIs provide limited opportunities for cross racial interactions and, thus, PWIs should consider increasing opportunities, cross racial interactions to increase students educational experience, learning outcomes, retention rates, and promote racially inclusive environment. Harper and Hurtado, (2007) found that students attending PWIs were more satisfied with the social environment than their Black, Asian, Latino, and Native American peers. The white students were unfamiliar with how their peers of color felt about their institutions. Students of color, in general, and black students specifically, who attend PWIs, experience racial stress.

Friess-Britt and Turner (2001) concluded from their research with 15 black students attending PWIs that they experienced daily challenges through peers and faculty questioning their academic capabilities. The theme of racial stereotypes for black students emerged through the research. These stereotypes lead to deterioration of students' academic sense of self-leading to a decreased academic performance.

African American/Black Students Campus Activism

Historically, ongoing campaigns to abolish legalized racial segregation in the United States and the non-violent direct-action protest strategy by students, both black and white, in colleges and universities is considered a significant innovation. College students in the South were ready to put their lives on the line for the cause of social justice. The student sit-ins and the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) represented a turning point and historical marker in the evolution of civil right movements in the United States. Then, there was a slight shift in the 1960s from civil rights to black power. With the emergence of the

Black Power Movement came a significant challenge to not only nonviolent strategies, but also a change in the representation of the ideology for African-American students (Franklin, 2003).

Rogers (2012a) argued that throughout the history of the Black Campus Movement, students fought against four main elements; moralized contraption, standardization of exclusion, normalized mask of whiteness, and ladder altruism. Moralized contraption is the assimilation of black students at historically black colleges and universities. This included policies of paternalism that restricted the freedom of students. Standardization of exclusion is the negating of Blacks to gain positions of power in higher education and the prohibiting of African-American Studies curricula within higher education. Normalized mask of Whiteness is the practice of maintaining white superiority and disapproving of non-Eurocentric scholarship. The final theme, Ladder of altruism, is the concept that states that by black students getting college degrees, their current condition in society would change.

The conceptualization of black power not only created a new and exciting era for black student activism, but also intensified it. In 1966, SNCC was transformed into a black-power organization with the surfacing of Stokely Carmichael as its leader, who inspired students to challenge institutional racism. At Cornell, students founded the Afro-American Society “to initiate and support programs which are devoted to the eradication of the social, economic, and psychological conditions which blight black people” (Downs 1999, p. 62). As Edwards (1970) explained, “The schools no longer were merely bases of operations and recruitment ... Now they had become the main battlegrounds in the struggle” (p. 62).

Black campus activism reached its pinnacle in reaction to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968. His death, more than any other historical incident, gave life to Black Civil Engagement and the need for African-American Studies at colleges and universities.

While many cities burned, legions of black students formed Black Student Unions (BSUs), requested, demanded, and/or protested throughout the country, including on campuses like Carthage College, Wellesley, Harvard, Colgate, Fayetteville State, and Tuskegee, where the entire student body was expelled and forced to reapply after students took the president and trustees hostage (Brisbane, 1974; Hill, 2006; Martin, 2004; Rogers, 2009a, b; Trotter, 2001). In the weeks after King's death, many administrators, including those at San Fernando Valley State, University of Nevada, and Princeton, introduced Black Studies courses or committees to launch programs, trying to dodge student activism. In late April, 1968, a crippling blow hit Columbia when black students famously occupied Hamilton Hall (as Whites controlled other buildings) to block the school from building a gym in adjoining Harlem Park. This protest, though not initially for Black Studies, galvanized the spirit of black campus activism and carried the three-year-old Black Campus Movement into the mainstream of American consciousness.

In January, 1969, black campus activists all over the nation were demanding, and usually winning, measures to make their education more relevant. With every victory, threats from the opposition intensified. State legislatures talked about or instituted laws to curb student activism (Rogers 2012b); Roy Wilkins, the major black antagonist of the Black Campus Movement, declared the NAACP would sue any institution that established "autonomous racial schools within colleges and universities." Roy Innis, the national director of CORE, called Wilkins' threat "the last straw," and pledged to commit his organization's resources to "defend and safeguard the students in their demands" (Burks, 1969, p. 25; Scully, 1969, p. 1). Nathan Hare continued the defense of the movement in *Newsweek* in February, 1969. In examining the "Black mood on campus," Hare and Wilkins made the case for and against separatism, respectively. "Our cries for more black professors and black students have padded white colleges with more

blacks in 2 years than decades of whimpering for ‘integration’ ever did,” Hare wrote. He further called for Black Studies programs that are “revolutionary and nationalist” because if they are not, then they are “quite profoundly irrelevant” (Hare 1969, p. 56). Wilkins (1969) said he sympathized with the students, but “in demanding black Jim Crow studies ... they are opening the door to a dungeon” (p. 57).

February 13, 1969, proved to be the most intense day of the Black Campus Movement, as demonstrations occurred in almost every region in the United States. Diversity Thursday, as it was called, forced Black Studies into higher education. Students demanded and/or protested for Black Studies at San Francisco State and UC-Berkeley through student strikes. At the University of Illinois, City College, Duke, Roosevelt, and Mississippi Valley State, the striking student bodies was expelled (Dyer, 1990; Kornberg & Smith, 1969; Rogers, 2009a, b, p. 189; Williamson, 2003, 2008). Black campus activism persisted during the rest of February, 1969, at schools like Wiley College, as students charged into the administration building, took hostages, and surrounded it. Seeking to avoid disruptions, Central Missouri State instituted two black history courses, while Stony Brook and Hunter both granted their students autonomous departments and significant roles in their creation. The need for autonomy was central because, according to Stony Brook student leader Calvin Canton, “A program for black [people] cannot be run by people who have oppressed us” (Cook, 1992; Rogers 2009a, b, p. 192).

The eyes of the nation were fixed on Cornell in late April, 1969, when pictures were plastered on newspapers showing black students exiting a building that they had occupied with guns. They not only grabbed the attention of the nation with their weapons, but also, that their university officials established an autonomous Black Studies department after the protest (Downs, 1999). Just as had been the case the previous April when King was assassinated, black

campus activists were further emboldened by the reports coming out of Cornell. Yet, unlike the situation following King's death, the academy did not grow more sympathetic towards the movement due to fear of additional violence; black students did not care. Cornell's protest sparked an explosion of violent protests. Using weapons, black and Puerto Rican students gained control of the entire south campus of City College and closed it for 14 days—the longest campus closure of the Black Campus Movement at a white college (Dyer, 1990; Foley & Foley, 1969).

The Black Campus Movement thus began its descent, even as new black universities with Black Studies curricula, such as Malcolm X Liberation University and Nairobi College, ascended. Black campus activists did demand programs and classes at smaller colleges like Central Connecticut State, Akron, Fisk, and Vassar—schools that were just achieving a critical mass of black students—as well as on larger Midwestern campuses such as The University of Wisconsin. Administrators tended to quickly arrest protestors, implementing a new, hard line against black campus activists (Rogers 2009a, 2009b). In 1970, the decline of the movement continued, specifically as the off-campus jailing and killing of black-power leaders garnered students' attention. Also, in February, 1970, about 200 black students from five area institutions staged an occupation of four major buildings at Amherst College calling for “the right to determine our own programs, policies, and directions” (Cohodas 1997; Palcic, 1979; Rogers 2009a, 2009b, pp. 298-299). Mississippi Valley State students, in their campaign for more black courses, welcomed Fannie Lou Hamer to speak in early February, 1970. She passionately attacked the school's president. “I've seen some of the world's greatest Toms in service, but this man must be a Nuclear Tom,” she implored. Still sizzling from Hamer's fiery speech, students boycotted classes the next day and on February 11, and staged a march on campus in which 896 marchers were arrested—the largest mass arrest in higher education history. The Mississippi

repression escalated in May, 1970, with the killing of two Jackson State protestors by police, spawning a tidal wave of disruptive activism across higher education (Spofford, 1988; Williamson, 2008, pp. 140-141).

Even though its initial steps were not idyllic, the discipline was successfully established and black student activism had to be positioned at the center of the creation of Black Studies. Several black students died, hundreds more were injured and imprisoned, thousands were suspended and expelled, tens of thousands sacrificed their education through waging protests, and hundreds of thousands of black students participated in the protracted freedom fight—the national Black Campus Movement that compelled the diversification of higher education (Rogers, 2012b).

Quinney (2014) argued that black students campus activism of yesterday has provided the stage for black student activism today. Students reconstituted higher education by way of policy changes, increased recruitment, retention of black students and faculty, and multi-racial curriculum inclusion. Untenable racial campus climates, low retention and graduation rates, limited black faculty and support staff, and isolation and marginalization of black students are still impacting higher education. Aggregating those scarcely researched narratives or data points and bringing them to the forefront of the scholarly community is the rationale which creates better understanding of the purpose and need of Black Student Campus Activism, and the lived experiences of black students create opportunities and conversations that otherwise go unaddressed regarding concerns of black students within higher education.

Last, Black Student Campus Activism exposes the imperfection of higher education and it allows for the demonstration of new knowledge and the intellectual fervor for a liberating knowledge by black students. Black students do not want to be assimilated; rather, they are

seeking acculturation into higher education through the democratic practice of activism (Quinney, 2014).

Critical Race Theory & Critical Race Theory in Education, and Critical Race Theory as a Methodology

The Critical Race Theory (CRT) movement is a collection of scholars and activists interested in studying, dismantling, and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). This scholarly work continues the work of the Civil Rights Movement and ethnic studies, but it has a broader scope that includes context, history, economic feeling, and the unconscious (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The origins of the CRT movement began in legal studies, but it spread creating an interdisciplinary movement that includes history, political science, economics, gender studies, and education. Derrick Bell, Alan Freidman, and Richard Delgado are noted as some of the early scholars of this theoretical framework. After watching the stalling of the Civil Rights Movement and its efforts, it was felt that new approaches to moving the work was necessary, thus, CRT emerged.

Dr. Bell also believed in what he calls the permanence of racism. Bell argues that racism is as American as apple pie, and it is embedded into the infrastructure of the United States (policies, laws, regulations, institutions, media, religious institutions, housing, education, and banking, to name some), and it is an organism that affects all; it is in the air we breathe. Bell (1992) shared his thoughts about the permanence of racism:

I realize that even with the challenge to rethinking these stories pose, many people will find it difficult to embrace my assumption that racism is a permanent component of American life. Mesmerized by the racial equality syndrome, they are too easily reassured by simple admonitions to “stay on course,” which come far too easily from those—black

and white—who are not on the deprived end of the economic chasm between blacks and whites.

The goal of racial equality is, while comforting to many whites, more illusory than real for blacks. For too long, we have worked for substantive reform, then settled for weakly worded and poorly enforced legislation, indeterminate judicial decisions, token government positions, even holidays. I repeat. If we are to seek new goals for our struggles, we must first reassess the worth of the racial assumptions on which, without careful thought, we have presumed too much and relied on too long. (p. 13)

Core tenets of CRT. CRT has some core tenets. Racism is ordinary. It is as normal as the air one breathes. Race is a socially-constructed phenomenon and there is no biological purpose for race. White over color serves material and psychic purpose or white skin is perceived superior over darker skin. Another tenet akin to this study is the experiential knowledge also known as counter storytelling. This allows for people of color to tell and create their own narratives to combat the dominant narratives that have been created by white society for them (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). The following paragraphs will expound in greater depth about some of the core tenets of CRT.

As aforementioned above, CRT scholars believe that there is no biological purpose for race, and that it is a socially constructed. With this social construction, there is a racial hierarchy that creates racial division and that white supremacy is the following function. Delgado argued:

By white supremacy I do not mean to allude only to the self-conscious racism white supremacist hate groups. I refer instead to a political, economic, and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material sources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of

white dominance and non-white subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings. (Ansley, 1997, p. 592)

Revisionist history is the process of examining America's history through the narratives and interpretations of people of color through historical times. This interpretation of America's history confronts that dominant view of the depiction of America's history and unearths things covered up by the dominant depiction of the formation of America (Delgado & Stefaniec, 2001).

Delgado and Stefaniec (2001) stated that interest convergence (IC) is core tenet of CRT. IC is the convergence of interest for self-gratification. Dr. Bell wrote in a Harvard Law Review Journal that the decision of Brown vs. Board of Education of 1954 was not down for the moral reasons of "let's desegregate schools because it's the right thing to do," rather, the decision was made because America at the time had an image problem worldwide (having just ended World War II, and America was currently locked in the Cold War, and it needed to make strides to project positive image a of upward mobility). Interest convergence is the convergence of interest for self-interest, not for morality.

Critique of liberalism attacks liberal's colorblindness and neutral principles of constitutional law (Delgado & Stefaniec, 2001). The notion that race does not exist or colorblind ideologies cannot be focused on in anything other the most extreme undeniable cases of racism is something that CRT scholarship is adamantly against. Incrementalism and gradualism is not drastic, transformative, radical change that combats white supremacy and racism, and is required to stop oppressive systems from inflicting pain on human kind, in particular, people of color. Delgado and Stefaniec expounded on this:

Critical Race Theorist (or "crits", as they are sometimes called) hold that color blindness will allow us to redress inly extremely egregious racial harms, ones that everyone would

notice and condemn. But if racism is embedded in our thought process and social structures as society the routines, practices, and institutions that we rely on to effect the world's work will keep minorities in subordinate positions. Only aggressive, color-conscious efforts to change the way things are will do much to ameliorate misery. (p. 22)

Experiential knowledge or story telling is also referred to as the "voice" (Delgado & Stefaniec. 2001). This tenet states that the experiences of people of color have to be considered. People of color have experienced racism to different degrees than Whites, and their stories have to be validated in courts of law and public opinion, as they are experts in the experiences of racism. Counter-storytelling dealing is a form resistance to dominant narratives that often negatively portray people of color. These counter narratives are ways to create new narratives that are positively centered around people of color by people of color.

