American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century

Social, Political, and Economic Challenges

FIFTH EDITION

Edited by

Michael N. Bastedo, Philip G. Altbach, and Patricia J. Gumport

Johns Hopkins University Press
Baltimore

Chapter Eight

Activism and Social Movements in College

Actors, Contexts, Tactics, and Strategies of Postsecondary Political Engagement

Charles H. F. Davis III, Demetri Morgan, and Katherine S. Cho

Activism and social movements in college and university contexts are as foundational to American higher education as are the very grounds upon which many postsecondary institutions are built. Across the long history of higher education, activism has played an integral part in the many reconstitutions of US postsecondary institutions, especially regarding greater access, equity, and inclusion for minoritized and marginalized communities. Even in the early period of colonial colleges during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, students expressed concerns about the limits of classical curricula, substandard food and lodging, and the prevailing doctrine of *in loco parentis* ascribing paternalistic authority over students to institutions.[1] Most notable is the "golden era" of student activism, the 1960s, which continues to predominate the US social movements literature, as sociological interests grew almost as quickly as unrest spread throughout colleges and universities across the country. College and university activism during the late twentieth century, however, remained relatively understudied by comparison, especially within the formalized field of higher education.

The seminal student activism scholarship of the late 1980s and late 1990s notwithstanding,[2] the study of student activism experienced a period of relative dormancy in the early 2000s. To be sure, this was not because activism was not happening on college and university campuses, but likely the result of a cooling-off period following the preceding wave of affirmative action-related organizing of the late twentieth century.[3] Much like the period immediately following the

golden era, postsecondary activism became less intense and therefore less visible in both public and scholarly discourses. However, the second decade of the twenty-first century saw a sharp rise in frequency as well as visibility of higher education activism, particularly among students as the movements for Black lives, DREAMERS and undocumented students, and gender and sexual justice (i.e., LGBTQIA+), coalesced within broader US society as well as on campus. In the wake of this contemporary wave of social movement activity, higher education scholars' interests again turned to the study of activism, which is evidenced by numerous journal special issues, research articles, scholarly essays, and books published on the subject in the past ten years.[4]

In this chapter, rather than offering a comprehensive chronology of contemporary higher education activism, we focus on three interrelated areas comprising the resurgent *study* of activism and social movements: movement actors, conceived both individually and organizationally, who participate in various forms of direct action; intra- and extra-institutional contexts in which activism and social movements occur; and the tactical repertoires (including strategies) undertaken by movement actors to transform postsecondary institutions and society. Altogether we conceptualize these areas as the actors, contexts, tactics, and strategies (ACTS) framework.

Using this framework, this chapter is organized into sections wherein we define and describe each analytical unit in accordance with the extant literature on activism and social movements in higher and postsecondary milieus. In doing so, we pay deliberate attention to contemporary activism within the past ten years, especially strategies and tactics that leverage alternative and activist new media projects that have both widened social movement participation as well as deepened its impact.[5] In some instances, as in the section focused on contexts, we reference examples to situate how operational definitions of a particular analytical unit are represented in higher education research and practice. We conclude each section with a set of questions and considerations for the ongoing study of activism and social movements as contemporary phenomena in today's expansive, seemingly borderless, and digitally mediated postsecondary environments.

Actors in Higher Education Activism

Typically, the topic of activism in postsecondary contexts has focused on students as the primary actors.[6] However, we intentionally broaden the category to include an array of individuals and collectives engaged in building political power to challenge the status quo and transform postsecondary institutions as well as

society. This broader framing also enables us to analyze research commonalities as well as differences across demographics to enhance and extend the concept of actors in the study of activism in higher education. This section is organized around the primary actors that previous research has identified as engaging in activism in, around, and against higher education contexts. Each subsection seeks to provide an operational definition to distinguish actor groups from one another. Then, main research topics and questions are summarized and reviewed to synthesize a snapshot of what is known about each actor demographic. Finally, the section concludes with areas for researchers and practitioners to consider and pressing questions that help extend the ACTS framework.

Students as Political Actors

Although a topic with an immense amount of research, there is little consensus on how to operationally define who student activists are. This is an especially critical task given the large research base on student leaders and the importance of students involved in a variety of institutional activities.[7] Further, the notion of students possessing multiple, always developing identities that are differentially salient means that a student can identify as or be labeled a student activist at one point in their collegiate career and not another.[8]

The tension around saliency and fluidity highlights what political psychologists have described as "acquired" (i.e., intrapersonally chosen or honed) versus "ascribed" (i.e., interpersonal assumptions of a person's identity often based on appearance) identities.[9] Accordingly, unpacking the difficulty in exploring the confluence of one's political identity, Huddy explains, "shift[s] in modern identity from attributes that were essentially determined at birth in medieval times—one's religion, occupation, and economic status in life—to identities that are much less deterministic and more subject to choice in the modern era."[10] That is, an activist identity is informed by one's personal choices and identities as well as one's social location, race, class, gender, ability, sexuality, and a range of other dimensions.[11] Hence, these initial dynamics begin to underscore how difficult it can be to pin down what it means to be a student activist when considering the slipperiness of operationalizing identity as an agreed-upon concept between people, much less intrapersonally.

Further, because of our effort to disentangle the notions of contexts and tactics from that of actors, it is not possible to rely solely on where activism happens or what individual activists may be doing to distinguish themselves politically. Therefore, we adapt a constellation of propositions from higher education studies,

sociology, psychology, and political science to present an operational definition of who student activists are as actors. First, we assert the obvious—that a core component is a formal affiliation with an educational institution, whether current or previous, based on taking or having taken a prescribed program of study over a period of time. This includes graduate/professional students, undergraduate students, and alumnx.[12] However, it is important to note that the literature suggests that the issues this configuration of (former) student activists address diverge and overlap in important ways. For instance, research on graduate/professional student activism in the past thirty years has focused mainly on collective bargaining concerns.[13] Research on alumnx activism is similarly sparse, with a collection of studies that seeks to interrogate the impact of activism on the lives of individuals beyond their college years,[14] although more recent work has framed alumnx as a contingent of what social movements scholars refer to as "communities of memory."[15] We do not suggest these are the only issues that concern graduate/professional students or alumnx. Rather, these are the predominant ways researchers have rendered who these particular higher education activists are (or were previously while postsecondary students).

In contrast, research has operationalized undergraduate students much more broadly, attending to the myriad manifestations of undergraduate students based on their curricular choices,[16] cocurricular affiliations,[17] salient identities,[18] and geographical realities.[19] Finally, some studies are explicit in naming coalitions that span these student (or former student) categories. For instance, Hill and colleagues explored how graduate and undergraduate student activists who identified as non-Palestinian supported movements for Palestinian liberation, on campus and beyond.[20]

The second consideration for understanding student activists as actors emanates from a sense of a "shared collective identity" that can be mobilized on behalf of a social movement.[21] In addition, scholars have noted that micro-mobilization, solidarity, commitment, boundaries, consciousness, and negotiation are defining features of people engaged in social movements or activism.[22] Finally, student activists must have a defined set of cultural, social, environmental, or political goals that they are aware of and working to realize that put them into direct engagement with power structures.[23] Taken together, student activists are individuals who are currently or formerly enrolled at a postsecondary education institution, ascribe to a collective identity rooted in a social movement, and define goals that seek cultural, social, or political change and transformation.

