



# DREAM DEFENDING, ON-CAMPUS AND BEYOND

A multi-sited ethnography of contemporary student organizing practices, social movement repertoire, and the social movement organization

Charles H.F. Davis III, *Ph.D. Candidate*  
Educational Policy Studies & Practice

**DISSERTATION COMMITTEE** Gary D. Rhoades, Ph.D., *Chair* Luis C. Moll, Ph.D. Nolan L. Cabrera, Ph.D. Shaun R. Harper, Ph.D.



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# #BLACKLIVESMATTER

an ideological and political intervention

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# Theoretical Frameworks

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# Theoretical Frameworks

## Resource Mobilization Theory

1. Seeks to explain the ways in which social movements, conceived organizationally rather than individually, mobilize resources from within and outside the boundaries of the movement to reach their goals (Jenkins, 1983)
2. Argues effective mobilization of *material* and *non-material resources* (Fuchs, 2006) and the development of political opportunities for movement members determine a movement's ability to succeed (Flynn, 2011)

# Theoretical Frameworks

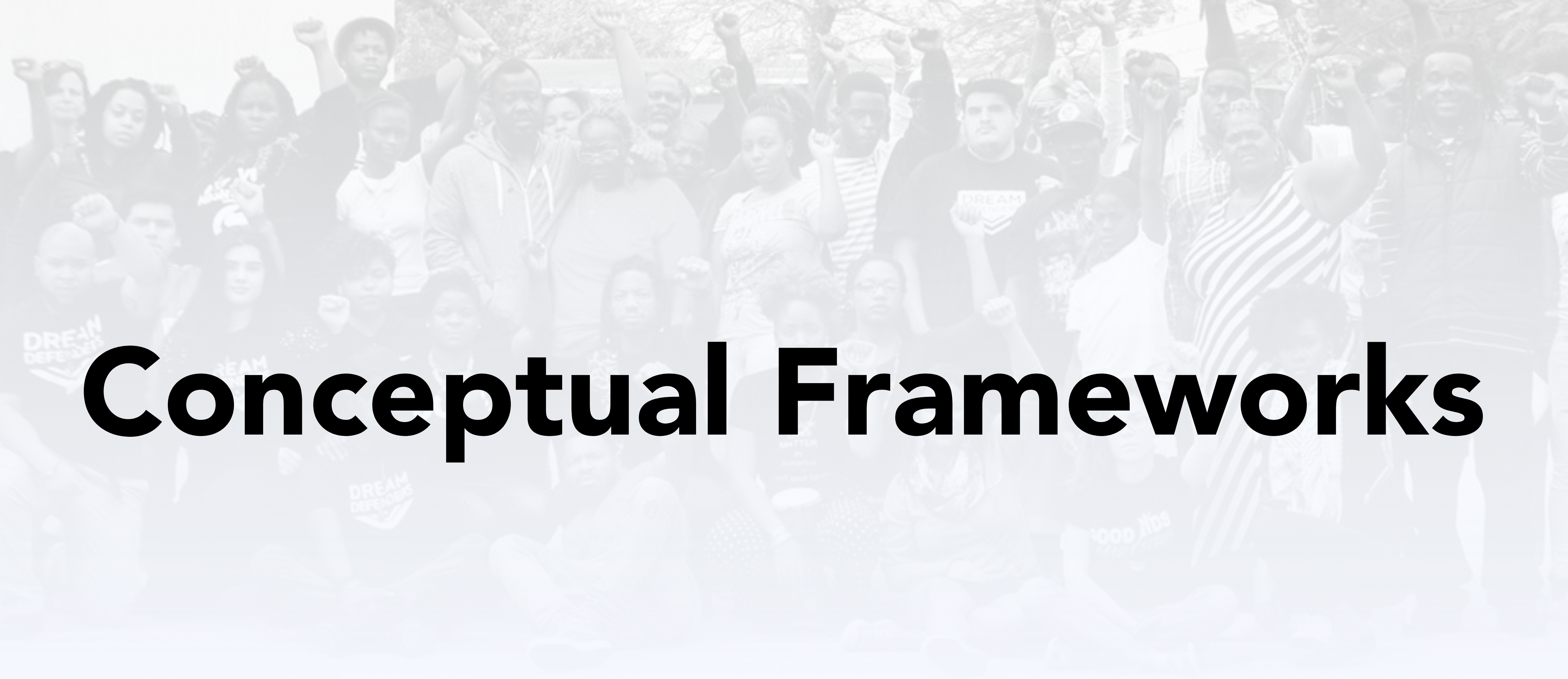
## Concepts of Resource Mobilization Theory