Intersectionality is the concept that a person of color may be experiencing more than one form of oppression. For example, a Latina lesbian could be facing three different forms of oppression.

Essentialism and anti-essentialism is racially oppressed groups needing differing forms or strategies for social change which will be necessary to achieve the transformation. Delgado and Stefaniec (2001) stated, "When groups organizes for social change, it must have a clear concept of what it is fighting to achieve. Essentialism, then entails a search for the proper unit, or atom, for social change."

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) introduced the world to the emergence of CRT into the field of education citing that race is still a factor in inequities in America, and that society is based on property rights rather than human rights. They lamented the intersection of race and property as a foundational construct in understanding CRT in the field of education. Leonardo

and Grubb (2014) argued that racism in education is a structured condition that many, if not all, students of color will be exposed to throughout their education. American Studies of Higher Education (2015) reports:

We believe critical race theory offers much utility for determining the “why” to the question of change. Much of the literature underscores the pervasiveness of how White superiority and its performative discourse of Whiteness is very much the cornerstone of higher education delivery. It shapes People of Color’s experiences, no matter their role. (p. 32)

CRT in education allows for the examination of school funding, assessment, tax properties, desegregation, curriculum, and teaching within education through the centrality of race. CRT in education challenges the experiences of Whites as the norm (Taylor et al., 2009). For the purpose of this study, CRT in education is the theoretical framework to capture the narrative and rich experiences of black students attending a Midwestern, predominately white institution.

Using Critical Race Theory as a methodology, Solorazono and Yosso (2002) stated that there are three types of counter-narratives and/or stories. Personal stories or narratives are typically autobiographical reflections of the author with the lens of CRT at the core of the story. The second is other people’s stories that reveal people of color experiences with racism and sexism. Dr. Shaun Harper, a critical theorist professor and researcher, recently studied the lives of African-American males from around the nation who were successful in higher education. In the article, *Niggers No More: A Critical Race Counternarrative on Black Male Students Achievement at Predominantly White College And Universities*, he wrote about the rarely heard stories of successful black males attending higher education institutions, and he shares what

strategies these young men used to become successful in their respective spaces. By doing so, he challenged the dominant discourse that black males are not successful while attending higher education institutions. The third and final type is the composite story. This type utilizes data to tell the experiences of people of color experience with racism, sexism, and classism.

Summary

As indicated in the literature review, the role of Black Student Campus Activism has evolved over the years. The role and purpose of BSCA has been predicated on the experiences of black students attending higher education and the relationship to what is happening in society to black people. A routine overt and covert irritant to the experiences of black students on and off campus has been white supremacy and racism. The literature also speaks to the racial hostility and climate of higher education campuses for black students. Furthermore, the literature also expounds on the development of black students' racial identity, and the amalgamation of these factors must be considered when examining the role of BSCA. Currently, Black Student Campus Activism is under-researched, thus, the scholarly community is missing narratives of black students engaging in BSCA. By employing the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory, in particular, CRT in education, this study seeks to provide qualitative experiential knowledge and the voices of black students to provide a rich narrative of Black Student Campus Activism. Chapter 3 will describe the methodology used to aggregate and interpret data in this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This study uses a qualitative design rooted in Critical Race Theory. This study has a central focus on race, education, and the impacts on students of color, in particular, self-identified black students. Lincoln and Denzin (2003, 2007) explained, “Qualitative research is many things to many people. Its essence is twofold: a commitment to some version of the naturalistic, interpretive approach to its subject matter and on-going critique of the politics and methods of positivism (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003, p.5).” By using qualitative research, it allows the researcher to get a glimpse into the world of the research participant, in which, this understanding helps create an opportunity to transform the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Quinney (2014) stated that the work of affirming and improving social conditions bares the potential to transform individual lives, communities, and the world. This study aggregates information from 10 black students who currently attend the institutions for this study; research participants will be in their natural setting, and through interviews will provide the investigator insight that will be interpreted and paint a picture of the participants’ stories and experiences.

This study has been developed to investigate to what extent Black Student Campus Activism is occurring and what causes it at a predominately white institution (PWI) in the Midwest. This study analyzes and discusses the following questions:

1. To what extent has the recent events of Black Student Campus Activism across America impacted BSCA on a predominately white institution in the Midwest?
2. What are the motivations or triggers of BSCA at a predominately white institution in the Midwest?
3. What are the different variations of BSCA in 2016?

4. What are contributing factors that impede BSCA at a predominately white institution in the Midwest?

Data Sources and Collection Methods

This study uses a qualitative research design as the procedure for collecting, analyzing, and documenting the data. The rationale for a qualitative research method is to accumulate well-suited, standardized data sets that are not available, especially with rapid changes within higher education, and so, in effect, prior knowledge is limited. It also provides valuable insights on how information can most effectively make inference from qualitative data (Collier, 2005).

Qualitative interviewing was used as a primary strategy for data collection. A protocol guide of questions was prepared for the interviews to insure the same questions were administered for each interviewee. Hence, there were no predetermined responses; semi-structured interviews were designed as means of probing and exploring the inquiry areas. Detailed data was gathered through open-ended questions that provided direct quotations. Researcher notes and impromptu follow-up questions were used for further clarification.

A pilot study was conducted to ensure the instrument validity and clarity of instructions. Five students of color were identified through a student services office on campus to pre-test the questionnaire. Consent forms were provided prior to these interviews and field notes were recorded during each interview. This pilot study also helped aid in research question development decisions.

Research Design

Qualitative interviewing was used as a primary strategy for data collection. A protocol guide of questions was prepared for the interviews to insure the same questions were administered for each interviewee. Hence, there were no predetermined responses; semi-

structured interviews were designed as a means of probing and exploring the inquiry areas. Detailed data was gathered through open-ended questions that provided direct quotations. Researcher notes and impromptu follow-up questions were used for further clarification.

A secondary source of data aggregation was observation. The researcher attended one meeting of each of the organizations to observe the organization planning, meeting agenda, and discussion. As noted by Merriam (2009), observation is a research tool when it addresses a specific research question, and when it is subject to the checks and balances in producing trustworthy worthy results. The constant comparative analysis process was employed during, and immediately following, the interviews. The researcher took notes to ensure details of the interview were properly aggregated to assure the research questions were being answered (Glaser, 1965).

Population/Sample

Participants were drawn from a pool of self-identified black students to include male and female students who are juniors or seniors. Students participated in two of the oldest and highly-populated, active black student organizations on campus. With both black student organizations having a past history of Black Student Campus Activism on campus, both organizations have a historical context in helping to racial constitute the institution. The researcher attended some of the meetings as an observer and asked members to participate in the study. This technique provided the researcher opportunity to employ a snowball method of participant selection. Snowball sampling is a very common form of sampling. It allows the researcher the ability to locate a few key participants for a study and then ask if they know anyone else who would be an asset. This, in turn, makes the pool of candidates for interviewing much larger and richer (Patton, 2002). I selected 10 students following the previously above-mentioned criteria. Students who

were elected into leadership positions within their organizations are of great interest to this study. The peer selection of them attaining leadership roles speaks to the commitment and mission of the student organizations to be carried out by the selected individuals on behalf of the student organization (Quinney, 2014).

Observations of the campus black student organizations. The researcher attended two of the PWI's black student organization's meetings. These two organizations were also from which the participants were selected. The researcher attended two meetings, one meeting of each of the black student organizations. While attending the black student organizations' meetings, the researcher observed the following: Both student groups provided an opportunity for students to be comforted in a space of racial affinity amongst one another. The two groups seemed to provide racial affirmations, campus information, academics, counseling, depths of knowledge about black identity, mentoring, and discussions on issues of black liberation and anti-Black oppression. This was accompanied by the opportunity to be jovial and free of judgment, and the freedom of being Black in a predominantly white space. Both organizations hosted weekly meetings that provided opportunities to create greater unity amongst Pan-African/black students. Lastly, both organizations had a large number of memberships, with many members having a duality between the two organizations.

All participants are students at a regional, Midwestern, predominantly white institution located an hour away from a major city. The total student enrollment for Fall Semester, 2015, was 12,000, where black students make up 5.8% (744). The city has a little over 67,000 residents. Most recently, there was YouTube footage of black students experiencing harassment and being called racial epithets by a community member while students walked through the campus grounds as the community member stood on the edge of campus. The city has a past

history of slavery introduced by General Sylvanus Lowry (Lehman, 2011), and previous years have seen active hate groups, such as Skinheads, Ku Klux Klan, and Neo Nazis, active in the city. Lastly, racial tensions between black students on and off campus has triggered black student protests for decades, including a 1995 hunger strike that received national attention.

Analysis

The interviews were transcribed and sent back to the participants to see if what was transcribed was truly their views. After confirmation, the notes were divided and sub-divided into thematic areas. A step-by-step analysis of the notes was put together, clearly depicting the participants' points of view. This study used a qualitative design rooted in Critical Race Theory. This study has a central focus on race, education, and the impact on students of color, in particular, self-identified black students. Lincoln and Denzin (2003, 2007) explained, "Qualitative research is many things to many people. Its essence is twofold: a commitment to some version of the naturalistic, interpretive approach to its subject matter and on-going critique of the politics and methods of positivism." By using qualitative research, it allows for the researcher to get a glimpse into the world of the research participant, in which, this understanding helps create an opportunity to transform the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2007). Quinney (2014) stated that the work of affirming and improving social conditions bares the potential to transform individual lives, communities, and the world. This study aggregated information from 10 black students who currently attend the institution for this study; research participants are in their natural setting, and through interviews, provided the investigator insight that was interpreted and painted a picture of the participants' stories and experiences.

This study has been developed to investigate to what extent Black Student Campus Activism is occurring and what causes it at a predominately white institution (PWI) in a Midwest setting. This study analyzed and discussed the following questions:

1. To what extent have the recent events of Black Student Campus Activism across America impacted BSCA on a predominately white institution in the Midwest?
2. What are the motivations or triggers of BSCA at a predominately white institution in the Midwest?
3. What are the different forms or methods of BSCA in 2016?
4. What are contributing factors that impede BSCA at a predominately white institution in the Midwest?

Using Critical Race Theory as my basic framework, Solorzano and Yasso (2002) defined counter narrative as a useful approach to education research. This practice allows for people of color to tell stories that are often overlooked in research literature. Counter-narrative perspectives of people of color counter the dominant, white or master narrative that saturates most scholarly literature. Solorazano and Yasso identified three types of story-telling: personal stories, other people's stories, and composite stories. For the purposes of this study, the researcher employed other people's stories as data. The interviews were recorded by a digital recorder, transcribed, and sent back to the participants for verification of accuracy. After confirmation, the notes were divided and sub-divided into thematic areas. A step-by-step analysis of the notes were put together clearly depicting the participants' points of view. The constant and comparative analysis were also employed. To help determine themes, NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software was utilized. Once the research was completed, the researcher reviewed the findings with two student organizations, in which, study participants were selected.

Human Subject Approval

To protect the rights and welfare of human subjects, this research ensures equitable subject selection, assures adequate informed consent, assesses and minimizes risk, and maintains the privacy and confidentiality of all involved. A review is completed because of the group's characteristics and the data collection procedures.

Data collection procedures follows the St. Cloud State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) human subject procedures. Consent forms were provided to study participants; all information was explained to the participants.

Summary

This research uses qualitative research for data design, collection, and analysis. Interviews were the primary source of data collection. A protocol guide of questions was prepared for the interviews to insure the same questions were administered for each interviewee. The protocol guide was tested through a pilot study with five students of color to prove its validity. The interviews were transcribed and a step-by-step procedure was used to analyze the data. Themes were identified during the analyses and were grouped and presented in the data.

It must be stated that in the next two chapters, the acronym "BSO" applies to both of the respective black student organizations as a way to maintain anonymity. Although two organizations were initially researched, all participants for this study came from only one of them. This is being explained in order to be transparent and to avoid confusion.

Chapter 4: Findings

This study used a qualitative design rooted in Critical Race Theory and Methodology. It has a central focus on race, education, and the impact on students of color, in particular, black students' campus activism.

Lincoln and Denzin (2003, 2007) explained, "Qualitative research is many things to many people. Its essence is twofold: a commitment to some version of the naturalistic, interpretive approach to its subject matter and on-going critique of the politics and methods of positivism (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003, p.5)." By using qualitative research, it allows the researcher to get a glimpse into the world of the research participant, in which, this understanding helps create an opportunity to transform the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Quinney (2014) stated that the work of affirming and improving social conditions bares the potential to transform individual lives, communities, and the world. This study aggregated information from 10 black students who currently attend the institution for this study; research participants are in their natural setting, and interviews provided the investigator insights that were interpreted and painted a picture of the participants' stories and experiences.

This study has been developed to investigate to what extent Black Student Campus Activism is occurring and what causes it at a predominately white institution (PWI) in a Midwest setting. This study seeks to analyze and discuss the following questions:

1. To what extent have the recent events of Black Student Campus Activism across America impacted BSCA on a predominately white institution in the Midwest?
2. What are the motivations or triggers of BSCA at a predominately white institution in the Midwest?
3. What are the different forms or methods of BSCA in 2016?

4. What are contributing factors that impede BSCA at a predominately white institution in the Midwest?

Using Critical Race Theory as my basic framework, Solorzano and Yasso (2002) defined counter-narrative as a useful approach to education research. This practice allowed for people of color to tell stories that are often overlooked in research literature. Counter-narrative perspectives of people of color counter the dominant, white or master narratives that saturate most scholarly literature. Solorazano and Yasso identified three types of story-telling: personal stories, other people's stories, and composite stories. For the purposes of this study, the researcher employed other people's stories as data.