Student Activist Identities and Outcomes

Two recurring topics in the higher education student activism literature help to flesh out our operational definition of actors. The first is concerned with the social identities of a student and their identity development.[24] For instance, work on neo-activism highlights how self-identified student activists have come to see their various identities as informing but also inseparable from their identity as an activist.[25] Another example expresses an interest in how campus sexual violence activists "understand and make meaning of both their category and role-based identities as a function of their activist engagement."[26]

Another thrust of the literature has been to center what we loosely define as student activist outcomes, the inter/intrapersonal consequences of one's identification as an activist. They are distinct from but connected to outcomes associated with the strategies and tactics of doing activism (see the section below). On the negative side of this spectrum are notions of student activist burnout, isolation, and disrupted academic performance.[27] For instance, scholarship framing student activism as labor has attempted to "problematize traditional notions of student activism and advance the scholarship about the costs and consequences of student activism, specifically for students with minoritized identities."[28] These works often chide institutional agents for creating and perpetuating structures that inform and lead to these less desirable outcomes for students.[29]

On the positive end of the outcome spectrum are examples of engaging in high-impact educational practices,[30] involvement in student leadership activities or athletics,[31] and advancing issues that directly relate to their academic or career self-interests.[32] For example, research examining student activism within a service-learning course asks, "In what ways are we creating spaces where students feel they can engage in performances of activism, which are physical manifestations of resistance to marginalization and oppression where people speak out with voices and bodies?"[33] In totality, the potentially positive and negative outcomes that student activists experience and the ways that inform their identities remains a ripe area for further exploration and attention to intersectional realities.[34]

Nonstudent Institutional and Community Actors

Beyond student activists, the higher education literature has nominally captured three stakeholder groups engaged in activism: faculty, staff and administrators, and community-based organizers. Unlike students, these individuals are tethered to the institution in idiosyncratic and continuously shifting ways

that make marking who they are within an activist frame difficult to track empirically. Nonetheless, we broadly conceive nonstudent activists, from the actor standpoint, as people whose relationship(s) to an institution partially inform or make up their identity as activists relative to labor, geographic, or symbolic realities flowing from the policies, practices, and discourses of an institution or the entire postsecondary education landscape. With these considerations in mind, we briefly overview relevant dimensions related to labor, geography, and higher education's symbolism, fleshing out the contingents of nonstudent institutional and community actors.

College and University Faculty

We set aside for the purposes of this broad review the many and varied instances of faculty using their intellectual labor and scholarly agendas to engage in advocacy,[35] activism (i.e., "scholar activism"),[36] or "activist scholarship" pertaining to their field of expertise.[37] Such work is as numerous and complex as there are people that make up the faculty ranks.[38] We limit our review to the primary animating feature of faculty activism in relation to the academy, which connects to collective and individual responses to the spread of managerialism and academic capitalist forces.[39] In particular, changing labor realities for faculty have coalesced around three primary areas where we see faculty activism, including (a) attacks on tenure and academic freedom;[40] (b) the rise of contingent faculty labor;[41] and (c) diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) concerns.[42] We define faculty activists as people whose primary affiliation with an institution entails teaching and research activities acting in opposition to that institution.

A wide and ideologically diverse coalition of organizations (e.g., the American Association of University Professors and the National Academy of Scholars) and less formalized groups have galvanized attention on academic freedom and tenure through engagement on different media platforms.[43] These bedrock features of faculty life have become a necessary component to how faculty understand who they are in relation to the institution.[44] Therefore, faculty activists walk a delicate line between advocating for their continuation and alienating other university stakeholders and the broader public who are not afforded similar protections.[45]

Contingent labor and faculty activism has likely predominated this issue over the past forty years. The reliance on contingent labor has placed faculty in financial and socioemotional precarity without demonstrating that it helps institutions' bottom line.[46] Yet institutional governing bodies and leaders have continued to

favor these labor relationships. In response, numerous groups (e.g., New Faculty Majority) have arisen to organize faculty to push back against this trend. The shared identity piece that adds this issue to the repertoire of faculty activists is the assessment that precarious labor relationships for some faculty impact all faculty and students.[47] Finally, faculty have been actively involved in lobbying their institutions to address DEI concerns more substantively.[48] This area is where faculty activism is most likely to overlap with student activists, community members, and institutional administrators.

Staff, Administrators, and Community Organizers

Staff and administrator activism, as well as community activists on campus, are relatively less understood compared to student and faculty activism. Much of the literature on staff and administrators positions them as either supports for or adversaries to student and faculty activists.[49] Other scholars have framed staff and administrators' roles in institutional change through the less contentious framework of leadership and "tempered radicalism."[50] Still, what remains unknown are many of the component issues that make up staff and administrators as activists beyond their relationship to student and faculty actors. This is due, in part, to the type of labor agreement (i.e., "at-will" employment) to which many staff and administrators are subject relative to other institutional stakeholders.[51] That is, without the protections afforded by unionization, academic freedom, or tenure, the fear of losing one's job may prohibit college and university employees from engaging in formal activism at (or against) their institutions.

On the contrary, the literature on community activists in relation to the university largely falls in two buckets: concerns about strained town-gown relationships and geographical encroachments of institutions into the surrounding community, and the integration of community-based activists and organizations into service-learning type courses. Town-gown relationships refer to institutional involvement in the community context and the ways its business practices either elevate or harm community ventures.[52] The encroachment piece deals with institutional real estate practices and their impact on affordable housing, community amenities, and traffic. As a result, community activists tend to organize themselves either in support of or against these practices.[53] Finally, there is a wealth of literature that identifies community activists as integral stakeholders in offering service-learning courses.[54] The presumed intent of these courses, albeit contested and critiqued, is to expose students to issues surrounding their institution while being generative

for the communities.[55] We define community activists as individuals or groups with no affiliation to the institution who take up positions that advance agendas that interact with institutional priorities.

Considerations for Future Directions

This component of our review set out to define the contours of *who* activists are within the postsecondary education ecosystem. There are two primary considerations that cut across each stakeholder group: identity and fragmentation. A primary component of understanding who activists are includes contextualizing how their various identities inform their causes. Intersectionality and queer theory are two approaches that remain underutilized in their application to how postsecondary activists navigate their identities.[56] These approaches can help to center interlocking identity dimensions while foregrounding contexts, tactics, and strategies that may be more environmentally focused.[57]

With the reality that collective engagement is a hallmark of understanding who activists are, it is striking that the actors we reviewed remain largely fragmented from each other. Only with regard to DEI issues has the literature captured a sustained focus on coalition building across institutional stakeholders.[58] Fragmentation of actors results in duplicated efforts, movement inefficiencies, and competing tensions.[59] Given these considerations, we outline a research agenda focused on advancing an understanding of actors that also contributes to how to engage, support, and be in solidarity with different configurations of individual activists and activist groups:

- How are the experiences of college and university activists shaped by intersecting and overlapping systems of oppression?
- How does the saliency of one's social identities inform one's understanding and development of an activist identity?
- What are the components of successful coalition building across activist groups with similar and differing sociopolitical priorities?
- What are the implications of activist participation for social and role identity development?

Contexts within Higher Education Activism

Social movements in relation to higher education—whether encompassing the tactics (e.g., protests, demonstrations, boycotts) enacted on college campuses or involving actors such as students, staff, faculty, administrators, and alumnx—reflect

larger societal concerns, dynamics, and tensions. C. W. Mills describes the necessity of sociological imagination—the ability to consider the broader sociological structures and systems that impact individual behavior, relationships, and actions.[60] University structure, organizational culture, campus climate, geographical location, temporality, and different contexts translate into rethinking the boundaries, spaces, and even institutions themselves when studying higher education activism.