1. Mobilizing Structures – agreed upon ways of engaging in collective action to include tactical repertoires, organizational forms, and broader social movement repertoires (McCarthy, 1996)
  - 1.1. Micromobilization Contexts – social sites a part of people’s routines whereby informal and less formal ties between individuals serve as potential solidarity and communication facilitating structures should the choose to engage in dissent together (McAdam, 1988b; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988)
2. Movement Frames – specific metaphors, symbolic representations, and cognitive cues used to render or cast behavior and events in an evaluative mode and to suggest alternative modes of action (Zald, 1996, p. 262).
  - 2.1. Diagnostic Framing - identification of a problem and the attribution of blame or causality (Snow and Bedford, 1988)
  - 2.2. Prognostic Framing - articulates either proposed solutions to the identified problems or, at least, a potential approach and strategy for remedying them (Bedford and Snow, 2000)

# Theoretical Frameworks

## New Social Movement Theory

1. Conceptualizes action in social movements to include understanding new social movements as autonomous, non-hierarchical social networks in which movement activities are integrated into daily life rather than episodic events.
2. Movement activities are facilitated by extensive and sophisticated uses of media and information and communication technologies (ICTs) (i.e., Internet and new media), which are conceived as forms of action in their own right.



# Conceptual Frameworks

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# Conceptual Frameworks

## Defining New Media

New media consists of information and communication technologies and their social contexts (Lievrouw, 2011; Lievrouw & Livingstone, 2002, 2006).

## Alternative and Activist New Media (Lievrouw, 2011)

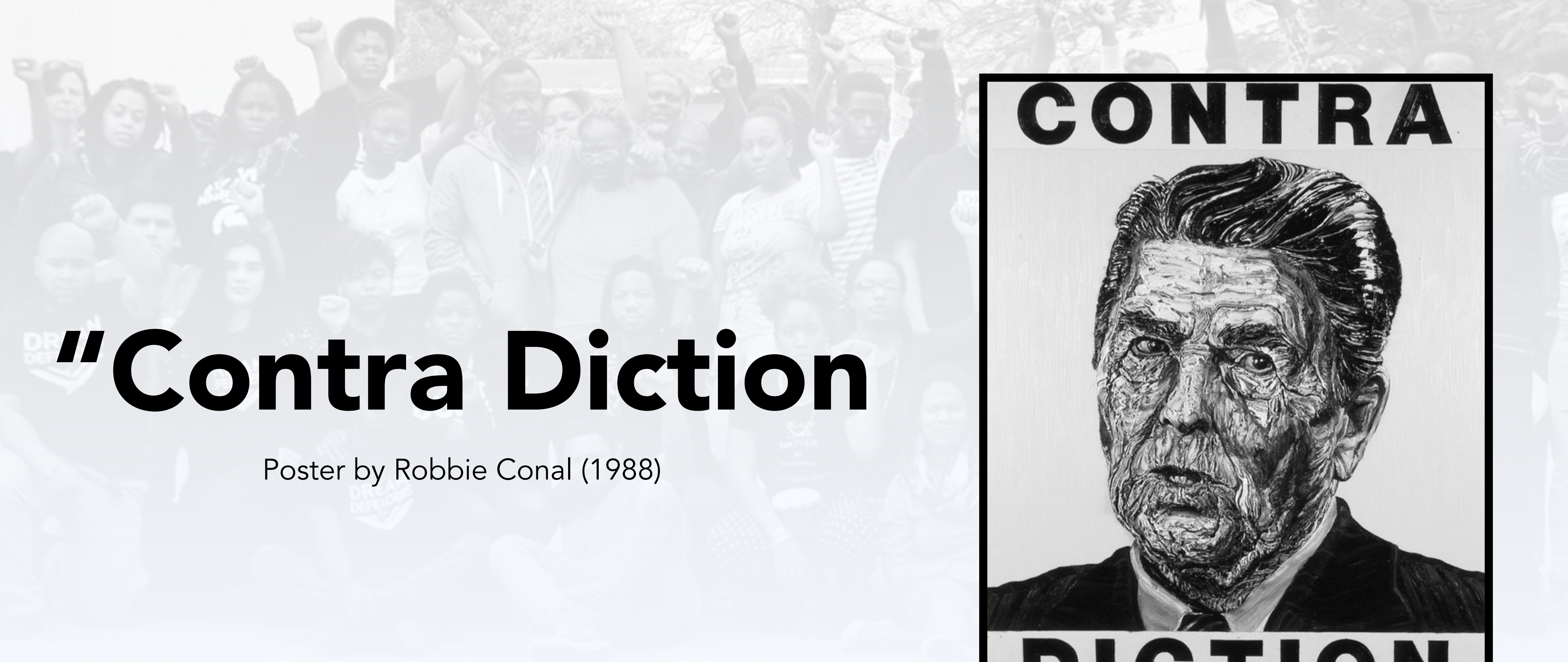
Alternative and activist new media *employ* or *modify* existing communication artifacts, practices, and social arrangements of new information and communication technologies to challenge or alter dominant, expected, or accepted ways of *doing* society, culture, and politics.