As aforementioned above, the research questions were designed to understand the experiences of 10 Pan-African/black students attending a predominately white institution in the Midwest. Within the research, there were 4 major themes and 16 sub-themes which emerged from the study. Listed below are the narratives of the participants highlighting their experiences with BSCA at a PWI. Pseudonyms are used to protect the anonymity of the research participants.

Of all students who participated in this study, 100% identified as Pan-African/Black; 60% of the student participants were a part of the campus' Black Student Organization (BSO) leadership board, and 40% of the student participants were regular members of the organization. The gender makeup of the student participants was 60% female and 40% male.

Graphically, the student demographic data is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

<i>Student</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Black Student Org. Role</i>	<i>Year in School</i>
Dave	M	23	Board Member	Senior
Angela	F	23	Board Member	Senior
John	M	20	Board Member	Junior
Stokely	M	23	Board Member	Senior
Elaine	F	21	Member	Junior
Diane	F	22	Member	Senior
Bette Mae	F	22	Member	Senior
Chuck	M	21	Board Member	Senior
Alicia	F	20	Member	Junior
Ella	F	21	Board Member	Junior

Themes

After analysis of the data, there were four emergent themes that emanated from the research of Black Student Campus Activism at a predominantly White institution in the Midwest. Four macro-themes and 19 micro-themes that emerged were shared in depth in the order they appear in the list below. There were 19 sub-themes that materialized out of the research to support the 4 major themes. All themes will be expounded going forward.

1. Everyday racism as a Black student in White spaces on & off campus
2. Fear
3. Black racial identity formation
4. Black Student Campus Activism forms of resistance

These themes emerged based on the regularity of the references coded from study participants. Themes were captured and put into both macro- and micro-themes to share the narratives of the participants of the study.

Everyday racism as a black student in white spaces on & off campus. The data shows that more than 75% of the participants responded that racism was an everyday occurrence on and off campus throughout the study. Students spoke to the racism showing up in various forms that were overt, covert, and subtle. Students spoke to racism not solely being in the form of an individual act, but it was also systemic coming from the campus administration by ways of funding for the black student organization, policies, lack of support for black students on campus, and lack of staff and faculty of color, in particularly, black members.

The individual acts of racism were not exclusive to peers on campus, but also come from campus staff and campus faculty. For example, Dave, a senior board member of the black student organizations shared, “My friend was simply clapping and a white guy came by and said, ‘okay colored boy’ and it was just like what? It’s just incidences like that happen all the time.”

Participants also shared that individual acts of racism are not the only form of racism that they experience on campus. Ella shared, “We’re in a system that’s not built for you, and we’re always fighting that system.” Diane spoke to the subtle micro-aggressions of racism that occur daily by stating, “I think for myself I experience a lot of micro-aggressions and a lot of subtle racism like remarks or the assumptions that people make.”

Another participant, Angela, spoke about the passive aggressive form of racism that insinuates that black students are always trying to be the victim and that their experiences of racism on a daily basis are hyperbolic. She explained the following:

Yeah, the passive aggressiveness, The, ‘Oh that’s not bad’ or ‘You’re pulling the race card.’ Those White people are like, ‘I think everybody should be treated fairly’ and I’m like, ‘but I’m not being treated equally or fairly.’ It’s just in the way they speak and as a Black woman everything about me is political. My skin tone is political, my hair is political, my body is political, everything about me is political.

Race hate endorsed by President Trump. Given the fact that the research was aggregated during the pinnacle of the 2016 Presidential Election and a time that America had experienced an increase in hate crimes, 80% of students responded that their experiences of increased racism on and off campus in relation to the 2016 presidential election consisted of the following: “I think there’s tension with our current election,” An example was from Bette Mae. She then explained,

I think the tension has always been there. Especially around the time of the election, I think it got worse.” Angela spoke to the heightened concern for what the current administration means for people of color. For people of color, Trump represents a lot of discrimination against people. It’s like am I supposed to keep being loud? I’m already Black. I don’t think I need to be loud and Black about this.

Lastly, Alicia spoke about the racism that shows up in class from Trump supporters who speak to not wanting to live with terrorists from countries included within the travel ban policy. She stated,

Sometimes I'm always the only Black kid in class. If they're talking about the reasons why they support Donald Trump or his policies, for instance, his No Travel Ban Policy it hits home for me because I'm Sudanese and I'm affected. I can't study abroad, my dad can't come back, my uncle can't come back, and my cousins who went to visit for a month can't come back because of the No Travel Ban. It's like they're arguing with me that this is to protect us and for our safety they don't want anyone from a terrorist country to come here. They don't want to be living with terrorist. But, they've been living with me for how long? We've been in class for how long and did I blow you up? I'm not a danger and those people over there are not a danger.

Segregation and marginalization. Fifty percent of the participants responded to feeling a sense of segregation and marginalization on campus. Participants stated that there were many spaces on campus highly-segregated racially from campus organizations to physical spaces. The racial divide is not solely in the Black/White binary; International students are also segregated. Asian, Latino, and Indigenous students are all divided into racial and ethnic groups throughout campus. Diane stated,

When I'm on campus, it's usually for the Black Student Organization, so it's really just a good atmosphere. Other than that, it does feel like you can feel the barrier between students. For instance, between white students and students of color, there's not too much mingling, but we're all just here existing.

Dave stated simply, "It's pretty segregated." He expounded in greater detail by saying,

When you walk into Student Center (a communal space on campus), for all races, you can tell that it's clearly segregated. You have the Black students sitting directly in front of the Multicultural Center, you have the Somali, Ethiopian students that are in the culture

center on the first level by the computers, and you have the White people weaving in and out. It is pretty divided, but particularly for the Black students; we stay together for the most part and mostly stick to ourselves to be honest. It's still segregated in a sense.

Some of the participants spoke to feeling marginalized on campus. Diane shared, "I feel a little marginalized in the way that they approach different students, and students of color too."

Other students spoke about facing racial stereotypes from the moment they stepped foot on campus and that they are constantly fighting against those stereotypes on a daily basis. Chuck stated, "You're already coming with stereotypes so you have to break those barriers if you want to be successful. There are certain stereotypes that you have to face right away."

Lastly, a few students spoke about racism without naming it; they seemed to be conditioned not call it racism. They experienced confusion as to knowing what was and what was not daily racism they have experienced. Alicia stated,

I don't know if this would be racism, but I think it was last year I wanted to take 18 credits and my advisor said, "no I wouldn't do that blah blah blah" and a lot of other excuses as to why I shouldn't take 18 credits. She made it seem like it was something I couldn't do because it would be so hard. I've been taking 15 plus credits ever since high school. I did it anyways; I added the class after our meeting. I did 18 credits and it wasn't bad.

Some stated that they have to just deal with it, and they said they had to figure out if it was worth the battle to do so. Some pointed out daily acts of racism, but did not label it. Rather, they just said they were normal experiences on this campus. It was different viewpoints from many of the students that called it out and labeled it daily racism. Alicia expounded,

I think that because I grew up in this community; it's not that I'm blind but I'm just used to this environment. It's not that I'm okay with it. For instance, when I'm with my friends who moved here from the cities, something might happen and they would say, "oh that's wrong, that's racism, that shouldn't be happening" but since I'm so used to it I just say, "it happens." I know a lot of them were mad about the whole White Supremacist Antagonist thing, and they were terrified".

Elaine elaborated,

It's kind of weird because definitely some of the students in class, like White students, they'll talk to me in class but if we get out there (campus) they wouldn't say anything at all. Especially when they're with their other white peers. I feel like "wow", really? You want me to share my answers with you but when we get out here you act like you don't know me. "I feel like it's just a front. It's a we'll work with you here but outside you don't know me type of thing. I feel like a lot of Black students like to get to know people and other races. Especially, White people, so they can be included, but they're not feeling it.

Safety. Due to the recent presidential election, participants expressed a serious concern for their safety on and off campus. Many stated that they or friends of theirs have experienced different forms of overt and covert racism. Dave shared that there is a local man who stirs up racial tensions on the campus.

There's this guy known as the local White Supremacist Antagonist, he's a ridiculous man who thrives for attention. The day after the elections he was in his pick-up truck going around to students asking, 'Where's Clinton's Bitch?' And saying stuff like that along with derogatory terms. I saw him say that to one of the students; I flipped him off and I

feel like that gave him a reason to start talking to me. He said, ‘Go back to your safe zone bitch. Trump, Trump, Trump!’

Another student spoke about rooming with a Trump supporter off campus, and her not feeling safe.

A lot of folks are very brave and really think that they can say anything. It’s funny you say on and off campus because I currently live with a Trump supporter, as a roommate. I sleep with my door locked because I don’t feel okay. Like, what do you actually think of me if you voted for him?

Stokely shared about a direct threat of his and friends’ safety by the local “White Supremacist Antagonist.”

White Supremacist Antagonist drove up to us and said, ‘You better find your safe place.’ As a Black man, what is that supposed to mean for us? He told us to find our safe place because he’s out to get us. He came back again, and I don’t want to get to explicit, but a couple cuss words came out basically threatening us.

Holla if you hear me. A number of participants shared that they felt like black students did not have a voice at this predominantly white institution. They felt like they were not heard at multiple levels in the classrooms, from their student government, nor from the institutional administration. Angela stated that all black students, including those who are Nigerian, Liberian, and Somali, want to get their voices heard.

As it relates to participating in BSCA, some of the students expressed that they felt like participating in BSCA was what they had to do get their voices heard. Diane expounded on this by stating,

At the end of the day, we were doing what we feel like we needed to do to get our voices heard. Ella shared, “It’s like we have a student government who says they represent the institution’s student voices, but student government didn’t look like what our school population looks like.” Dave extenuated the point by sharing, “We feel like we don’t have a voice, we feel marginalized, and that they don’t really care about us. That’s derived with the student government and faculty and what not.

Ain’t no love in the heart of the city. Half of the study participants shared that they experienced a lot more overt racism in the community than on campus. Participants shared experiences of racism in the form of racial slurs and a feeling of not belonging in the city due to their racial make-up. Dave shared, “I’ve been in McDonald’s and we had people playing this super racist song talking about killing Niggers. There’s just a lot of instances like that. It almost feels like it’s something that happens every semester where we run into a racist altercation.”

Another student spoke about the misinformation, or lack of information, provided by the institution about the racism of the city that the institution resides. Angela explained,

The climate on campus itself isn’t as bad as I would say the city around the campus.

When you are talking about the school and how they promote the school they don’t talk about the environment that the campus is around. The climate is you’re the ‘other,’ and you’re always aware of that.

Participants also spoke about not feeling part of the community during the presidential election. Elaine shared,

Off campus, when I’m at work, I work at a local fast food chain, so a lot of White people come through the drive through and I feel like, especially, during the voting period it just

didn't feel right. I felt very uncomfortable. I just felt like I was doing something wrong. I don't know how to explain the feeling. It's like they don't want you there.

Another theme that emerged throughout the study was the role fear played in the participants' interactions and daily lives. All participants commented about fear in different variations; the most prevalent sub-theme that emerged was fear of administration. Chuck declared, "Again, it's a thin line that we walk how we set things up and making sure we go through the right channels to make sure we don't get any kind of retaliation. I know past boards have dealt with this." This specific theme had various rationales within it. Fear of being kicked out of school, fear of going to jail, fear of resources not being fairly given to the black student organizations, and fear of one's name being attached to Black Student Campus Activism and this hindering their future success in the workforce. Lastly, and more seriously, is the fear of violence.

Fear

All respondents emphatically stated that fear of being kicked out of school, jail, or administrative actions cautioned their Black Student Campus Activism. Retaliation by university administration came in numerous forms. It ranged from being kicked out of school, withholding funds from the black student organization, cops being called to black student organizations protests, events, and creating or enforcing policies that negatively impact BSCA, and students being stigmatized for their involvement in BSCA, which not only impacts their standing as black students on campus, but in addition, students felt this stigma would or could carry into their professional careers and impede their earning potential in the workforce. Dave expounded, "Expulsion, of course. We can't do anything too radical, so it has to be more peaceful. Another

thing is my reputation on campus. I'm the president of the BSO so if I were to do anything too radical it would reflect badly on the organization."

Fear of administration. Alicia expounded on the sub-theme of fear of administration by saying, "Being kicked out of school, that's a fear I have because I finish next May and I can't get kicked out of school." Stokely responded, "Being kicked out of school is a kind of fear. I have a good connection with the faculty that I talk to so I would hope that they would help me in a situation but sometimes they don't always." Lastly, as it relates to fear, Chuck responded,

It was a huge role. At the end of the day you are here for your education, so you don't want to do anything that would jeopardize that even though this stuff is very important. It goes back to what I was saying that we walk a very thin line. You just have to be careful. You don't know what the administration or school is going to think about certain things. You don't know what outcomes they deem reasonable compared to what you, as Black students, deem reasonable.

The fear of the black student organizations being penalized for their role in Black Student Campus Activism was a regularly mentioned sub-theme from students. Angela shared, "Some other repercussions: lack of funding, lack of support, lack of exposure. For some reason, when we put on events, we always have to have more security, and we have to pay for more security."

Fear of law enforcement. Most participants responded that the fear of going to jail was something they wrestled with in their involvement of BSCA. Angela explained,

I've had the cops come and remove me from certain demonstrations/performances, taking me out of my own performances because... it's so delicate. I don't want to go to jail. I just want to stir things up. So, it's like 'Am I really down to ride for a homicide when it comes to this?' I hope so. I hope I have enough gumption to do it.