Boundaries of Campus Activism

Much of the literature on activism in higher education focuses on not only students but specifically students *on* college campuses.[61] This type of contextualized activism (i.e., geographically within the physical boundaries of the university) tends to be what is deemed *oppositional activism*, or activism meant to critique the institution.[62] Examples include the 1992 hunger strikes at the University of California, Los Angeles, for what would eventually become the César E. Chávez Department of Chicana/o and Central American Studies;[63] events like Take Back the Night and End Rape on Campus;[64] the Free Speech Movement in the 1960s at the University of California, Berkeley, regarding students' rights to protest and academic freedom; and the Open Admissions Strike at the City College of New York in 1969.[65] Other forms of campus activism are not necessarily oppositional to the university but still take place on college campuses. Actors utilize the symbolic status of higher education institutions as one of the battlegrounds for societal values.[66] Historical examples include the anti-war Oxford Pledge in the 1930s, where students vowed to not fight any US wars,[67] and the gay liberation movement with solidarity movements at Cornell University in the 1970s.[68] Yet the boundary between oppositional or non-oppositional is much more blurred; colleges and universities serve as microcosms of societal concerns and reflect similar institutional failures, which in turn are connected to broader movements that lend more strength to campus-specific demands. For example, the civil rights and Black Power movements overlapped with campus resistance efforts to address longstanding racial segregation and a lack of curricular diversity within higher education. The latter specifically spurred the development of the field of Black studies as well as the first College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University.[69]

Although the aforementioned examples highlight higher education activism as bound to a college campus, actors also engage in social movements (and targeted audiences) outside the geographic borders of the university (including those outside of the United States). The Greensboro sit-ins in 1960 were orchestrated by the Black students attending North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State

University;[70] the Tiananmen Square protests and massacre in China in the 1980s included university students;[71] the political protests throughout Iran in the 1970s to 1990s had such heavy student involvement that the Iranian government shut down its higher education institutions for three years in 1980.[72] Global movements like #RhoadsMustFall and #BlackLivesMatter have used social media platforms like Twitter to both increase awareness and connect to national and global discourses. The decreased emphasis on geographic locality helps complicate the ways activism and coalition building do not clearly distinguish actor roles, responsibilities, and amplification. The creation of Asian American as a racial and political identity through UC Berkeley's Asian American Political Alliance reflected a multigenerational, multiethnic, and multi-class group of individuals.[73] Transnational collaboration has forged relationships between and among activists, as seen with Black Lives Matter, #FreePalestine, and anti–settler colonialism. The blurring of campus boundaries—on, off, across, beyond—reinforce the global impact of oppression and necessity of what Lilla Watson first described as a shared liberation.

The boundaries of higher education activism within existing scholarship reveals a construction of "what is" and "what is not." More specifically, the majority of research into higher education activism is anchored to the campus—the social movements at or adjacent to four-year universities, involving four-year university students, or both. While necessary, the subtle categorizing and existing foci within higher education activism literature minimize the critical relationships that nest colleges and universities into communities. As described in the next section, blurring these boundaries pushes the contours of our research to reexamine definitions, locality, and discipline.

Evolving Spaces and Nested Systems

The permeability of space is critical in considering how existing literature has described what higher education activism has been, what it is now, and what it could be in the future. Feminist scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins,[74] Dolores Delgado-Bernal,[75] and collectives like the Third World Women's Alliance[76] have pushed against the masculine constructions and performativity related to activism—being on the front lines, "taking charge," even the idea of protests—to increase the spaces to discuss activism through collective care, collectivism, and coalition building. Therefore, even the definition of "activism" must be placed within larger societal, systemic contexts that influence the parameters of definitions.

The construction of space, as influenced by boundaries, geography, and mobility, reveals necessary areas for growth. Emerging research regarding activism

at two-year colleges reveals the false dichotomy of on and off campus.[77] The mobilizing in community colleges illuminates the overemphasis in our subfield to positionally connect activism-related research across higher education contexts (i.e., reliance on distinctions like "on campus" and "off campus" or who attended which college) in contrast to the mobilizing networks, performance constellations, and organizational coalitions reflective of how social movements have been shown to function. The emphasis on labeling the spaces, the campuses, the actors, within these tightly constructed boundaries of our research serves as an ironic methodological and theoretical tool against the very collectivism we argue for (and instead reveals the embedded contexts of naming, branding, and elitism). This irony reflects the ways even the label of "activist" is up for debate.[78] People cannot be separated from their environments; actors and actions cannot be separated from the multifaceted, multilayered contexts in which they are located. Higher education labor movements, such as those among contingent faculty, reveal broader issues of cost of living, inflation, and economic conditions,[79] and likewise, educational opportunities are impacted by geography.[80] As critical race theory articulates, nothing is ahistorical and nothing can be decontextualized,[81] and higher education activism must include systemic, institutional, and geopolitical history. Demands and concerns from higher education actors reveal the repeated cycling of actions and (broken) promises, which reflects the broken foundations on which institutions were constructed.[82]

In addition to integrating history and geography, higher education campus activism is impacted by political pressures (both federal and state), economic relationships, capitalism, funding, and regulations. For example, state policies such as those in North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Maryland, have articulated how free speech must be protected, and as such have shaped the possible tactics and strategies adopted by actors at their respective higher education institutions.[83] Moreover, the 2021 resolution passed by Idaho legislators (H337)[84] or the now-repealed Executive Order 13950 banning critical race studies and related curricula influence what can even be topics for mobilization. Thus, considering the context of higher education activism requires a reconceptualization of where such activism takes place and the sociopolitical boundaries of university life.

Institutional Contexts and Concerns

The role of contexts, however, cannot be limited to what impacts higher education activism. Colleges and universities are not merely experiencing the contexts in which higher education activism takes place but also *create* the contexts

and conditions, serving as the vehicles, aggressors, and recipients of activism. For example, the protests against the Vietnam War at Kent State University, leading to the Kent State Massacre or the protests for the cost of living adjustment across the University of California system have sparked debates and further protests regarding the excessive force used by colleges and universities.[85] Moreover, scrutinizing institutional context, response, or actions requires assessing and defining: Who or what is the institution?

The institution can represent a specific set of actors, policies, or commitments, as well as a larger abstraction of organizational behavior and change. Symbolic and positional power within colleges and universities position presidents, senior administrators, and university-level boards as proxies of the institution. Their remarks both reveal campus culture and climates of their respective institutions *and* shape those same markers.[86] For instance, responses from campus leadership regarding racial incidents and related subsequent activism have demonstrated a lack of concrete change.[87] This type of analysis *of the institution* illuminates how the university language about diversity serves as a distraction or dilution[88] or how their commitments enact *nonperformativity*, a phenomenon where the declaration to change serves as the evidence of change (i.e., a performance of nothingness).[89]

What this institutional lens offers for higher education activism is a deeper look at the embedded manifestation of neoliberal, white, settler-colonialist heteropatriarchal systems, whether exhibited through the erasure of marginalized identities in yearbooks and student publications[90] or the weaponizing of bureaucracy and red tape as a way to push against activism and complaints.[91] In doing so, higher education activism reflects the growing literature regarding the theorization of organizations and specifically institutional responses to race and racism, such as the disproportionate financial divestment in communities of color[92] or appeasing students or co-opting their demands.[93] The cyclical demands within higher education activism map back onto the systemic structures, concerns, and contexts as ways to complicate change, progress, and the narrative of success.

Considerations for Future Directions

Aligned in our review, we challenge the dominant narratives used to describe higher education activism and emphasize the shifting boundaries of locality and campus geography; we call for consideration of metaphysical, transnational, and digital spaces and a stronger scrutiny and clarity regarding "the institution." We recognize just as activism traverses boundaries, we must also move toward an in-

terdisciplinary evolution for theory and methodological considerations, such as case studies, historiography, and network analyses. Questions we offer for future directions through the contexts framework are the following:

- How does institutional type and the positioning of colleges and universities (both geographic and political) influence activism? For example, what of community colleges or regional colleges?
- How does activism and institutional responsibility shift through digital spaces of activism and virtual collective action? How might this impact the boundaries of solidarity and coalition building?
- What methodologies and methods can better capture the multifaceted, multilayered contexts influencing the narratives of actors, strategies, and tactics?

Tactics and Strategies in Higher Education Activism

The study of activism in higher education research has often focused more on the actors and contexts dimensions of social movements rather than elucidating the strategic approaches or tactical means by which campus-based movements achieve their goals. For example, it is well known that the relevance and representation of race- and gender-based epistemologies (e.g., African and African American studies, gender and women's studies, and ethnic studies) in academe is the direct result of campus protests.[94] However, the particular nuances of how these protests were organized, what strategic and tactical actions the protests entailed, and the efficacy of such direct actions are largely absent in the higher education canon that discusses such a radical reconstitution of college and university curricula. For this reason, this section focuses explicitly on the strategies and tactics dimension of higher education activism. Building on applied disciplinary approaches to the study of activism, we bring together a multidisciplinary understanding of how students and other campus actors effectively undertake the process of institutional transformation. More specifically, we begin this section drawing on the applied work of historians and sociologists to better conceptualize the strategic and tactical relationships within and across postsecondary activism and movements of different eras. Then, we make connections between higher education research and what communications and critical media studies scholars have proffered in the way of understanding the strategic and tactical roles of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and new media within a dynamic tactical repertoire that includes mobilizing resources to achieve movement goals.[95]

Repertoires of Contention

"Tactical repertoire" is a sociological concept that encapsulates the wide array of individual and collective strategic actions undertaken by social movement actors to persuade or coerce institutions and people in positions of authority. The term is derived from post-1970s scholarship on social movements to frame the ways protests are relatively "predictable, limited, and bounded" by what activists and movements have learned from one another over time.[96] Much of what is known about tactical repertoires is the result of "protest event" research that quantified and analyzed variations in frequency and duration between accounts of contentious gatherings reported in the news, an approach still used by movement scholars today. However, given the potential for reporting bias of particular types of protest events (e.g., direct action opposing government institutions), tactical repertoires that target nongovernment institutions (e.g., colleges and universities) and sociocultural scripts have been best studied through prolonged, in-depth qualitative approaches and historical methods.[97] According to Charles Tilly, who first introduced the term to explain variations of political contention over time, the interests and claims made by organizers and activists exist within a broader sociopolitical arena and are the result of growing engagement with national electoral politics as well as associations and organizations that are more easily able to facilitate collective action.[98]

As Verna Taylor notes, in social movement research, a "repertoire" refers to how "a set of collective actors makes and receives claims bearing on each other's interests occurs in established and predictable ways."[99] Three features of collective action (or protest) events include understanding tactical repertoires as sites of *contestation*, *intentionality*, and *collective identity*.[100] As sites of contestation, tactical repertoires employ symbols, discourses, bodies, identities, and other practices to establish or prevent shifts in institutionalized relationships of power. Further, such efforts are not haphazard but undertaken strategically to effectively leverage collective action to promote or obstruct dominant power relations. Finally, movements use tactical repertoires to cultivate a critical, oppositional consciousness and collective identity for movement workers that reinforces the relational process by which movement actors engage with one another.[101]

In the context of higher education activism, the aforementioned conceptualization of repertoires is useful for the many and varied ways collective action takes place. For instance, there are a number of common strategies employed by student and nonstudent actors within and across postsecondary contexts. Among the

most prominent is the strategy of disruption, which Francis Fox Piven defines as means of "withdrawing cooperation in social relations."[102] Both the threat of disruption as well as its enaction have been successful means of garnering concessions to activists' demands from institutions and people in power.[103] However, the concept of disruption is as complex and as it is dynamic, eluding many higher education researchers studying activism. For example, activism generally—and protests more specifically—has often been regarded by institutions and institutional leaders to be wholly disruptive to college and university life.[104] Yet the need to distinguish such vague institutional interpretations of activism derives from how disruption, as a strategy, must account for the ways many colleges and universities function as both profitable research enterprises as well as institutions of higher learning.

Structural and Invasive Disruption

Two primary types of disruption are identified by contemporary scholars of student movements. The first, *structural disruption*, refers to a strategy in which students withdraw from their structural role (e.g., refusing to attend classes) and thereby impede an institution's ability to perform its educational function.[105] The second, *invasive disruption*, refers to interfering with institutional functions in which they may not have a specified role or institutions separate and away from campus (i.e., government buildings, department stores, or public spaces), which can impede the ability of others to perform their roles, thereby disrupting "business as usual."[106] The former can include "sit-down" tactics of boycott, strike, and refusal, while the latter includes "sit-in" tactics of occupation, obstruction, and prevention. Boycotts and strikes have long been employed in higher education contexts, by both laborers and students. However, while both are tactical disruptions, the former is a refusal of participation as a "consumer" or user of goods and services until a particular sociopolitical outcome is achieved.

For instance, in 1956 Wilhelmina Jakes and Carrie Patterson, two Black women students at Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University, were arrested for refusing to move to the back of the bus and catalyzed the Tallahassee Bus Boycott in protest of Jim Crow segregation of municipal services. Today, boycotts have been a prominent strategy and tactic of student activists. This was especially visible during the heightened period of campus protests between 2014 and 2016, wherein students at dozens of colleges and universities employed the strategy of structural disruption through organizing walkouts in protest of racial injustice on campus and in broader society. Walkouts are a tactic originated by laborers and

popularized in education settings by student activists in K–12 schools during the 1960s who refused to continue attending classes under oppressive learning conditions. Walkouts by students at all schooling levels signify a withdrawal from participating in the educational function of an institution, thereby disrupting the ability for instructors—as representatives of schools, colleges, and universities—to effectively teach.

A strike, however, generally refers to a withdrawal of participation by workers in an effort to improve labor and other sociopolitical conditions for which an employer is either partially or entirely responsible. For instance, the Graduate Employees' Organization (Local 3550 of the American Federation of Teachers) at the University of Michigan staged a historic strike in fall 2020, refusing to teach classes or participate in research activities until their demands for safer conditions related to COVID-19 protocols and campus policing were met. Most notably, however, is the strike undertaken by college student athletes at the University of Missouri–Columbia in 2015. In the wake of numerous protests organized by Concerned Student 1950, a Black student-led movement organization at Mizzou, and a hunger strike by Black graduate student Jonathan Butler, thirty-two Black football players announced a strike on November 7, 2015. As a protest and act of solidarity with Black students and others organizing for racial justice, these players withdrew their collective participation in football-related activities until University of Missouri System president Tim Wolfe resigned. By November 8, the entire football team and coaching staff also committed to ceasing football operations, the consequences of which would include forfeiting their next game and an estimated loss of nearly $2.18 million in revenue for the university. Less than twenty-four hours later, both the UM system president and university chancellor submitted their respective resignations, and football operations resumed.

Conversely, the 2013 occupation of the Florida Capitol by the Dream Defenders, an organization founded in 2012 by recent college graduates and young alumnx following the killing of Trayvon Martin, represents a contemporary manifestation of invasive disruption.[107] The thirty-one-day occupation, conducted by college and university students from across the state and elsewhere, interfered with the everyday operations of state government with rallies, teach-ins, demonstrations, and other protest events inside the Capitol building. This was a deliberate response to the failed political leadership of the state, which the Dream Defenders considered responsible for the conditions leading to both Martin's death as well as George Zimmerman's delayed arrest, indictment, and subsequent exoneration. Similar occupations of college and university buildings have also increased in pop-

ularity in recent years, including events at Ohio State University's Bricker Hall, the main administration building where, in 2016, more than one hundred students and faculty occupied space outside the president's office for eight hours in protest of the university's dining and other services contracts with companies alleged to engage in labor exploitation and human rights violations.

ICTs and Alternative and Activist New Media Projects in Higher Education Activism

An introductory exploration of the role of the internet in student activism first appeared in the higher education literature in Robert Rhoads's seminal text *Freedom's Web: Student Activism in an Age of Cultural Diversity.* Therein, Rhoads chronicles the case of the Free Burma Coalition (FBC), which was organized in September 1995 by a doctoral student at the University of Wisconsin–Madison affectionately known as Zarni. Using the internet to share information about the human rights violations in Burma (Myanmar) broadly, Zarni helped raise awareness, elevate the public's collective political consciousness, and form a community of more than 150 FBC groups at campuses in both the United States and around the world.[108] What is more, the FBC coordinated numerous economic boycotts with coalitional organizations including the All Burma Students' Democratic Front and Amnesty International.