Stokely stated, “Jail. Now this is a part of activism that I think about because no one wants a criminal record.” Elaine simply said, “Jail, I probably wouldn’t be going for that.”

Lastly, Diane summed it all up by sharing the following:

We had this conversation about the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) situation and how far will you go or how much will you risk for your people. That’s something that I have to think about all the time because I know that to do the things that I need to do for everyone, I can’t get arrested. I can’t put myself in those situations because if I do I can’t do anything. I can’t do any of the things that really need to happen. If you get a felony, they drop felonies on these protestors for freedom of speech. Having a felony, you’re already exempt from 75% of jobs that pay. You have to be an activist but you also have to live. Just thinking if you were to go to jail, your life would be over, I’m only 22 and there would be so many things I wouldn’t be able to do.

My name is my name fear of BSCA hindering career opportunities. Many students responded that they had worried about the repercussions of their involvement in the participation of Black Student Campus Activism. Bette stated,

Sometimes I get scared about what’s going to happen. We’ve had events being noticed by media as far as it being on newspapers and videos spiraling throughout social media. I wonder if it’s going to prevent me from achieving my future careers. It’s more of the ideology what do others think of us. As far as if I have a shift in careers in the future and they look at this stuff that I’m doing they say ‘we don’t want that around this company’.

Diane shared, “It would definitely hinder my chance of going to medical school, becoming a doctor, and making money because we need money.” Finally, Angela stated, “Then the

repercussions are you just don't have opportunities. You're not hearing about the opportunities, you're not getting exposed to them, or you're not getting allowed the space to create them."

Many students shared their concerns about their fear of violence. The words "peaceful protests" were often shared throughout the interviews. Dave explained, "I wouldn't want to do anything other than a peaceful protest." Diane stated, "You don't want to die. You don't want to be in a situation where things escalate to the point where you lose control." Lastly, Angela shared this fear of violence in the community from those who may know who she is, and she has no clue whom they are.

It was scary for me. I was like 'I don't want to do this' and then as I'm in the act of doing it, the implications of having a Black body in a White space really comes that visceral understanding that they could lynch me. Someone could throw something at me or who knows what could happen. Then you add the layer of being a woman and it's like 'we know her, she did that.' I walk home every night and it gets dark in this state at 5pm, so this is for real. On top of that, you go outside of campus where it is safe and they say they have Public Safety to help you, you still are negating the fact that we are in a community larger than this campus.

The neutralizing of BSCA. Throughout the interviews, students frequently spoke about their concerns of retaliation by campus administration for participating in BSCA. Participants stated that withholding funding for the BSO would be a major retaliatory action by the administration, along with being kicked out of school, not knowing who is a friend or foe for BSCA with campus staff, or BSCA participants unintentionally smearing the name of the BSO or their own names because of participation in BSCA.

Dave expounded,

Fear of expulsion of course, we can't do anything too radical, so it has to be more peaceful. Another thing is my reputation on campus. I'm the president of the BSO, so if I were to do anything too radical it would reflect badly on the organization.

Bette Mae stated,

It's always white people and higher authority. Here it's white people the majority of the time. They don't want you making a lot of noise that brings attention to that issue. I'm all about making noise to bring attention to that issue so then we class on that.

Chuck shared,

The administration, you have to be careful. You walk on a very thin line; you might do something that you don't think necessarily is that offensive and maybe needed, but you could get penalized. It's a very thin line and you have to be careful of what's allowed and what's not in school.

Again, it's a thin line we walk with how we set things up and making sure we go through the right channels to make sure we don't get any kind of retaliation. I know past boards have dealt with this.

Lastly, it goes back to what I was saying that we walk a very thin line. You've just got to be careful. You don't know what the administration or school is going to think about certain things. You don't know what outcomes they deem reasonable compared to what we as Black student deem reasonable.

Many students spoke about being kicked out of school being a major fear of theirs.

Stokely stated,

Being kicked out of school is kind of a fear. I have a good connection with faculty that I talk to, so I would hope that they would help me in a situation but sometimes they don't always.

Chuck added,

At the end of the day, you are here for your education, so you don't want to do anything that would jeopardize that, even though, this stuff is very important.

Students also spoke about having to provide additional security at events that they hosted to a degree that would infer that something might happen. Many students shared that this felt as if the only need for the additional security was to control black people and prevent them from getting out of control.

Angela shared,

Participants spoke about administration withholding funds and resources from the BSO if students were participating too much in BSCA. Students often spoke about funding for the BSO used as a tool to neutralize BSCA. Some other repercussions students spoke about were the process to get the monies for BSO events seemed taxing, and students shared about what additional accommodations the BSO had to have in order to put on events. This being the need to always have additional security.

She also shared about not knowing who is pulling the strings of BSCA.

I don't know who's exactly pulling the strings because the ones that are advocating for us, I wouldn't dare say that they they're the ones who are in resistance. Money for real does rule everything. I don't know where the buck is getting stopped.

As it relates to the administration withholding resources for the BSO as they engage in BSCA,

Chuck expounded,

The administration not being open to letting you use resources. Student also expressed a frustration with the process of getting funding to fund events for the BSO.

Dave shared,

We have to jump through loops and hurdles and jump just to get simple funding where other organizations, predominantly White groups, they get it right away without asking questions. In order for us to get money we have to explain why we need it, when we need it, and give an overall breakdown. Other student's groups just get funding right away.

Lastly, we can never get things easily and if we do get things we have to fight for it and accommodate for special needs or to suit them (white administration) to make them feel more comfortable.

Throughout this study, participants routinely shared that administrative control created fear amongst them. The infiltration of fear included the draconian funding processes for the BSO, having to provide additional security for BSO events, being kicked out of school for participating in BSCA, the notion of having to have a "peaceful" protest being stated by numerous students, always feeling as if they are walking a thin line with administration and their BSCA, shaming or smearing of the BSO collectively and individually for participating in BSCA, and the withholding of funding by the administration if the BSCA is deemed to have gone overboard.

Black Racial Identity Formation

This study shared that the black student organization is one of the most important pillars of campus support. It is also the intellectual hub for the development of critical black, racial consciousness development on campus that helps evoke the activist spirit. Chuck expounded on this point by stating the following:

We make an impact for a lot of people; we give people a space where they can talk openly and were also trying to influence people to make a difference. We also influence people to do well for themselves academically and overcome some of the things that may be marginalizing them.

It was also very clear that black students are astute to what is going on with black people on and off campus, thus, they are connected to the struggle of black people. Black Lives Matter (BLM) was an indelible mark for the growth and awareness of the oppression of black people nationally and globally. BLM also served as the example or blueprint of resistance for BSCA in this study. Bette stated,

What really got me interested in resistance was the Jamar Clark occupation (in MPLS). I saw what community looked like and I saw what could happen if we stuck together and worked towards liberation. I saw that as a way for me to have these conversations with my people and what it meant to get free. Last year we had addressed our student government saying that we wanted a formal letter saying that our school stands with Mizzou. They denied it. They said that they we're not going to do that, so what we did is—not myself, I didn't necessarily lead it, but one of our leaders last year, he led a march we had probably 40 to 50 students go into a student government meeting and has a sit in. We all has speeches talking about how integration isn't necessarily stopping segregation and how we still feel marginalized. We kind of piggybacked off Mizzou.

As critical racial, black consciousness arises, I believe that BSCA is triggered and arises within campuses as a counter to black oppression and a form of black liberation. This intentional engagement for black liberation speaks to the most important educational experience while

attending college, and this being the development of a healthy black, racial identity. Stokely extenuates the point further by explaining:

One thing I do want to share about activism. I think it's important to know exactly the fight that people before us were about. One of the things I really like are the Black Panthers. I really like the idea of people being super educated and unapologetic about being Black. I want to understand the best about the people that came before us and the worst about the people that came before us to make it better.

Black student organizations. The responses for the importance of campus black student organizations as crucial racial and cultural affirming spaces for healthy racial affinity, educational support, academic support, social support, and emotional support for black students on campus was shared by almost every participant of the study. Dave shared his desire to become a part of the black student organization:

I came into the campus BSO students because I love Black women, and I wanted to pick out a Black girl and see how it worked out; but then I fell in love with the organization. It exposed me to that Black identity. I felt more in tune with who I was and I was comfortable with who I was. The deeper I got into it, the more I got involved with the organization the more I welcomed. The more I felt belonged. It was a beautiful thing. It definitely helped out my life in a lot of senses. It made me secure with who I am. Like, I said, as I became more aware of who I am, what I stand for, and what I believe in that's when I became more involved in activism and stood up for what I believe in.

Chuck also expounded on the role the campus BSO has had on his development:

We make an impact for a lot of people. We give people a space where they can talk openly, and we're also trying to influence people to make a difference. We also influence

people to do well for themselves academically and overcome some of the things that may be marginalizing them.

As it pertains to providing the tools to be a black student in white spaces, Chuck elaborated by stating,

You're not only talking, but you're actually doing. I feel like I participated in, I'm not going to say all things that we've done like rallies, protest, BSO cultural night. However, being a part of some of them and seeing and being a part of the events is how I participate in being a Black student activist.

Resistance towards Black oppression. Students spoke openly about what was happening on and off campuses to black people nationally, and how it opened their eyes to systems of oppression that negatively impact black people. They also spoke about forms of resistance to black oppression by way of becoming conscious to what is going on around them in order to be able to recognize and combat or resist against it. Angela stated the following:

There's few representations, so you have to advocate for your issues. No one else is advocating for them on those campuses. If it's 200 of you or 3% of the population that is Black people or people of color, you have to represent the best way that you can for issues that you feel are important to the development of your own people.

John shared,

For Black oppression, my senior year of high school, I had seen the documentary Hidden Colors 3: The Rules of Racism. That opened my eyes up to see racism and how we, as Black people, eat it up every day and never notice it. It's so oblivious to us that we don't even acknowledge it anymore. We've been systemically ignorant that there's racism that still goes on.

Stokely stated,

We're coming from a generation of people who already did fight. We see the progression of that. So, when you talk about things like the campus BSO, and the campus culture center, there are people who directly benefit from that, like us and also the people who fought for that.

Lastly, resistance towards black oppression seemed to have a profound effect on participants, in particular, the recent killings of Trayvon Martin, Sandra Bland, Tamir Rice, and Jordan Davis to name some the most recent martyrs whom have perished at the hands of paid public officials. Diane stated, "I think that was one of the trigger spots for everyone on this campus. This boy was ... what fifteen? Walking with Skittles ... it doesn't matter if you think he was robbing ... you don't shoot somebody let alone a child." She also added,

Just hearing all those stories, especially, with the Trayvon Martin situation. I was a freshman on campus when that happened in 2012. That was just the most sickening thing. It felt like it was the Emmett Till, not to that extent, but for our generation because they never show anything or focus on White people killing Black people because they're Black, and it's being as blatant as that." In closing, Angela summarizes the need for resistance by stating, "I would say Black student protests across the nation are a reflection of the cultural climate that already exists in our nation and the racial divide between White students and students of color.

We stand in solidarity with the University of Mizzou. Most students spoke to having prior knowledge of what took place on the University of Mizzou campus as it pertains to the recent Black Student Campus Activism started by the group *Concerned Students of 1950* in 2015. Student participants shared that they wanted to be in solidarity with their activism and

cause. Diane, whom had the opportunity to meet with students that were a part of the Concerned Students of 1950 shared, “There’s just so much going on; to meet students who went to Mizzou and were a part of the Concerned Students of 1950. It’s just like, man you can really make a difference too. They’re still in the same place as you, just at a different school.” Participants also commented that they had a protest of solidarity on the campus to be united with Mizzou and that Mizzou’s work was the blueprint for the protest. Ella stated, “I know that we did a solidarity event to stand with them. To stand with different students of Mizzou.”

One participant spoke to the actions of black students unifying across the nation due to how black students experienced higher education. Angela shared the following:

I’d also say there is a lot of solidarity coming out of Black student protest and organizations across the nation. Each of their different movements is pertaining to the issues that are in their region affecting them right now. I’d definitely say it’s a reflection of the cultural climate at large.

John shared the reason for the necessity of resistance and protest on the campus this study took place at. He replied,

We did a sit-in, and we wanted to show that we’re in alliance with Missouri in addition to the protest going on down there (University of Missouri). We wanted to show, this campus as a whole, we were in alliance with them. Our student government didn’t want to release a statement pertaining to that, so we marched in on a meeting and did a sit-in. They heard our stories and what was going on in the Black community, what was going on in the Somali community, people of color, as a whole. They needed to hear what was going on, and they needed to make a statement to show that we, as a University, were with them.

Black lives matter. Seventy percent of the participants spoke to the impact that Black Lives Matter had on them, from being a part of the movement to watching their impact nationally and being inspired to participate in resistance of black oppression in their respective space. It was clear that BLM was monumental in the development of their activist spirit to do something to counter black oppression on and off campus. Bette shared what inspired her activism to fight black oppression by explaining,

The one that changed my life and sparked up my action portion of activism is Black Lives Matter, the local chapter in the state of Minnesota. With that, we were all in the cities for training and the training was a people of color space. That was my first time being in a space like that.

She expounded further by stating,

What really got me interested in resistance was the Jamar Clark occupation. I saw what community looked like and I saw what could happen if we stuck together and worked towards liberation. I saw that as a way for me to have these conversations with my people and what it meant to get free.

Another student shared what she and others have learned about the work and ideological foundations of Black Lives Matter. Ella explained,

The students of this institution talked about the Black Lives Matter is a Black reproductive situation. When these Black lives are being killed, it becomes reproductive because then our children are dying.” Lastly, students shared about the inspired action Blacks Lives Matter has had on their own campus. Dave shared, “We had a Black Lives Matter visual. The purpose of it was to show that we can recognize Black issues, and we can discuss Black lives matter without there being a tragic death.