Extending Rhoads's introduction, James Biddix examined the expanding dimensions of information and communication technologies used by student activists in the early 2000s, coining the term "estudentprotest."[109] Biddix found that student activists often used "electronically-enhanced tactics" to "rapidly and effectively plan, coordinate, mobilize, and execute actions,"[110] primarily through email and cell phones. Later work by Biddix further explored the expanding ways communications, including computers, cell phones, text messaging, and social networking sites (i.e., Facebook), were being used by student activists, particularly in the facilitation of relational learning practices.[111]

Still, neither Rhoads nor Biddix offered a specific framework for understanding early internet use by student activists within an arrangement of tactical repertoires. However, Leah Lievrouw's more recent work conceptualizes these uses broadly as alternative and activist new media projects.[112] Alternative and activist new media broadly use "existing communication artifacts, practices, and social arrangements of new information and communication technologies to challenge or alter dominant, expected, or accepted ways of doing society, culture, and politics."[113] More specifically, Lievrouw notes five basic genres of activist new media

projects: *alternative computing, commons knowledge, culture jamming, mediated mobilization*, and *participatory journalism*. These genres are useful for conceptualizing how contemporary activists in higher education leverage technology as a resource (i.e., resource mobilization) to advance and achieve their political goals. To be sure, the use of new media technologies for the purposes of social and institutional change is not considered wholly separate from more conventional "on-the-ground" tactics but often works in tandem and amplify grassroots work in ways that increase the capacity and reach of individual movement actors as well as social movement organizations. For instance, Davis has extended Lievrouw's framework to discuss the ways organizers traverse postsecondary boundaries between campus and community to build and exert political power.[114] In particular, Charles Davis proposed mediated mobilization—the use of new media to mobilize individuals and groups toward collective action—to frame the role of social media in the creation and sustainability of activist networks (i.e., mobilizing structures) between and across social movement organizations on campus and beyond.[115] Although Davis's framing was particular to campus-community organizers addressing broader social justice issues off campus, it is easily applied to other instances of student, alumnx, and other postsecondary activism more closely related to issues of campus climate. For example, consider the legacies of the "I, Too, Am" (ITA) digital photo campaigns, which originated at Harvard in 2012, and "The Black Bruins" YouTube video at UCLA in 2013. Both represent speaking back through digital media technologies to institutions where Black people remained marginalized through long-standing underrepresentation in student and faculty demographics as well as everyday experiences of anti-Black racism. What is more, these campaigns propagated by enlisting racially minoritized students from colleges and universities around the United States who subsequently created similar new media projects to raise awareness of specific racist encounters and other racial climate issues on their campuses.[116] A similar parallel could be drawn to the work of new media activist behind the "Black @" Instagram accounts (e.g., @blackatmichigan, @blackatusc, @blackatupenn), which, like the ITA campaigns, document the stories of Black students, staff, faculty, and community members experiencing racial profiling by campus police, classroom microaggressions, and other racialized experiences limiting their collective sense of belonging.

Considerations for Future Directions

In this final section of our review, we brought together multidisciplinary perspectives on activism within and beyond higher education to better understand

the particular ways activists *do* activism. We provided a series of connections between higher education research on activism and the broader field of social movement studies, which we further used to better conceptualize the complex tactical repertoires of higher education activists in the contexts of labor, teaching and learning, and campus climate. More specifically, we contemporized earlier efforts by higher education scholars to address activists' uses of information and communication technologies through engaging critical media studies research and the alternative and activist new media genres for greater theoretical clarity. Still, the future of higher education research on activism requires an acute focus on the role tactical repertoires play in the creation, maintenance, and efficacy of campus-based and campus-community movements. Questions we offer for future directions through the tactics and strategies framework are the following:

- How do higher education activists develop networks, coalitions, and other movement relationships to build political power?
- What material and nonmaterial resources are necessary for contemporary college and university activists to achieve their movement goals?
- What strategies inform the types of direct action employed by students, staff, faculty, and extra-institutional actors as differently positioned higher education stakeholders?
- In what ways are alternative and activist new media technologies being utilized by activists in postsecondary contexts?

Conclusion

In this chapter we set out to delimit the areas in which the study of activism in higher education has primarily focused. Through our cursory review of the extant higher education literature, as well as scholarship from other fields and disciplines engaged in the study of higher education activism, we have presented a framework for organizing and understanding higher education activism across four interrelated domains, conceptualized as the actors, contexts, tactics, and strategies (ACTS) framework. We used this framework not only to capture existing research and findings related to political engagement in postsecondary contexts but also to advance important questions, as the study of college and university activism continues to vacillate between margin and center in the study of higher education. Altogether, the ongoing examinations of activism and political engagement in postsecondary contexts must continue to engage each of the four domains, whether singularly or as an interrelated set of empirical foci,

in ways that deepen the knowledge of college and university students, staff, faculty, and communities with regard to who participates in campus and campus-community movements (and for what reasons), where such movements exist within the material-digital and campus-community-digital continuums, and how such movements achieve their goals.

NOTES

1. John Burton, "Collegiate Living and Cambridge Justice: Regulating the Colonial Harvard Student Community in the Eighteenth Century," in *History of Higher Education Annual*, ed. Roger L. Geiger (New York: Routledge, 2017), 88–106.
2. Tony Vellala, *New Voices: Student Political Activism in the '80s and '90s* (Boston: South End Press, 1988); Robert A. Rhoads, *Freedom's Web: Student Activism in the Age of Cultural Diversity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.)
3. Rhoads, *Freedom's Web.*
4. Amalia Dache, Stephen J. Quaye, Chris Linder, and Keon McGuire, *Rise Up! Activism as Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2019); TyRon Douglas, Kmt G. Shockley, and Ivory Toldson, *Campus Uprisings* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2020); Joseph L. DeVitis and Pietro Sasso, *Student Activism in the Academy: Its Struggles and Promise* (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2019); Chris Linder, Stephen J. Quaye, Michael E. Evans, Alex C. Lange, and Terah J. Stewart, *Identity-Based Student Activism: Power and Oppression on College Campuses* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Demetri L. Morgan and Charles H. F. Davis III, eds., *Student Activism, Politics, and Campus Climate in Higher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Jeffery C. Sun and George S. McClellan, *Student Clashes on Campus: A Leadership Guide to Free Speech* (New York: Routledge, 2019).
5. Leah Lievrouw, *Alternative and Activist New Media* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2011).
6. Nolan L. Cabrera, Cheryl E. Matias, and Roberto Montoya, "Activism or Slacktivism? The Potential and Pitfalls of Social Media in Contemporary Student Activism," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 10, no. 4 (2017): 400–415; Jerusha O. Conner, *The New Student Activists: The Rise of Neoactivism on College Campuses* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020); Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism*; Katherine I. E. Wheatle and Felecia Commodore, "Reaching Back to Move Forward: The Historic and Contemporary Role of Student Activism in the Development and Implementation of Higher Education Policy," *Review of Higher Education* 42, no. 5 (2019): 5–35, https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0043.
7. John P. Dugan, *Leadership Theory: Cultivating Critical Perspectives* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2017); Matthew J. Mayhew et al., *How College Affects Students: 21st Century Evidence That Higher Education Works*, 3rd ed. (San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, 2016).
8. Demetri L. Morgan, "'I Don't like to Put Labels on It': Activism, Political Identity Development, and the Cultivation of Student Political Fluency," *Peabody Journal of Education* (forthcoming).
9. Henri Tajfel, "Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice," *Journal of Social Issues* 25, no. 4 (969): 79–97, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1969.tb00620.x.

10. Leonie Huddy, "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory," *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (2001): 137.

11. Demetri L. Morgan, "Nuancing Political Identity Formation in Higher Education: A Phenomenological Examination of Precollege Socialization, Identity, and Context," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 14, no. 1 (2021): 12–24, https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000153.

12. The use of the traditional "alumni" has been critiqued as exclusionary because the Latin is gendered male. More generally, because "alumni/alumnae" assumes a gender binary, the term can be harmful to graduates who are nonbinary. Therefore, we use the more inclusive term "alumnx" to reflect a broader array of genders.

13. Robert A. Rhoads and Gary Rhoades, "Graduate Employee Unionization as Symbol of and Challenge to the Corporatization of U.S. Research Universities," *Journal of Higher Education* (2005), https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2005.11772282.

14. Doug McAdam, "The Biographical Consequences of Activism," *American Sociological Review* 54, no. 5 (1989): 744, https://doi.org/10.2307/2117751.

15. Charles H. F. Davis III, "Student Activism, Resource Mobilization, and New Tactical Repertoires in the 'Digital Age,'" in Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism*, 112–24.

16. Juan C. Garibay, "Beyond Traditional Measures of STEM Success: Long-Term Predictors of Social Agency and Conducting Research for Social Change," *Research in Higher Education* 59, no. 3 (2018): 349–81, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-017-9470-2.

17. Shaun R. Harper and Stephen John Quaye, "Student Organizations as Venues for Black Identity Expression and Development among African American Male Student Leaders," *Journal of College Student Development* 48, no. 2 (2007): 127–44.

18. Lori Patton Davis et al., *Student Development in College: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 3rd ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2016).

19. Amalia Dache-Gerbino, "College Desert and Oasis: A Critical Geographic Analysis of Local College Access," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 11, no. 2 (2018): 97–116.

20. Sophia Hill, Ella Ben Hagai, and Eileen L. Zurbriggen, "Intersecting Alliances: Non-Palestinian Activists in Support of Palestine," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 11, no. 3 (2018): 239–53, https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000070.

21. Scott A. Hunt and Robert D. Benford, "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 433–58.

22. Hunt and Benford, "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment."

23. Mary Bernstein, "Identity Politics," *Annual Review of Sociology* 31, no. 1 (2005): 47–74.

24. Ebelia Hernandez, "The Journey towards Developing Political Consciousness through Activism for Mexican American Women," *Journal of College Student Development* 53, no. 5 (2012): 680–702; Adrianna Kezar and Dan Maxey, "Collective Action on Campus toward Student Development and Democratic Engagement," *New Directions for Higher Education* 2014, no. 167 (2014): 31–41; Ezekiel W. Kimball et al., "College Students with Disabilities Redefine Activism: Self-Advocacy, Storytelling, and Collective Action," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 9, no. 3 (2016): 245–60; Chris Linder et al., "'The Whole Weight of the World on My Shoulders': Power, Identity, and Student

Activism," *Journal of College Student Development* 60, no. 5 (2019): 527–42, https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2019.0048.

25. Conner, *The New Student Activists.*

26. Susan Marine and Ashley Trebisacci, "Constructing Identity: Campus Sexual Violence Activists' Perspectives on Race, Gender, and Social Justice," *Journal of College Student Development* 59, no. 6 (2018): 649–65, https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2018.0063.

27. Annemarie Vaccaro and Jasmine A. Mena, "It's Not Burnout, It's More: Queer College Activists of Color and Mental Health," *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Mental Health* 15, no. 4 (2011): 339–67, https://doi.org/10.1080/19359705.2011.600656; Eddie Comeaux, Sara E. Grummert, and Nelly A. Cruz, "Strategies of Resistance among Racially Minoritized Students at a Hispanic-Serving Institution: A Critical Race Theory Perspective," *Journal of Higher Education* 92, no. 3 (2021): 465–98, https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2020.1851569; Justin M. Karter, Brent D. Robbins, and Robert G. McInerney, "Student Activism in the Neoliberal University: A Hermeneutic Phenomenological Analysis," *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 61, no. 6 (2021), first published March 6, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022167819834751; Sy Stokes and Donte Miller, "Remembering 'the Black Bruins': A Case Study of Supporting Student Activists at UCLA," in Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism*, 143–63

28. Chris Linder et al., "'A Student Should Have the Privilege of Just Being a Student': Student Activism as Labor," *Review of Higher Education* 42, no. 5 (2019): 37–62, https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0044.

29. Jan Arminio et al., "Archetypes of Advocates," *Journal of College and Character* 22, no. 1 (2021): 46–63, https://doi.org/10.1080/2194587x.2020.1860774; Marissa Chávez and Sonia Ramrakhiani, "Resist: An Exploration of Student Activists' Partnerships with Faculty and Student Affairs," *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice* (2020), https://doi.org/10.1080/19496591.2020.1784748; Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism.*

30. Christopher J. Broadhurst and Georgianna L. Martin, "Part of the 'Establishment'? Fostering Positive Campus Climates for Student Activists," *Journal of College and Character* 15, no. 2 (2014): 75–86; Charles H. F. Davis III, Sy Stokes, and Demetri L. Morgan, "Engaging Student Activists," in *Student Engagement in Higher Education*, ed. Stephen John Quaye, Shaun R. Harper, and Sumi Pendukar, 3rd ed. (Routledge, 2020); Demetri L. Morgan, John Zilvinskis, and Brendan Dugan, "Opening the Activism and Postsecondary Education Black Box: Relating High-Impact Practices and Student Identity with Activist Behaviors," *Journal of Political Science Education* 17, no. 1 (2021): 55–78, https://doi.org/10.1080/15512169.2019.1612248.

31. Tomika L. Ferguson and Charles H. F. Davis III, "Labor, Resources, and Interest Convergence in the Organized Resistance of Black Male Student-Athletes," in Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism*, 112–24; Joy Gaston Gayles, Alyssa Bryant Rockenbach, and Heather A. Davis, "Civic Responsibility and the Student Athlete: Validating a New Conceptual Model," *Journal of Higher Education* 83, no. 4 (2012): 535–57; Andrew Mac Intosh, Eric M. Martin, and Yannick Kluch, "To Act or Not to Act? Student-Athlete Perceptions of Social Justice Activism," *Psychology of Sport and Exercise* 51 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2020.101766; Lester J. Manzano, OiYan A. Poon, and Vanessa S. Na, "Asian American Student Engagement in Student Leadership and Activism," *New Directions for Student Services* 2017, no. 160 (2017): 65–79; Kristen A.

Renn, "LGBT and Queer Research in Higher Education: The State and Status of the Field," *Educational Researcher* 39, no. 2 (2010): 132–41

32. Nancy Acevedo-Gil and Yanira Madrigal-Garcia, "Mentoring among Latina/o Scholars: Enacting Spiritual Activism to Navigate Academia," *American Journal of Education* 124, no. 3 (2018): 313–44; Elaine W. Leigh, Katie Pak, and Jennifer Phuong, "Defining Ourselves: Exploring Our Leader and Activist Identities as Asian American Women Doctoral Students," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 14, no. 2 (2021): 174–88. doi:10.1037/dhe0000173; Ryan A. Miller et al., "Expanding Notions of Student Activism and Advocacy in the Community College," in *Exploring the Technological, Societal, and Institutional Dimensions of College Student Activism*, ed. M. Miller and D. Tolliver (Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2019), 75–102, https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-7274-9.ch006; Joshua Ozymy, "The Poverty of Participation: Self-Interest, Student Loans, and Student Activism," *Political Behavior* 34, no. 1 (2012): 103–16.

33. Penny A. Pasque and Juanita Gamez Vargas, "Performances of Student Activism: Sound, Silence, Gender, and Dis/Ability," *New Directions for Higher Education* 2014, no. 167 (2014): 59–71, https://doi.org/10.1002/he.20105.

34. Jessica C. Harris and Lori D. Patton, "Un/Doing Intersectionality through Higher Education Research," *Journal of Higher Education* 90, no. 3 (2019): 1–26, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2018.1536936.

35. Laura W. Perna, ed., *Taking It to the Streets: The Role of Scholarship in Advocacy and Advocacy in Scholarship* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018).

36. Stephen John Quaye, Mahauganee Dawn Shaw, and Dominique C. Hill, "Blending Scholar and Activist Identities: Establishing the Need for Scholar Activism," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 10, no. 4 (2017): 381–99, https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000060.