Black Students' Campus Activism Forms of Resistance

In the years since the Black Campus Movement (BCM) from 1965-72, Black Student Campus Activism has evolved into different forms. During the height of the BCM, there was no Twitter, Facebook, Facebook Live, Instagram, Youtube, nor other forms of social media outlets to get causes out to the global masses in the matter of minutes. In the 40 years since the height of the BCM, participants of this study have shared what the current forms of BSCA look like in 2016-2017 at a Midwest, predominantly white institution. They also shared what they felt were the most effective forms, what everyday BSCA looks like on campus, and the role of social media.

Teaching and awareness. Fifty percent of the participants responded that the forms of BSCA that they engage in on a daily basis is teaching and learning. This form means challenging racism on a daily basis on and off campus and in and out of the classroom. It includes peers, faculty, and administration.

Angela elaborated on her efforts to teach her peers and campus community members by explaining, "The other big work I do on campus is activist work. It's a combination of art and activism. It's a combination of spoken word with theory to raise awareness for social and racial justice." Another participant added,

We had discussions with the whole community of the town the school settles in, to let students know that they were safe. There were also some of us who met with the Dean. We also met with the Police Chief and Public Safety to ensure that the Black students here were safe and things, like White Supremist Antagonist being on campus, wouldn't happen again.

Some students expressed having to teach or educate faculty and students projecting bias about groups of color, in particular African or Black, in their courses. This at times created a hostile learning environment. Ella shared,

One of my English professors showed a video of a White lady. Basically, she was yelling about Somalis and how they smell and different stereotypes about Somalis. My professor said the White lady was scared to send her kids to school. I said “that’s discrimination” and my White professor didn’t understand what I was saying, so I tried to deescalate the situation by saying let’s have this conversation after class so that you can understand where I’m coming from. The professor didn’t care to hear it so she ended up kicking me out of class for the day. I then went to the affirmative action office on campus.

Another student shared her frustrations with advocating and teaching about issues that affect black students to her white peers and supervisors at her campus job.

Angela stated,

I work on campus, and I’m one of the only Black employees at my campus job. The things that I advocate for aren’t on the White agenda. So, there’s always resistance when I put something on the table. There’s always pushback. I’ve felt that was something to be said about my race or the issues that Black people face because somehow it always gets shutdown, not addressed, or I’m placated by saying things like “you’re the only person who would advocate for that, so it doesn’t really fit the group at large.” If you’re the only Black person in the room, who else is going to teach and advocate for something like that?

Sit-ins. Half of the participants in the study responded that the most effective form that they have engaged in on campus has been sit-in protests. The information shared of the effect that the sit-ins/protests that they engaged in had were enlightening experiences for those who spoke about it. In an effort to get the campus student government to write a letter in support of the Concerned Students of 1950 at the University of Missouri, the BSO, along with other campus organizations, held a sit-in protest at the student government meeting, unannounced and unknowingly to the student government. Dave responded,

The sit-in was by far the most effective. They didn't know we were coming for the sit-in. We came in, kicked in the door, sat down and spoke our peace. It was passionate and people from all different backgrounds said how they really felt.

He also shared the reactions of the people in attendance by stating,

I think it made an impact, even to the point where we left people stood up and started clapping. They were that moved. It changed the way people viewed the situation. I feel like when it's unexpected, they can't run away from you and that's when it's the most effective.

This form of activism is very reminiscent of the movement that took place between 1965 and 1972. Bette explained,

We felt like student government wasn't really doing their job as being a medium between us and the higher ups. It just wasn't working. They weren't serving the interests of students of color or the marginalized groups on campus. So, within that we held the sit-in.

Ella shared her experiences participating in rallies, marches, and protests by stating,

I get a thrill from them. That happens because no school administrator wants their school to look bad or be on the news for holding a protest that was against discrimination or about oppressing someone. So, to be a part of something like that and to know that you're creating change for someone that is younger than you; that's where I get my thrill from.

Social media. Almost all of the participants referenced the role of social media as a current form of BSCA. Social media played a role in teaching and awareness (for the participants' learning and the ability to teach others across the world about issues that affect black people), sharing the information of what is happening to black students/people locally and nationally, and the ability to start organizing with like-minded people when issues warrant responses.

Chuck shared about a time that he was a part of joining an online resistance group against negative portrayals of black people by a local news outlet. He stated the following:

It's a form of awareness which is the first step. Once you're aware, then you can try and make a difference. As far as online, I know one year we used the social media hashtag 'DearKSTP' when something happened in the news station where they wrongfully said something that was unjust to African Americans as a whole. Everybody would say 'DearKSTP...' mine was 'I'm a Black male, but I'm far from a stereotype.'

Dave shared about how students covertly used social media to organize prior to the sit-in protest at the student government meeting. He stated,

Yeah, we did it through Facebook. We said we're meeting here at 5:00pm. We were all outside further away so they didn't know that we were meeting. We waited until 30

minutes into their meeting, so we knew every person would be in the meeting and then we went in, sat down and made them listen.

Alicia talked about the ability to use social media for real time displays of racist acts on and off campus as a way of authenticating black student narratives of their experiences on and off campus to the world. She explained,

White Supremacist Antagonist, when he was yelling those things and stuff, a lot of people took pictures and video, so it wasn't a he-said-she-said dispute because everything was recorded. I think social media is the most effective because it spreads the word quickly. A lot of people use social media. The more people that share, the more views that it will get. It's the easiest way right now to spread information.

Stokely spoke about the ability to include friends from around the world in the protests, and he is able to provide them with insight of what is happening to him on campus. He stated,

I can put it online: hashtag Black Lives Matter. My South African friends are going to look at that and share it with their friends. This is just my connection with people. Other people have connections with people. That's the beauty of activism on the worldwide web. It can get to places where it would never get.

Summary

As aforementioned above, a qualitative methodology rooted in Critical Race Theory and Methodology of people of color's stories told by them has been applied to this study to examine the role of Black Student Campus Activism at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest. This chapter provided the reader the results in an effort to provide the role of BSCA at a PWI in the Midwest during the academic year of 2016-2017.

This section provided the reader a deep and thorough analysis of the findings of the research topic and the questions associated with the research topic. What was displayed was how the information aggregated in the 10 interviews and was thematically organized to answer the four research questions.

The last section focused on the narratives provided by the interview participants to give voice to their individual and shared stories in order to answer the research questions in a richer, deeper, and more vivid way of black students' experiences at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest engaging (or not) in BSCA.

In Chapter 5, the researcher summarizes the previous four chapters, revisits the purpose of the study, and shares findings of the research in order to bring meaning and clarity of the role of Black Student Campus Activism at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest. The last chapter will conclude with an overall conclusion reached from this study, limitations of this current study, impact and intention of this research to the field of study, possible future research in the study of BSCA, and conclude with a brief summary.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Within this study, I have researched the role of Black Student Campus Activism (BSCA) at a predominantly white institution (PWI) in the Midwest. More specifically, I sought to understand to what extent is BSCA occurring at a Midwestern PWI. The amalgamation of research around Black Student Campus Activism, black student development models, research around how black students experience higher education, particularly at a PWI. Qualitative methodology, in particular, a Critical Race Theory (CRT) methodology was employed to aggregate the narratives of black students and provide a narrative with race being at the center of the story being shared (Solorazano & Yosso, 2002).

Ten Black students were interviewed sharing their experiences participating in multiple of forms of BSCA at their campus. All students shared participation in various ways. I have aggregated and interpreted a number of themes that paint a clear picture of BSCA at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest.

There are four questions guiding this study:

1. To what extent have the recent events of Black Student Campus Activism across America impacted BSCA at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest?
2. What are the motivations or triggers of BSCA at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest?
3. What are the different variations of BSCA in 2016?
4. What are contributing factors that negate BSCA at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest?

This chapter aligns the student narratives and current literature about black students attending higher education to provide a concluding analysis of Black Student Campus Activism

at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest. To conclude this chapter, student narratives and researcher analysis will put forth recommendations for future studies to expand upon a thin body of research relating to Black Student Campus Activism and how black students experience higher education.

Discussion

After analysis of the data, there were four emergent themes that emanated from the research. Four macro-themes and 16 micro-themes that emerged were shared in depth in the order they appear in the list below. Each theme is analyzed and connected to the research question that it accurately answers.

Emergent Themes

The first emergent theme was *Everyday racism as a black student in white spaces on and off campus*. (Bell, 1992) defined the permanence of racism as simply racism intruding or being a fixed figure in everything we do; it becomes the norm. It is inhaled and exhaled. It is just part of the normal, everyday way of living—the schools we attend, the jobs we work, and the judicial systems and policies we abide by, the communities we live in, and the religious institutions we attend. In short, racism is a permanent fixture of America and the world we live in. It was clear throughout listening to the participants within the study that all the students experienced racism on various levels on a daily basis. Some of the participants could recognize its ability to camouflage itself within the environment and become part of the norm. Some participants spoke about daily racial micro-aggressions that mount up over time. It was clear that some students did not have a good understanding of the definitions of racism, both individual racism and systematic racism. Some students were conditioned not to see or respond to the racism.

For the purposes of this study, I am defining racism as power plus prejudice equates to racism and racial oppression. With this definition, I am also suggesting that black people/students cannot be racist. They do not hold the power (polices, rules, nor regulations) to impose onto others, in particular, white people who oppress them. I believe that the everyday racism experienced by black students attending a PWI in the Midwest who participated in this study have been assaulted on a daily basis on and off campus, and this has triggered some of the forms of Black Student Campus Activism shared within this study. Many of the participants described a feeling of being “othered” or as an outsider who is not supposed to be sharing the space of the college campus or community.

All participants spoke about the hyper, overt racist climate on and off campus due to the 2016 Presidential election. The study conducted by the Center of the Study of Hate and Extremism reported that over the nine major cities in which it studied, it saw an increase in racist hate crimes of 23.3%, or 1,037 incidents, in 2016 from the previous year of 2015. In a pro-Trump environment, black students were caught in the metaphorical racist crosshairs through political affiliation by campus and peers, community members, with President Donald Trump.

As it pertains to the second research question, “What are the motivations or triggers of BSCA at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest?,” this study revealed that the racial climate in the classroom (faculty, teaching, and curriculum), on and off campus, in the residential halls, at the supermarket, the walk home in the community, or at the local mall or fast-food restaurant is permeated with daily racist acts. Black students are affected by racial micro- and macro-aggressions daily. It also revealed that there is extreme isolation, marginalization, and segregation for black students on and off campus. Because of this, the campus’ black student organizations serve as safe havens, places of growth, necessity, and support for black students to

strategize on ways to combat and survive the racism on a daily basis on and off campus. Diane stated, “I think for myself; I experience a lot of micro-aggressions and a lot of subtle racism like remarks or the assumptions that people make.”

Fear. I feel another central finding from the research served as an obstruction to Black Student Campus Activism. As the participants shared their experiences, it was clear that fear of administration, local law enforcement, the threat of limited career opportunities for participating in BSCA, and the fear of violence tempered BSCA. It led me to compare the differences in the struggles of the era between 1965-1972. During this time, many of the participants in the Civil Rights Movement felt that going to jail and battle scars from police brutality were a badge of honor to serve the movement. They often spoke about speaking with peers about funeral arrangements, being kicked out of school, (West, C., 2012,) Power and Diversity Conference states “being willing to die in order to live.” In short, students and participants of the movements of that era were prepared for the worst and they were not afraid of it, even if it ended in death.

As I reviewed the data from this study, I came to the conclusion that the times of that level of commitment to the movement have not transcended to this PWI or this campus’ BSCA participants. The aforementioned fears have become a barrier for sustained BSCA on this campus. The level of commitment from many, if not all, of the black students I interviewed affirmed that they were willing to participate in BSCA to a certain point. Some participants spoke about how they will participate when it is convenient for their schedule or that they do not have time to participate because of their schedules, fear of losing funding for the BSO, fear of negatively representing the BSO on campus, and fear of potential future employment loss. Many of the students spoke about not wanting to go to jail or receive a felony charge, or the ultimate fear of being kicked out of school.

The campus Multicultural and Diversity Services were also discussed regularly within the study. Students felt that there was support for black students through these offices, but they felt that these offices could definitely do more for the campus climate as it pertains to black students on the campus. Students expressed a serious displeasure of not being heard by the administration on campus, and they expressed a serious displeasure feeling signaled out and marginalized for their campus events or functions. Diane explained, “I feel marginalized in the way it feels our staff don’t care to do much for us, more for them and their agenda that they have to have as the administration of a lot of different services for students of color. They do things but where’s our input on what we want to do?” This type of feeling was commonly shared throughout all the participants, and led me to conclude that fear of administration’s retaliation on black students is one of the most important factors that impede BSCA at this PWI, even more so than the fear of jail, career opportunities, and violence.

In considering the research question, “What are contributing factors that negate BSCA at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest?,” it was definitely clear that students are not willing to get kicked out of school, get arrested, tarnish their BSO or individual image, or die for the cause of black liberation at this college campus, but it was clear that random acts of BSCA will trump fear to a certain extent. To be very clear, as beautifully stated by Stokely,

I don’t want it to get to the point where people think these old people used to protest, but this is how we protest now and create a separation between the generations of protestors.

Like I said, all forms of protest are necessary.

All forms of BSCA are necessary to better the higher educational experience for black students.

Black racial identity formation. All but one participant responded that the campus BSO was a strong contributor to their black, racial identity consciousness formation. The BSO

provides participants the opportunities to share readings about Black history and discuss them with like-minded Black people interested in learning about themselves and Black people. Current events that effect Black people, such as, the events that happened at the University of Missouri, the oppression of black people in America's past, present, and future, and the Black Lives Matter movement helped develop participants' understanding of what was occurring. The oppression happening to black people on and off campus, and the resistance and liberation necessary to combat the oppression has helped spawn Black Student Campus Activism for the participants. Matt stated,

The deeper I got into it the more I got involved with the organization the more I felt welcomed. The more I felt I belonged. It was a beautiful thing. It definitely helped out my life in a lot of senses. It made me secure with who I am. Like I said, as I became more aware of who I am, what I stand for, and what I believe in that's when I became more involved in activism and stood up for what I believe in. Growing up in a white family, you're never really taught to fight the power or to stand up for Black rights. When I came here (school), I was like, "man all this stuff is going on and what can I do" I got more involved, and I spoke out a little bit more, and I became more one with it.

In relationship to the research questions, "What are the motivations or triggers of BSCA at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest?," "To what extent has the recent events of BSCA across America impacted BSCA on a PWI in the Midwest?," and "What are the different variations of BSCA in 2016?," being what many of the participants called "woke" was critical engagement on some level with BSCA. Steven Biko once stated, "The greatest weapon of the oppressor is the oppressed mind." As Black students become "woke" or liberated their minds, their level of engagement and commitment to BSCA increased. It cannot be over or understated

that BSCA cannot be effective, or come to fruition or be sustained, without the critical development of black racial consciousness that creates a healthy black racial identity leading to purposeful BSCA.

Black student campus activism forms of resistance. There is no question that BSCA is currently happening, and it has been happening since 1965-1972, the most productive era of the Black Campus Movement. This study has been able to share new insight on BSCA with parents of potential black college students, black college students, and the scholarly community. I found through this research no new ways that BSCA is racially reconstituting higher education today, rather, this study found that BSCA is still active. BSCA is institutionalized, thus, it has been neutralized in its ability to become as effective and radical as it was in the 1960's.

By racially reconstituting higher education, I mean higher education acknowledging the contributions and presence of African/Black people into the academy. This would include policies, curriculum, and administration recognition that our black students are present, and the black students needs have to be accommodated for or BSCA will happen. Like the golden era of 1965-1972, we saw the emergence of ethnic studies, cultural centers, increased Black faculty, demands of greater support (academically and financially) for Black students, and today many students have benefited from that BSCA.

Within this study, I didn't see BSCA that will impact or challenge the PWI this study took place at nor higher education over the next 40 years for Black students. (Rogers, 2012, p.161) argues "most of the campus activism of black students over the last 40 years has been defending the gains of the Black Campus Movements and fighting the new contradictions". Nevertheless, I do believe that BSCA, and its ability to project the black student experience via social media platforms, such as, twitter, facebook live, Instagram, and various other social media

outlets puts higher education institutions on notice for how their perpetuating White supremacy, cycle of racism, and forms of oppression for Black students attending PWI institutions. BSCA visually and in real time capture their experiences of racism on campus, and Black students sharing the oppressive and racist experience to the world in seconds challenges the institution mission statements and claims of campus inclusivity. This has impacted how higher education responds to the need of Black students attending PWI's today and tomorrow.

Many black students shared that the forms of BSCA are similar to yesterday's forms of BSCA, combined with some new ways to participate within BSCA. Teaching and awareness are not new forms of BSCA, but they are still effective ways that have transcended time. Students expressed that it becomes very tiring, and it is overwhelming, when they have to be the professor in the class for which someone else is getting a check. It becomes even more tiring when black students came to the institution to be learners who have grueling academic schedules that do not accommodate for the additional job of civil rights leader.

Black students also shared that one of the most effective forms of BSCA of students participating in this research and throughout the history of BSCA is still sit-ins. The new-age BSCA is social media driven. Whether it is daily debating about issues of racism with peers or foes, or organizing a large or small group of black student activists in a matter of minutes through a Facebook post or Tweet, or educating and communicating by video or sharing thoughts of racialized experiences as black students to the world, these are new methods and forms of BSCA. Stokely expounded on this idea of social media:

We live in a digital age. A lot of people, back in the day, would get protestors from Black student unions and get some picket signs to protest and stand their ground. Not saying that this generation wouldn't do that but a lot of people take protests to place like Twitter

or Facebook where they'll hashtag something. They'll use their words very exquisitely and explicitly on these platforms. Black Lives Matter wasn't made on a college campus, but it's something college students could hashtag. It was something they could show their solidarity with the idea of Black Lives Matter.

As it pertains to the research question, "What are the different methods or forms of BSCA in 2016?," participants shared that the most effective demonstration of BSCA on campus was their sit-in at their student government meeting demanding a letter in support of the University of Missouri protesters. The most fascinating information shared by participants was how they used social media to organize covertly to preserve the element of surprise. They did not ask for permission to do it; they did what was natural and what felt right at the time to fight black oppression. I argue that Black Student Campus Activism is least effective when asking for permission from campus administration via the campus diversity center and multicultural center, which are not the norms. Rather, the norm is engaging in BSCA that is non-negotiated, organic, thoughtful and intentional, and has purpose. There need not be permission when BSCA is grounded in truth and intentional purpose.

After reading literature reviews and conducting research on BSCA, what I found to be most interesting surprising was the level of sacrifice Black students were willing to commit themselves towards BSCA. The golden era of BSCA (1965-1972) saw black students willing to be kicked out of school, be arrested, and willing to die for the movement, and the ability to transform their institutions for the betterment of black students. Through my interpretive lens, I did not hear, feel, nor see the willingness of that level of commitment or sacrifice to BSCA like past black student activists of the golden era. A nationally recognized activist, Joe Madison, stated, "The difference between a movement and moment is sacrifice." What I inferred within

this study was a level of concern from many students about the residual effect of participating in BSCA at a very deep level. I believe that future insight defining what level of sacrifice is necessary for the most impactful BSCA is paramount. Understanding present day and future BSCA triggers and methods will be key to informing the scholarly community, the role of BSCA in reconstituting higher education to create a racially equitable learning environment. As important, it will also add to the thin body of resource on BSCA and how black students experience higher education.

Limitations

While researching BSCA, the limited past research was a hindrance to fully understanding triggers and reasons why BSCA happens or does not happen nationally at predominantly white institutions. It also produced little for replication of studies and methods of data collection. By limiting my study to 10 participants, I have a small sample size. I could have produced more data with a mixed-method approach by utilizing a survey and interviews. It would have benefitted the study results to engage the two black student organizations' boards in a qualitative focus group, as well to produce even more rich data that could add to our knowledge of BSCA.

As it relates to student demographics, I used the snowball research method and it produced good results. Unfortunately, I was not able to get interviews with any athletic scholarship black student athletes within the study about their engagement with BSCA to add that narrative and perspective to the study.

The study could have benefitted from some of the influences of the BSCA on campus. I did not interview the BSO advisors. I also did not interview any administrators or staff who may have an impact on BSCA via policy, student organization funding, influences on safety on and

off campus for black students, etc. This study may have produced even richer data had I prepared a list of definitions for the participants to review (e.g. Pan African, Black, Racism, Black Student Activism), so all participants would be on the same page of understanding. Lastly, not adding the voices of the BSO advisers into the study was a limitation into the insight of the direction, purpose, and history of the BSOs, and their relationships with BSCA.

Implications for Research

BSCA past, present, and future has helped reconstitute higher education for the betterment of black students, and all students and institutions of higher learning. Yet, it has gone relatively without research for far too long leaving the higher education black student experience muted to other black students, parents of black students, and higher education practitioners.

Because of this, an important body of research is missing from the narratives of black students. I recommend the following future research be conducted: relationships of African-born and domestic African Americans' participation in BSCA; the correlation of the Nigrescence black racial identity formation and BSCA. The scholarly community will benefit from understanding the maturation of Black identity in black students who participate in BSCA.

Future research will help establish a definitive definition of Black Student Campus Activism. As higher education and society changes, the need to define and redefine what BSCA is benefits all that participate in it, and all that research it. Research examining the differences and similarities of BSCA participation of black females and males will help understand how gender plays a role in BSCA. Additional research to determine the role of black student athletes receiving scholarship participation in BSCA additional understanding of BSCA. Comparative past and present studies will bring greater understanding of the role of black faculty and black advisors in helping support BSCA.

Examining the concerns of the campus administration of BSCA would provide insight for the scholarly community about how Blacks participation in BSCA impacts campus leadership. Understanding the roles of the Office of Equity, Diversity centers, and Multicultural Offices in relation to BSCA will provide greater insight to how these offices support or deter from BSCA. Determining how institutions support BSCA will add understanding of BSCA. Researching to what extent off campus or external community supports students participating in BSCA provides additional insight to BSCA.

Understanding to what extent does the institution fear BSCA will help understand the impact BSCA is and has had on higher education campuses. It's imperative for the longevity of BSCA to determine future areas of concern that BSCA can address to racially reconstitute higher education from the narratives of Black students. Various comparative studies of BSCA at HBCUs and PWIs, private, public, two-year and four-year colleges and universities, national and international Black student participation in BSCA, BSCA participants from different decades starting from the past until the present will provide a comprehensive understanding of BSCA. Lastly, BSCA continued research will help develop a continuum of differing levels of Black Student Campus Activism.

Throughout this research, it became evident to the researcher that future empirical studies about BSCA individual and collective sacrifice is necessary. Understanding intricacies of BSCA will provide the scholarly community additional insight too Black students higher education experiences. A critical question that also arose was how is Black Student Campus Activism defined, and what is the level of engagement necessary to create sustainable change that will reconstitute higher education. These, among numerous other avenues of research about BSCA,

would benefit the scholarly community to address the transformative actions necessary to racially reconstitute higher education for all students, in particular, black students.

Implications for Theory

Rogers (2012a) argued that Black Students fought against four main elements: moralized contraption, standardization of exclusion, normalized mask of whiteness, and ladder altruism. I found within this study that BSCA addressed one of the four main elements found by Rogers. The element that BSCA addresses within this study is the normalized mask of whiteness. This is the practice of maintaining white superiority and the disapproving of Eurocentric scholarship. It was clear through macro-themes (*Everyday racism as black student in white spaces on and off campus* and *Black Student Campus Activism forms of resistance that black students attending predominately white institutions*), like in previous eras, are still fighting to be viewed as equal peers on campus. Black students are fighting for racial equity in the make-up of the policies, curriculum, staffing, and experience that are not embedded in white supremacy on and off campus. Black students articulated in this study the need for additional administration support on and off campus from hostile white peers, staff, faculty, administrators, and community members. In short, black students want to be treated as human beings, not as lesser humans who are not fit to be present on and off campus. Lastly, I believe that black students want an end to black oppression on and off campus, and the duality of their black identities (black person and student) creates tension for them in their academic experiences.

Basically, how can I be on campus studying and reading books while my black people are experiencing extreme oppression in mine and other communities. The constant responsibility of having to teach peers, staff, faculty, administrators, and community members about black people or their black individuality is not why black students attend college, and it becomes a very taxing

experience to navigate on top of trying to determine what is and what is not a racist experience, and which one I will address today at the risk of being stigmatized as the angry, black woman or man can drive a black student crazy on top of the rigor of their course load.

The research on how black students experience success states that campus support systems are vital to successful experiences for black students. It seems as if the black student organization serves in the role as an indelible support system for many black students. This study did not find any amendments to current research about BSCA, rather, it clearly argues for the need for further research towards the scarcely researched topic of BSCA.

This study also found that BSCA has been tempered and infiltrated by the administration of the institution. The fear that has been bestowed upon students for their academic and career success has negatively impacted BSCA. Most students did not seem to be willing to risk being kicked out of school, so low risk activism was the preferred method (e.g., teaching, unity walks, social media, and participation in the black student organizations). The negative options were to jeopardize future career opportunities, and risk negative administration repercussions to the BSO (funding, rules, regulations), and risk going to jail, and nobody was willing to die on behalf of BSCA. Many students spoke about having peaceful protests, and many students spoke about working in relationships with other student groups and the administration as it relates to BSCA. My biggest take away from the research is that at this PWI, BSCA is a moment and not a movement that will sustain itself over time to aggressively and radically reconstitute this higher education institution, and it has been hijacked by the institution's administration.

Implications for Practice

Again, there is very limited research on BSCA, so I argue going forward, further research on this thinly-researched narrative of how BSCA impacts campuses and how black students

experience higher education. I believe that practitioners can utilize the black student narratives shared within this study to look at policies embedded in White superiority, racism and oppression; policies that negate the racial diversification of increasing black faculty, staff, and administrators, soft policies on hate speech and actions on campus that impact black students, Eurocentric curricula that reinforces white supremacy, and truth telling about the communities and campuses historical and present climate for racial diversity on and off campus by PWIs. Also, practitioners can use information shared within this study to develop regular and on-going mandatory campus-wide professional development in supporting Black students. Institutions can provide regular community racial healing workshops for the internal and external community members. These workshops and dialogues can help campus staff develop additional skills to protect black students on and off campus from campus racial tensions. Practitioners will better understand the need for more opportunities for purposeful and intentional racial affinity groups and opportunities for black students on and off campus.

Finally, practitioners can start paying closer attention and listening to narratives of how black students are experiencing and coping with the oppression they are inflicted with on and off campus on a daily basis to design supportive structures that lead to black students getting the necessary support to work through the daily racial battle fatigue experienced by black students. Higher education practitioners must understand that well-trained professionals who have expert credentialing in working with black students must provide this support. These are some of the influences that incite Black Student Campus Activism, and practitioners can address some of the issues that ignite BSCA by adhering to some the narratives shared by black students in this study.