37. Charles H. F. Davis et al., "But Is It Activist? Interpretive Criteria for Activist Scholarship in Higher Education," *Review of Higher Education* 42, no. 5 (2019): 85–108, https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0046.

38. Kate Driscoll Derickson and Paul Routledge, "Resourcing Scholar-Activism: Collaboration, Transformation, and the Production of Knowledge," *Professional Geographer* 67, no. 1 (2015), https://doi.org/10.1080/00330124.2014.883958; Jennifer Richter et al., "Tempered Radicalism and Intersectionality: Scholar-Activism in the Neoliberal University," *Journal of Social Issues* 76, no. 4 (December 1, 2020): 1014–35, https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12401.

39. Kevin R. McClure, "Building the Innovative and Entrepreneurial University: An Institutional Case Study of Administrative Academic Capitalism," *Journal of Higher Education* 87, no. 4 (2016): 516–43; Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

40. William G. Tierney, "Improving Academic Governance: Utilizing a Cultural Framework to Improve Organizational Performance," in *Competing Conceptions of Academic Governance: Negotiating the Perfect Storm*, ed. William G. Tierney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 202–15.

41. Adrianna Kezar, Tom DePaola, and Daniel T. Scott, *The Gig Academy: Mapping Labor in the Neoliberal University* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2019).

42. Leslie D. Gonzales, "Subverting and Minding Boundaries: The Intellectual Work of Women," *Journal of Higher Education* 89, no. 5 (2018): 677–701.

43. R. T. DeGeorge, "Ethics, Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure," *Journal of Academic Ethics* 1, no. 1 (2003): 11–25.

44. American Association of University Professors, "1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure with 1970 Interpretive Comments," 1970, https://www.aaup.org/file/1940 Statement.pdf.

45. Purnima Bose, "Faculty Activism and the Corporatization of the University," *American Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (2012): 815–18, https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2012.0058; Sheila Slaughter, "The Danger Zone: Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 448, no. 1 (1980): 46–61, https://doi.org/10.1177/000271628044800106.

46. Adrianna Kezar, Tom DePaola, and Daniel T. Scott, *The Gig Academy: Mapping Labor in the Neoliberal University* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2019); Gary Rhoades, "Creative Leveraging in Contingent Faculty Organizing," *WorkingUSA* 18, no. 3 (2015): 435–45, https://doi.org/10.1111/wusa.12191; Gary Rhoades, "Bread and Roses, and Quality Too? A New Faculty Majority Negotiating the New Academy," *Journal of Higher Education* 88, no. 5 (2017): 645–71, https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2016.1257310.

47. Rhoads and Rhoades, "Graduate Employee Unionization."

48. Gonzales, "Subverting and Minding Boundaries"; Lucy A. LePeau, "Examining the Experiences and Characteristics of Academic Affairs and Student Affairs Leaders Identifying as Social Gadflies," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 11, no. 4 (2018): 402–17, https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000072; Terah J. Stewart et al., "'You Hired Me to Do This': Power, Identity, and Student Activist Support," *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 2020, 1–15, https://doi.org/10.1080/19496591.2020.1778486; Samuel D. Museus and Lucy A. LePeau, "Navigating Neoliberal Organizational Cultures: Implications for Higher Education Leaders Advancing Social Justice Agendas," in *Administration for Social Justice and Equity in Higher Education: Critical Perspectives for Leadership and Decision Making*, ed. Adrianna Kezar and Julie R. Posselt (New York: Routledge, 2020).

49. Arminio et al., "Archetypes of Advocates"; Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism*; Stewart et al., "'You Hired Me to Do This.'"

50. Adriana Kezar and Jamie Lester, *Enhancing Campus Capacity for Leadership* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011); Debra E. Myerson, *Tempered Radicals: How Everyday Leaders Inspire Change at Work* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2003).

51. Demetri L. Morgan and Cecilia M. Orphan, "Student Political Engagement in the Co-curriculum: Understanding the Role of Senior Student Affairs Officers," *eJournal of Public Affairs* 5, no. 2 (2016): 11–40.

52. Barbara Ferman et al., "The Right to the City and to the University: Forging Solidarity beyond the Town/Gown Divide," *Assembly* 3, no. 1 (2021): 10–34, https://doi.org/10.33011/assembly.v3i1.1003).

53. Eugenie Birch, David C. Perry, and Henry Louis Taylor, "Universities as Anchor Institutions," *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 17, no. 3 (2013): 7–16, https://ojs01.galib.uga.edu/jheoe/article/download/1051/1050; Robert Mark Silverman, Jade Lewis, and Kelly L. Patterson, "William Worthy's Concept of 'Institutional Rape'

Revisited: Anchor Institutions and Residential Displacement in Buffalo, NY," *Humanity & Society* 38, no. 2 (2014): 158–81, https://doi.org/10.1177/0160597614529114.

54. Matthew Hartley, Ira Harkavy, and Lee Benson, "Putting Down Roots in the Groves of Academe: The Challenges of Institutionalizing Service-Learning," in *Service-Learning in Higher Education: Critical Issues and Directions*, ed. D. Butin (Hampshire: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005); Tania D. Mitchell, "Traditional vs. Critical Service-Learning: Engaging the Literature to Differentiate Two Models," *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* 14 (Spring 2008): 50–65.

55. Hartley, Harkavy, and Benson, "Putting Down Roots."

56. Patricia Hill Collins, "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas," *Annual Review of Sociology* 41, no. 1 (2015): 1–20; Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1989): 139–68; Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99; Kristen A. Renn, "LGBT and Queer Research in Higher Education: The State and Status of the Field," *Educational Researcher* 39, no. 2 (2010): 132–41.

57. Sylvia Hurtado et al., "A Model for Diverse Learning Environments: The Scholarship on Creating and Assessing Conditions for Student Success," in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, ed. John C. Smart and Michael B. Paulsen, vol. 27 (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012), 41–122.

58. Manuel Fischer, "Coalition Structures and Policy Change in a Consensus Democracy," *Policy Studies Journal* 42, no. 3 (2014): 344–66, https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12064; Hill, Hagai, and Zurbriggen, "Intersecting Alliances."

59. Julian McAllister Groves, "Learning to Feel: The Neglected Sociology of Social Movements," *Sociological Review* 43, no. 3 (1995): 435–61, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1995.tb00610.x; Hunt and Benford, "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment"; Aldon Morris, "Reflections on Social Movement Theory: Criticisms and Proposals," *Contemporary Sociology* 29, no. 3 (2000): 445–54, https://doi.org/10.2307/2653931.

60. Charles Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

61. Robert A. Rhoads, "Interpreting Identity Politics: The Educational Challenge of Contemporary Student Activism," *Journal of College Student Development* 38, no. 5 (1997): 508–19; Robert A. Rhoads, "Student Activism, Diversity, and the Struggle for a Just Society," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 9, no. 3 (2016): 189–202.

62. Clive Barnett and Dianne Scott, "Spaces of Opposition: Activism and Deliberation in Post-apartheid Environmental Politics," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 39, no. 11 (2007): 2612–31, https://doi.org/10.1068/a39200.

63. Enrique Alemán Jr. and Sonya M. Alemán, "'Do Latin@ Interests Always Have to "Converge" with White Interests?': (Re)claiming Racial Realism and Interest-Convergence in Critical Race Theory Praxis," *Race, Ethnicity & Education* 13, no. 1 (2010): 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320903549644.

64. Chris Linder and Jess S. Myers, "Institutional Betrayal as a Motivator for Campus Sexual Assault Activism," *NASPA Journal about Women in Higher Education* 11, no. 1 (2018): 1–16, http://doi.org/10.1080/19407882.2017.1385489.

65. Angela Rose Ryan, "Education for the People: The Third World Student Movement at San Francisco State College and City College of New York" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2010).

66. Robert A. Rhoads, "Interpreting Identity Politics: The Educational Challenge of Contemporary Student Activism," *Journal of College Student Development* 38, no. 5 (1997): 508–19.