Conclusion

As mentioned above, this study used a Critical Race Theory methodology of the qualitative design to propel and amplify the racial experience of black students participating in Black Student Campus Activism at a predominantly white institution in the Midwest. The study explored the connection to the nationwide BSCA, what are triggers that constitute BSCA, and what are factors that impede black student campus activism, and what are current methods that BSCA employs today.

Information within this study provides serious higher education practitioners dedicated to improving the learning spaces for black students the opportunity to utilize the information in hopes to help racially reconstitute and transform higher education campuses for the betterment of black students. It also serves as a platform to amplify black student narratives about BSCA to counter dominant narratives of BSCA students within the scholarly community.

This chapter also provides the reader about the limitations of the study, and it also provided suggestions for future research on BSCA. The researcher also shared connections to previous scholarship themes and frameworks of BSCA—what was similar and what was different. It also shared ways that serious practitioners could utilize the information aggregated within the study to racially reconstitute higher education for the betterment of the black student educational experience.

This study serves as an offering to the scholarly community and the everyday inquisitive mind that is fascinated, curious, or is serious about racially reconstituting higher education for the betterment of black students to add to the very thin body of research that currently informs readers about black student campus activism at predominantly white institutions. I hope, with all respect to any and every black student past, present, and future, this body of work serves as a

greatly needed and necessary insight to heighten black student narratives towards white supremacy's systemic oppression of black students attending predominantly white institutions and engaging in Black Student Campus Activism.

References

- Ahmann, M. H. (1961). *The new Negro*. Notre Dame, IN: Fides Publishers.
- Ansley, F. L. (1997) 'White supremacy (and what we should do about it)'. In R. Delgado & J. Stefancic (Eds.), *Critical white studies: Looking behind the mirror* (pp. 592-655). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Asante, M. K. (1991). The Afrocentric idea in education. *Journal of Negro Education*, 60(2), 170-180.
- Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU). (2002). *Greater expectations*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities [Online]. Available at: www.greaterexpectations.org.
- Astin, A. W. (1984). Student involvement: A developmental theory for higher education. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 25, 297-308.
- Astin, A. W. (1996). Involvement in learning revisited: Lessons we have learned. *Journal of College Student Development*, 37(2), 123-134.
- Bakari, R. S. (1997). *African American racial identity development in predominately white institutions challenges for student development professionals: Different perspectives on majority rules*. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/pocpwi2/19>.
- Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well. The permanence of racism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Boyer, E. L. (1987). *College: The undergraduate experience in America*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Braungart, M. M., & Braungart, R. G. (1991). The effects of the 1960s political generation on former left- and right-wing youth activist leaders. *Social Problems*, 38(3), 297-315.

- Braungart, R. G., & Braungart, M. M. (1990). Political generational themes in the American student movements of the 1930s and 1960s. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 18(1), 79-121.
- Biddix, J. P., Somers, P. A., & Polman, J. L. (2009). Protest reconsidered: Identifying democratic and civic engagement learning outcomes. *Innovative Higher Education*, 34(3), 133-147.
- Biondi, M. (2012). *The Black revolution on campus*. Berkley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Brisbane, R. H. (1974). *Black activism: Racial revolution in the United States 1954-1970*. Valley Forge: Judson Press
- Brubacher, J. S., & Rudy, W. (1958). *Higher education in transition: An American History 1636-1956*. New York: Harper.
- Burks, E. C. (1969). CORE's chief assails Wilkins stand. *New York Times*, p. 25.
- Chambers, T., & Phelps, C. E. (1993). Student activism as a form of leadership and student development. *NASPA Journal*, 31(1), 19-29.
- Cohodas, N. (1997). *The band played Dixie: Race and the liberal conscience at Ole Miss*. New York: The Free Press.
- Colby, A., Ehrlich, T., Beaumont, E., & Stephens, J. (2003). *Educating citizens: Preparing America's undergraduates for lives of moral responsibility and civic responsibility*. San Francisco: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
- Cole, E. R., Zucher, A. N., & Ostrove, J. M. (1998). Political participation and feminist consciousness among women activists of the 1960s. *Political Psychology*, 19(2), 349-371.

- Collier, A. (2005). Critical realism. In G. Steinmetz (Ed.), *The politics of method in the human sciences: Positivism and its epistemological others* (pp. 327-345). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Collins, P. (2013). *On intellectual activism*. Philadelphia, PA 19122: Temple University Press.
- Cook, D. C. (1992). *The desegregation and integration of Central Missouri State University*. (Master's thesis). Central Missouri State University, Warrensburg, Missouri.
- Cross, W. E. (1991). *Shades of Black: Diversity in African-American identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Delgado, R. (Ed.). (1995). *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting edge*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Civil race theory: An introduction*. New York & London: New York University Press.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *The landscape of qualitative research*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
- Downs, D. A. (1999). *Cornell '69: Liberalism and the crisis of the American university*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Dubois, W. E. B. (1903). *The souls of Black folk*. New York, NY: Penguin.
- Dyer, C. M. (1990). *Protest and the politics of open admissions: The impact of the black and Puerto Rican students' community (of City College)*. (Doctoral dissertation). New York, City University of New York.
- Edwards, H. (1970). *Black students*. New York: Free Press.
- Ellsworth, F. L., & Burns, M. A. (1970). *Activism in American higher education*. Student personnel series no. 10. American Personnel Association.

- Fendrich, J. M. (1977). Keeping the faith of pursuing the good life: A study of the consequences of participation in the civil rights movement. *American Sociological Review*, 42(1), 144-157.
- Fendrich, J. M., & Lovoy, K. L. (1988). Back to the future: Adult political behavior of former student activists. *American Sociological Review*, 53(5), 780-784.
- Fendrich, J. M., & Tarleau, A. T. (1973). Marching to a different drummer: Occupational and political correlates of former student activists. *Social Forces*, 52(2), 245-253.
- Foley, J. A., & Foley, R. K. (1969). *The college scene*. New York: Cowles Book Company, Inc.
- Frank, A. (1947). *The diary of a young girl/The diary of Anne Frank*. Netherlands: Contact Publishing.
- Franklin, V. P. (2003). Patterns of student activism: A historically black universities in the United States and South Africa 1960-1977. *Journal of African American History*, 88(2), 204-217.
- Franz, C. E., & McClelland, D. C. (1994). Lives of women and men active in the social protests of the 1960s: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66(1), 196-205.
- Fries-Britt, S. L., & Turner, B. (2001). Facing stereotypes: A case study of Black students on a White campus. *Journal of College Student Development*, 42(5), 420-429.
- Fullen, M. (2005). *Leadership & sustainability: System thinkers in action*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Gandhi, M. (1914). *Quotable quote*. Retrieved from <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/34842-it-s-the-action-not-the-fruit-of-the-action-that-s>.

- Garza, A. (2016). *A history of the #blacklives matter movement*. Retrieved from www.blacklivesmatter.com/herstory/.
- Glaser, B. (1965). The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. *Social Problems*, *12*(4), 436-445.
- Grier, W. H., & Cobbs, P. M. (1968). *Black rage*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Haney-Lopez, I. (2010). Freedom, mass incarceration, racism in the age of Obama. *Alabama Law Review*, *62*(5), 1005-2011.
- Hare, N. (1969). The case for separatism: 'Black perspective.' *Newsweek*, p. 56.
- Harper, S. R., & Hurtado, S. (2007). Nine themes in campus racial climates and implications for institutional transformation. In S. R. Harper & L. D. Patton (Eds.), *Responding to the realities of race on campus. New Directions for Student Services* (No. 120, pp. 7-24). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Heffernan, K. J. (1992). *The motivation of a select group of college students involved in community service*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), Boston University Graduate School of Education.
- Heineman, K. J. (2001). *Put your bodies upon the wheels: Student revolt in the 1960s*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
- Hill, J. (2006). Excerpts from a life standing at the well. *The Black Scholar*, *36*, 31-35.
- Hoge, D. R., & Ankney, T. L. (1982). Occupations and attitudes of former student activists 10 years later. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *11*(5), 355-371.
- Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F., Clayton-Pedersen, A., & Allen, W. R. (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. *Review of Higher Education*, *21*(3), 279-302.

- Jenkins, C. J. (1983). Resource mobilization theory and the study of social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology, 9*, 527-553.
- Johnson, A. (2014). *Speech on the importance of statewide student associations in American student activism, and about some of the pitfalls such groups face when they're getting organized*. Connecticut Student Organization.
- Jones, S. R., & Hill, K. E. (2003). Understanding patterns of commitment. *The Journal of Higher Education, 74*(5), 516-539.
- Karkouti, I. M. (2016). Black students' educational experiences in predominantly white universities: A review of the related literature. *College Student Journal, 59*(1).
- Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Institutions. (1999). *Returning to our roots: The engaged institution*. Washington, DC: National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges [Online]. Available at: <http://www.nasulgc.org/publications/Kellogg/engage.pdf>.
- Kerpelman, L. C. (1972). *Activists and nonactivists: A psychological study of American college students*. New York: Behavioral Publications, Inc.
- Kerr, C. (1970). Student dissent and confrontation politics. In J. Foster & D. Long (Eds.), *Protest: Student activism in America* (pp. 3-10). New York: William Morrow & Company.
- Klandermans, B., & Oegema, D. (1987). Potentials, networks, motivations, and barriers: Steps towards participation in social movements. *American Sociological Review, 52*, 519-531.
- Kornberg, A., & Smith, J. (1969). 'It ain't over yet': Activism in a Southern university. In J. McEvoy & A. Miller (Eds.), *Black power and student rebellion*. Belmont: Wadsworth.

- Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? In E. Taylor, D. Gillborn, & G. Ladson-Billings (Eds.), *Foundations of critical race theory* (pp.17-36). New York: Routledge.
- Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teacher College Record*, 97, 47-68.
- Laufer, R. S., & Light, D. (1977). The origins and future of university protest. In D. L. Light, Jr. and J. Spiegel (Eds.), *The dynamics of university protest* (pp. 1-21). Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers.
- Lehman, C., P. (2011). *Slavery in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1787-1865: A history of human bondage in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.
- Leonardo, Z., & Grubb, N. W. (2014). *Education and racism*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Denzin, N. K. (2003, 2007), *Turning points in qualitative research: Tying knots in a handkerchief*. Walnut Grove, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Malcolm X. (1959). *Quotable quote*. Retrieved from <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/799-i-m-for-truth-no-matter-who-tells-it-i-m-for>.
- Martin, T. (2004). Black studies, Wellesley College. In M. K. Asante & A. Mazama (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Black studies*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- McAdam, D. (1986). Recruitment to high-risk activism: The case of freedom summer. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 92(1), 64-90.
- McAdam, D. (1989). The biographical consequences of activism. *American Sociological Review*, 54(5), 744-760.

- McAdam, D., & Paulsen, R. (1993). Specifying the relationship between social ties and activism. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(3), 640-667.
- McAdam, D., & Snow, D. A. (1997). Social movements: Conceptual and theoretical issues. In D. McAdam & D. A. Snow (Eds.), *Social movements: Readings on their emergence, mobilization, and dynamics* (pp. xviii-xxvi). Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- Meyer, A. E. (1967). *An educational history of the American people* (1957, 2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Mills, C. (1997). *The racial contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Morris, A. (1981). Black southern student sit-in movement: An analysis of internal organization. *American Sociological Review*, 46, 744-767.
- Mother Theresa. (1979). *Quotable quotes*. Retrieved from <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/759-at-the-end-of-life-we-will-not-be-judged>.
- Newman, F. (1985). *Higher education and the American resurgence*. Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
- Obear, F. W. (1970). Student activism in the sixties. In J. Foster & D. Long (Eds.), *Protest: Student activism in America* (pp. 11-26). New York: William Morrow & Company.
- Palcic, J. L. (1979). The history of the Black student union at Florida State University, 1968-1978. (Doctoral dissertation). Tallahassee, Florida: Florida State University.
- Parks Daloz, L. A., Keen, C. H., Keen, J. P., & Daloz Parks, S. (1996). *Common fire: Leading lives of commitment in a complex world*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Pascarella, E. T., Ethington, C. A., & Smart, J. C. (1988). The influence of college on humanitarian/civic involvement values. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 59(4), 412-437.
- Pascarella, E., & Terenzini, P. (2005). How college affects students. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Passy, F., & Giugni, M. (2001). Social networks and individual perceptions: Explaining differential participation in social movements. *Sociological Forum*, 16(1), 123-153.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Paulsen, R. (1991). Education, social class, and participation in collective action. *Sociology of Education*, 64, 96-110.
- Quayle, S. J. (2007). Hope and learning: The outcomes of contemporary student activism. *About Campus*, 12(2), 2-9.
- Quinney, D. N. (2014). "Fight the power": An exploration of the Black student activist scholar. Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- Rhoads, R. A. (1998). *Freedoms' web: Student activism in an age of cultural diversity*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rogers, I. (2009a). *The Black campus movement: An Afrocentric narrative history of the struggle to diversify higher education, 1965-1972* (Doctoral dissertation). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University.
- Rogers, I. (2009b). Remembering the Black campus movement: An oral history interview with James P. Garrett. *The Journal of Pan-African Studies*, 2, 30-41.
- Rogers, I. (2012a). The Black campus movement and the institutionalization of Black studies 1965-1970. *Journal of African American Studies*, 16(1), 21-40.