67. Christopher J. Broadhurst, "Campus Activism in the 21st Century: A Historical Framing," *New Directions for Higher Education* 2014, no. 167 (Fall 2014): 3–15, https://doi.org/10.1002/he.20101.

68. Brett Beemyn, "The Silence Is Broken: A History of the First Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual College Student Groups," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 2 (2003): 205–23, http://doi.org/10.1353/sex.2003.0075.

69. Peniel E. Joseph, "Dashikis and Democracy: Black Studies, Student Activism, and the Black Power Movement," *Journal of African American History* 88, no. 2 (2003): 182–203, https://doi.org/10.2307/3559065.

70. William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

71. Wu Hung, "Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments," *Representations* 35 (1991): 84–117, https://doi.org/10.2307/2928718.

72. Mehrdad Mashayekhi, "The Revival of the Student Movement in Post-revolutionary Iran," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15 (2001): 283–313, https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1012977219524.

73. Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperback, 2016).

74. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 10th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2010).

75. Dolores Delgado-Bernal, "Using a Chicana Feminist Epistemology in Educational Research," *Harvard Educational Review* 68, no.4 (1998): 555–83, https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.68.4.5wv1034973g22q48.

76. Grace K. Hong, "Intersectionality and Incommensurability: Third World Feminism and Asian Decolonization," in *Asian American Feminisms and Women of Color Politics*, ed. Lynn Fujiwara and Shireen Roshanravan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), 27–42.

77. Charles H. F. Davis III, Regina Deil-Amen, Cecilia Rios-Aguilar, and Manuel Sacramento González Canché, "Social Media, Higher Education, and Community Colleges: A Research Synthesis and Implications for the Study of Two-Year Institutions," *Community College Journal of Research and Practice* 39, no. 5 (2015): 409–22, http://doi.org/10.1080/10668926.2013.828665.

78. Christina M. Getrich, "'People Show Up in Different Ways': DACA Recipients' Everyday Activism in a Time of Heightened Immigration-Related Insecurity," *Human Organization* 80, no.1 (2021): 27–36, https://doi.org/10.17730/1938-3525-80.1.27; Rhoads, "Interpreting Identity Politics."

79. Gary Rhoades, "Bread and Roses, and Quality Too: A New Faculty Majority Negotiating the New Academy," *Journal of Collective Bargaining in the Academy* 0, no. 13 (2015), https://thekeep.eiu.edu/jcba/vol0/iss10/13.

80. William F. Tate IV, "'Geography of Opportunity': Poverty, Place, and Educational Outcomes," *Educational Researcher* 37, no.7 (2008): 397–411, http://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X08326409.

81. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate IV, "Towards a Critical Race Theory of Education," *Teachers College Record* 97, no. 1 (1995): 47–68.

82. Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Race and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); Katherine S. Cho, "The Perception of Progress: Conceptualizing Institutional Response to Student Protests and Activism," *NEA Higher Education Journal: Thought and Action* 34, no.1 (Summer 2018): 81–95.

83. Jeremy Bauer-Wolf, "Free Speech Laws Mushroom in Wake of Campus Protests," *Inside Higher Ed*, September 16, 2019, https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2019/09/16/states-passing-laws-protect-college-students-free-speech.

84. Mike Jordan, "Idaho Governor Signs Bill to Ban Critical Race Theory from Being Taught in Schools," *Guardian*, May 1, 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/may/06/idaho-critical-race-theory.

85. Nina Agrawal and Sonali Kohli, "UC Santa Cruz Grad Students Strike for Higher Pay, Saying They Can't Afford Rent," *Los Angeles Times*, February 14, 2020, https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2020-02-14/17-arrested-during-uc-santa-cruz-strike; Ronald Francisco, "After the Massacre: Mobilization in the Wake of Harsh Repression," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 9, no.2 (2004): 107–26, https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.9.2.559246137656n482.

86. Eddie R. Cole, *The Campus Color Line: College Presidents and the Struggle for Black Freedom* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).

87. Eddie R. Cole and Shaun R. Harper, "Race and Rhetoric: An Analysis of College Presidents' Statements on Campus Racial Incidents," *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 10, no. 4 (2017): 318–33, https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000044; Shametrice Davis and Jessica C. Harris, "But We Didn't Mean It Like That: A Critical Race Analysis of Campus Responses to Racial Incidents," *Journal of Critical Scholarship on Higher Education and Student Affairs* 2, no. 1 (2015): 63–78.

88. derria byrd, "The Diversity Distraction: A Critical Comparative Analysis of Discourse in Higher Education Scholarship," *Review of Higher Education* 42, no. 5 (2019): 135–72. http://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0048; Susan Vandeventer Iverson, "Camouflaging Power and Privilege: A Critical Race Analysis of University Diversity Politics," *Education Admin Quarterly* 43 (2007): 586–611, https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X07307794.

89. Ahmed, *On Being Included*; Dian Squire, Z. Nicolazzo, and Rosemary J. Perez, "Institutional Response as Non-performative: What University Communications (Don't) Say about Movements Toward Justice," *Review of Higher Education* 42, no. 5 (2019): 109–33, http://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0047.

90. D.-L. Stewart, "Whiteness as Collective Memory in Student Publications at Midwestern Liberal Arts Colleges, 1945–1965," *American Educational Research Journal* 56, no. 1 (2019): 3–38, https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831218788326.

91. Linder and Myers, "Institutional Betrayal."

92. Victor Ray, "A Theory of Racialized Organizations," *American Sociological Review* 84, no. 1 (2019): 26–53, https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122418822335.

93. Cho, "Perception of Progress."

94. Ibram H. Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: How Black Students and the Radical Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965–1972* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

95. Leivrouw, *Alternative and Activist New Media*; Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism.*

96. Verta Taylor and Nella Van Dyke, "'Get Up, Stand Up': Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kries (Blackwell, 2005): 265.

97. Charles H. F. Davis III, "Dream Defending, On-Campus and Beyond: A Multi-sited Ethnography of Contemporary Student Activism, the Social Movement Repertoire, and Social Movement Organization" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2015); Rogers, *Black Campus Movement*; Verna Taylor, "Tactical Repertoires of Contention," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2016).

98. Charles Tilley, *Popular Contention in Great Britain 1758–1834* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

99. Taylor, "Tactical Repertoires," 1.

100. Verta Taylor, Katrina Kimport, Nella Van Dyke and Ellen Ann Andersen, "Culture and Mobilization: Tactical Repertoires, Same-Sex Weddings, and the Impact on Gay Activism," *American Sociological Review* 74 (2009): 865–90.

101. Marshall Ganz, *Organizing People, Power, and Change*, 2014, https://commons library.org/organizing-people-power-change/.

102. Francis Fox Piven, *Challenging Authority: How Ordinary People Change America* (Baltimore: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Gabriella G. Vaillant and Michael Schwartz, "Student Movements and the Power of Disruption," *Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies* 12, no 1 (2019).

103. Vaillant and Schwartz, "Student Movements."

104. Eddie R. Cole, *The Campus Color Line* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021).

105. Piven, *Challenging Authority.*

106. Piven, *Challenging Authority.*

107. Davis, *Dream Defending.*

108. Rhoads, *Freedom's Web.*

109. James Patrick Biddix, "The Power of 'Estudentprotest': A Study of Electronically Enhanced Student Activism" (PhD diss., University of Missouri–St. Louis, 2006).

110. Biddix, "The Power of 'Estudentprotest,'" 3.

111. James Patrick Biddix, "Technology Use in Campus Activism from 2000–2008: Implications for Civic Learning," *Journal of College Student Development* 51, no. 6 (2010): 679–93.

112. Lievrouw, *Alternative and Activist New Media.*

113. Lievrouw, *Alternative and Activist New Media*, 19.

114. Davis, *Dream Defending*; Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism.*

115. Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism.*

116. Devon T. Lockard, Dominique Baker, and Richard S. L. Blissett, "Student and Administrative Responses to Student Collective Action on Campus," in Morgan and Davis, *Student Activism*, 185–200.