- Rogers, I. H. (2012b). *The Black campus movement; Black students and the racial reconstitution of higher education, 1965-1972*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rosas, M. (2010). *College student activism: An exploration of learning outcomes*. (Doctoral dissertation. University of Iowa
- Rudolph, F. (1990). *The American college and university: A history*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.
- Sax, L. J. (2000). Citizenship development and the American college student. In T. Ehrlich (Ed.), *Civic responsibility and higher education* (pp. 3-18). Phoenix, AZ: The Oryx Press.
- Schussman, A., & Soule, S. A. (2005). Process and protest: Accounting for individual protest participation. *Social Forces*, 84(2), 1083-1108.
- Scott-Heron, G. (1972). *The Nigger factory*. The Dial Press.
- Scully, M. G. (1969). Negro students push demands: Reaction grows. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, p. 1.
- Sherkat, D. E., & Blocker, T. J. (1997). Explaining the political and personal consequences of protest. *Social Forces*, 75(3), 1049-1070.
- Snow, D. A., Zurcher, L. A., & Eklund-Olson, S. (1980). Social networks and social movements: A microstructural approach to differential recruitment. *American Sociological Review*, 45(5), 787-801.
- Solorzano, D., & Yosso, T. (2002). A critical race counterstory of affirmative action in higher education. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35, 155-168.
- Spofford, T. (1988). *Lynch Street: The May 1970 slayings at Jackson State College*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.

- Taylor, E., Gillborn, D., & Ladson-Billings, G. (Eds.). (2009). *Foundations of critical race theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Thelin, J. R. (2004). *A history of American higher education*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Thomas, N. L. (2000). The college and university as citizen. In T. Ehrlich (Ed.), *Civic responsibility and higher education* (pp. 63-97). Phoenix, AZ: The Oryx Press.
- Trotter, J. W., Jr. (2001). *The African American experience, volume II, from reconstruction*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Van Dyke, N. (1998). Hotbeds of activism: Locations of student protest. *Social Problems*, 45(2), 205-220.
- Walsh, E. J., & Warland, R. H. (1983). Social movement involvement in the wake of a nuclear accident: Activists and free riders. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 764-780.
- West, C., (2012). Power in Diversity Conference Speech Transcripts.
- West, C., (2014). Cornel West calls Obama the 'Black face of the American empire.' Retrieved from <https://www.rt.com/usa/193688-cornel-west-obama-american-empire/>.
- Wiesel, E. (1996). *Elie Wiesel-acceptance speech* (for Nobel Peace Prize). Retrieved from https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1986/wiesel-acceptance_en.html.
- Wilkins, R. (1969). The case against separatism: 'Black Jim Crow.' *Newsweek*, p. 57.
- Williamson, J. A. (2003). *Black power on campus: The University of Illinois, 1965-75*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Williamson, J. A. (2008). *Radicalizing the Ebony Tower: Black colleges and the Black freedom struggle in Mississippi*. New York: Teachers College Press.

- Wong, A. (2015). *The renaissance of student activism*. Retrieved September, 2015, from www.theatlantic.com/education/...student-activism/393749/.
- Wong, A., & Green, A. (2016). *Campus politics: A cheat sheet*. Retrieved April, 2016, from www.theatlantic.com/education/...campus-protest-roundup/4175701/.
- Zurcher, L. A., & Snow, D. A. (1981). Collective behavior: Social movements. In M. Rosenberg & R. Turner (Eds.), *Social psychology: Sociological perspectives* (pp. 447-482). New York: Basic.

Appendix A: IRB Approval Form



Institutional Review Board (IRB)

720 4th Avenue South MC 204K, St. Cloud, MN 56301-4498

Name: Marcellus Davis

Address

USA

Email: marcellusdavis@mac.com

**IRB PROTOCOL
DETERMINATION:
Exempt Review**

Project Title: The Vanguard of the racial constituting of Higher education: Black student campus Activism #STANDWITHUS

Advisor Dr. Steven McCullar

The Institutional Review Board has reviewed your protocol to conduct research involving human subjects. Your project has been: **APPROVED**

Please note the following important information concerning IRB projects:

- The principal investigator assumes the responsibilities for the protection of participants in this project. Any adverse events must be reported to the IRB as soon as possible (ex. research related injuries, harmful outcomes, significant withdrawal of subject population, etc.).

- For expedited or full board review, the principal investigator must submit a Continuing Review/Final Report form in advance of the expiration date indicated on this letter to report conclusion of the research or request an extension.

- Exempt review only requires the submission of a Continuing Review/Final Report form in advance of the expiration date indicated in this letter if an extension of time is needed.

- Approved consent forms display the official IRB stamp which documents approval and expiration dates. If a renewal is requested and approved, new consent forms will be officially stamped and reflect the new approval and expiration dates.

- The principal investigator must seek approval for any changes to the study (ex. research design, consent process, survey/interview instruments, funding source, etc.). The IRB reserves the right to review the research at any time.

If we can be of further assistance, feel free to contact the IRB at 320-308-3290 or email ri@stcloudstate.edu and please reference the SCSU IRB number when corresponding.

IRB Institutional Official:

Dr. Latha Ramakrishnan
Interim Associate Provost for Research
Dean of Graduate Studies

OFFICE USE ONLY

SCSU IRB# 1639 - 2052

1st Year Approval Date: 11/4/2016

1st Year Expiration Date:

Type: Exempt Review

2nd Year Approval Date:

2nd Year Expiration Date:

Today's Date: 11/14/2016

3rd Year Approval Date:

3rd Year Expiration Date:

Appendix B: Consent Form

The Vanguard of Racially Constituting Higher Education: Black Student Campus Activism #Standwithus!

You are invited to participate in a research study titled The Vanguard of Racially Constituting Higher Education: Black Student Campus Activism #Standwithus! You were selected as a potential participant because the focus of the study is Black student campus activism at a predominantly White institution in the Midwest.

This research study is being conducted by Marcellus Davis to satisfy requirements of the Saint Cloud State University Higher Education Administration Doctoral Degree. The results will be used in my dissertation.

Background information and Purpose:

The role and purpose of Black Student Campus Activism (BSCA) has been predicated on the experiences of Black students attending higher education institutions and the relationship to what is happening in society to Black people. A routine overt and covert irritant to the experiences of Black students on and off campus has been White supremacy and racism as stated by the literature. The literature also speaks to the racial hostility and climate of higher education campuses for Black students. Furthermore, the literature also expounds on the development of Black students racial identity, and the amalgamation of these factors must be considered when examining the role of Black Student Campus Activism. Currently Black Student Campus Activism is under-researched, thus, the scholarly community is missing narratives of Black students engaging in BSCA Campus Activism. By employing the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory, in particular, CRT in education. This study seeks to provide a qualitative

experiential knowledge or the voice of black students to provide a rich narrative of Black Student Campus Activism.

Hence the purpose of the study is to:

- **Determine in what forms does Black Student Campus Activism still exists;**
- **How does it operate;**
- **Factors that ignite Black Student activism today;**
- **What methods of activism are presently occurring today?**

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal

Participation is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with St. Cloud State University or the researcher. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

Procedures

If you choose to participate in this study, the researcher will conduct one interview with each participant. The interviews will be conducted face-to-face, and in extreme circumstances via Skype. I will work with you and other students participating in African/Black student organizations to help me identify other students to participate in a 60-90 minute interview. I will also work closely with you to identify the best geographical location (on-off campus) to conduct the interview. In an extreme case, I would also be open to the use of technology (SKYPE, Google Hangouts, or Go to Meetings) if necessary. Interviews will be conducted individually. The interviews will be audio digitally recorded, and all interviews will be confidential. The time of the interview will range in between 45-90 minutes.

Risks and Benefits of Participating in the Study

There are no immediate or expected risks for participating in the study. The researcher will accommodate scheduling requirements around each participants' schedule.

This study will not place any subjects /participants at risk. I will work hard to reduce any scheduling issues by allowing subjects to withdraw at any time if they experience difficulty of any type.

Benefits

There are no immediate or expected

The benefits for to participating in the interview. Your participation will allow me to learn about subjects participating in this study are that all subjects will be contributing to the scarce research on Black Student Campus Activism at a Midwestern Predominantly White Institution. PAll participants that participate complete all the questions to in the interview will receive twenty dollars a gift after the completion of the interview afterwards. Participant follow-up in person - completed interviews will receive five dollars a gift for participating and completing in the interview.

Confidentiality

The records of this study will be kept private. Each participant will have an option in regards to confidentiality and pseudonyms, if preferred.

Confidentiality will be preserved by the following ways:

- No study participant will be named by name only a coded interview number
- Neither individual results nor any information that reveals the identity of the participants will be shared.

- All raw data and any other revealing participant data will be stored in a secure location and destroyed in three years of the study interview.
- Although, participants will not be named and information will be confidential, there is a chance that participants could be identified from the published text. All participants will be able to review contributing text and withdraw comments prior to publication.

Study Research Results

Upon request of the study participants, I will provide a summary copies of the completed study research results.

Contact Information

If you have any further questions, now or later, I strongly encourage you to contact me Marcellus Davis at 612-819-3024 or dama0803@stcloudstate.edu You may also contact my research advisor Dr. Steven McCullar at 320-308-4727 or slmccullar@stcloudstate.edu. You will be given a copy of the this form for your records.

Voluntary Participation/nt Withdrawal

Participation is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Saint Cloud State University or the researcher. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

As stated in the aforementioned above, this is a voluntary study, if you decide to participate in this study; all participants can withdrawal from the study at any time during the interview. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Saint Cloud State University or the researcher.

Acceptance to Participate

Your signature indicates that you have read the above aforementioned study information and have decided to participate in the study. You may withdraw from this study at any time during the interview. Payments will only be provided if all answers are completed during the interview.

Acknowledgement of informed consent

I have read all the information on this consent form and received satisfactory answers to my questions. I willingly give my consent to participate in this study.

Participant/Subject Printed Name _____

Participant Subject Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix C: Interview Guide

I am in the process of conducting a qualitative study to complete my doctoral dissertation. The purpose of this study is to explore the role of Blacks Student Campus Activism (BSCA) at a Predominantly White Institution in the Midwest.

This interview will focus on your personal involvement in local and national Black Student Campus Activism, factors that influence BSCA, factors that impede BSCA, Black oppression on and off campus, and Black Identity development. Please think about specific past or recent, on and off campus events that have led to your participation in BSCA. Lastly, please think about how you define Black Student Campus Activism.

All responses will be digitally recorded and kept confidential. Any discussions of the results will be done as summaries of what people said, rather than addressing individual responses, with few exceptions for direct quotes using pseudonyms. Are you willing to participate?

Do you have any questions prior to the start of the interview?

Date: _____ Start time: _____ End time: _____ Location: _____

Interview Questions:

Nationwide Black Resistance

1. Would you share with me your understanding of the recent Black student protest across the nation (I.E. University of Minnesota Duluth, University of Missouri, University of Harvard)?
2. What on or off campus protest or social movements have you participated concerning on or off campus Black oppression? If so, in what ways (marching, protest, on-line campaigns, bumper stickers, or political shirts etc.)

Black Student Oppression

3. Please describe the current racial climate on campus for Black students?

4. To what extent have you experienced racism on campus as a Black student?
5. As a Black student, to what extent do you feel marginalized on campus?
6. What or who got you interested in resisting campus Black oppression?
7. How does Black student oppression show up for you on campus?

Activism Methods

8. Do you consider yourself to be a student activist?
9. Do you consider yourself to be a Black student Activist?
10. Is there a difference between student activism and Black student activism?
11. How do you define Black student activism?
12. As a Black student, to what extent did you participate in activism prior to participating in BSCA?
13. Do you consider yourself to be a Black Student Activist?
14. In what ways are you currently participating in Black Student Campus Activism?
15. Please share some current methods of Black Student Campus Activism.
16. In your experience, what has been the most effective on campus methods of Black Student Campus Activism?
17. Has your experience in campus activism led to participation in societal activism?

Impediments

18. What are some barriers that prevent you in participating in BSCA?
19. Would you share some of the repercussions you have experience participating in BSCA?
20. How, if at all, Does fear play a role into BSCA?

Black Identity

21. Please share with me how your racial consciousness has evolved while attending higher education?

22. What contributed to your growth and development of your racial consciousness?

Closing

We have approached the end of the interview. Is there anything else you would like to share?

Maybe, something I did not ask? Are there any questions you have for me? If necessary, would you be open to a follow-up interview?

Thank for you participating in this research study.

Interview Pseudonym _____

Interview Responses:

Nationwide Black Resistance:

1.

2.

Black Oppression:

1.

2.

3.

Activism Methods:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

Impediments:

1.

2.

Black Identity:

1.

2.

Final Comments:

Appendix D: Participant Interview Receipt of Payment

Marcellus Davis Doctoral Candidate

Dama0803@stcloudstate.edu

SCSU Higher Education Administration Doctoral Program

Interviewee Name:

(please print) _____

Email Address _____

This payment constitutes full payment and satisfaction of services provided by BSCA research interviewee on the date of December 4, 2016.

Date: _____

Interviewer: Marcellus Davis

Appendix E: Procedures and Timeline

The procedures will be focused on acquiring more comprehensive information to gain "real," "rich," and "deep" data. In achieving richness of data interviews are the primary means of data collection with the goal of gaining a complete picture. Several procedures will be engaged to include IRB approval but not limited to data aggregation to increase understanding of the findings and assert data credibility and worthiness.

The project timeline is set for a period of 14 months. It will involve activities and times outlined on the chart below.

Summary

This research uses qualitative research for data design, collection and analysis. Interviews are a primary source of data collection. A protocol guide of questions will be prepared for the interviews to insure the same questions will be administered for each interviewee. The protocol guide will be tested through a pilot study with five students of color to prove its validity. The interviews will be transcribing and a step by step procedure will be used to analyzing the data. Themes will be identified during the analysis and these will be grouped and presented in the data.