# Conceptual Frameworks

## Alternative and Activist New Media

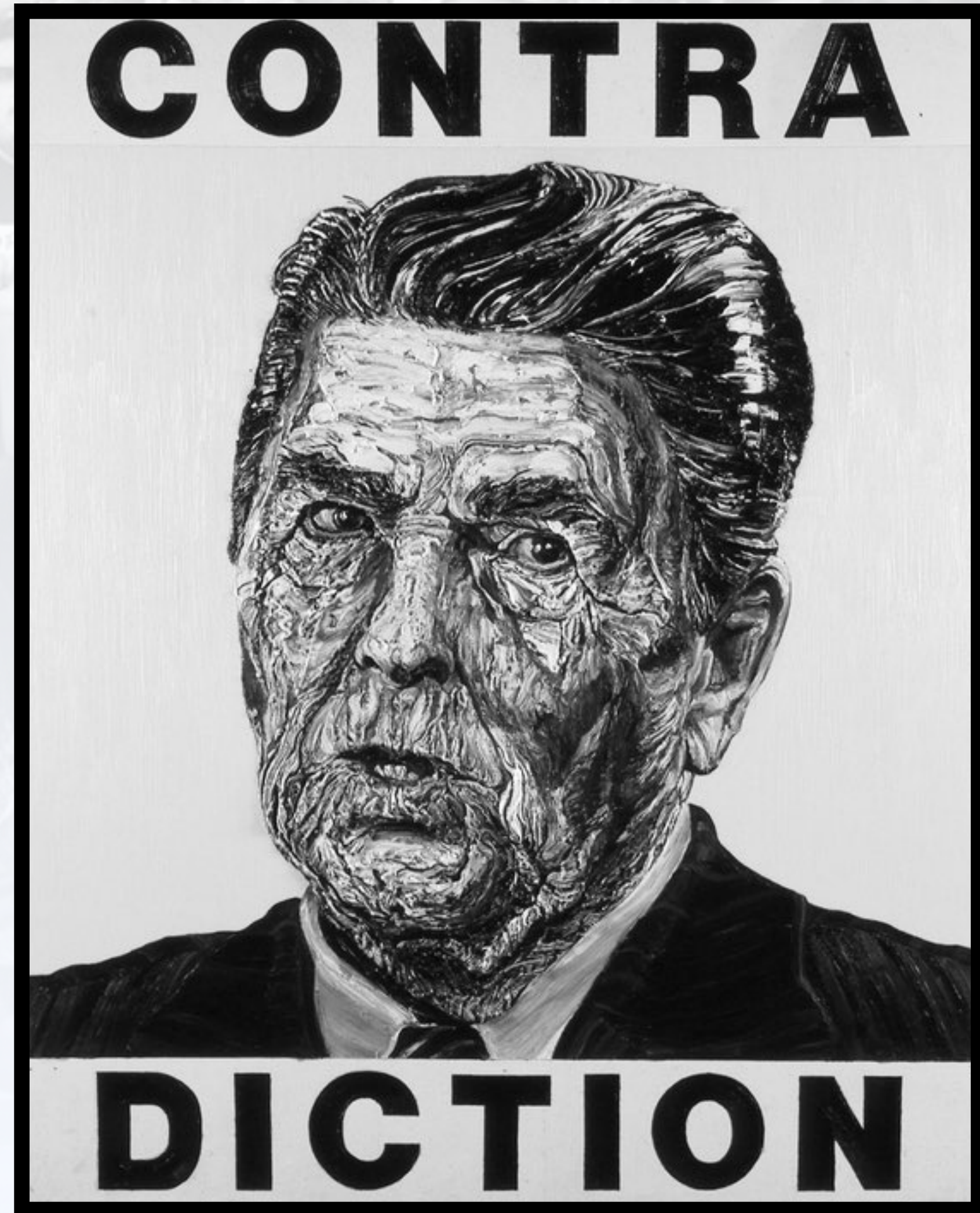
Two genres within the AANM conceptual framework are important to my study: mediated mobilization and culture jamming.

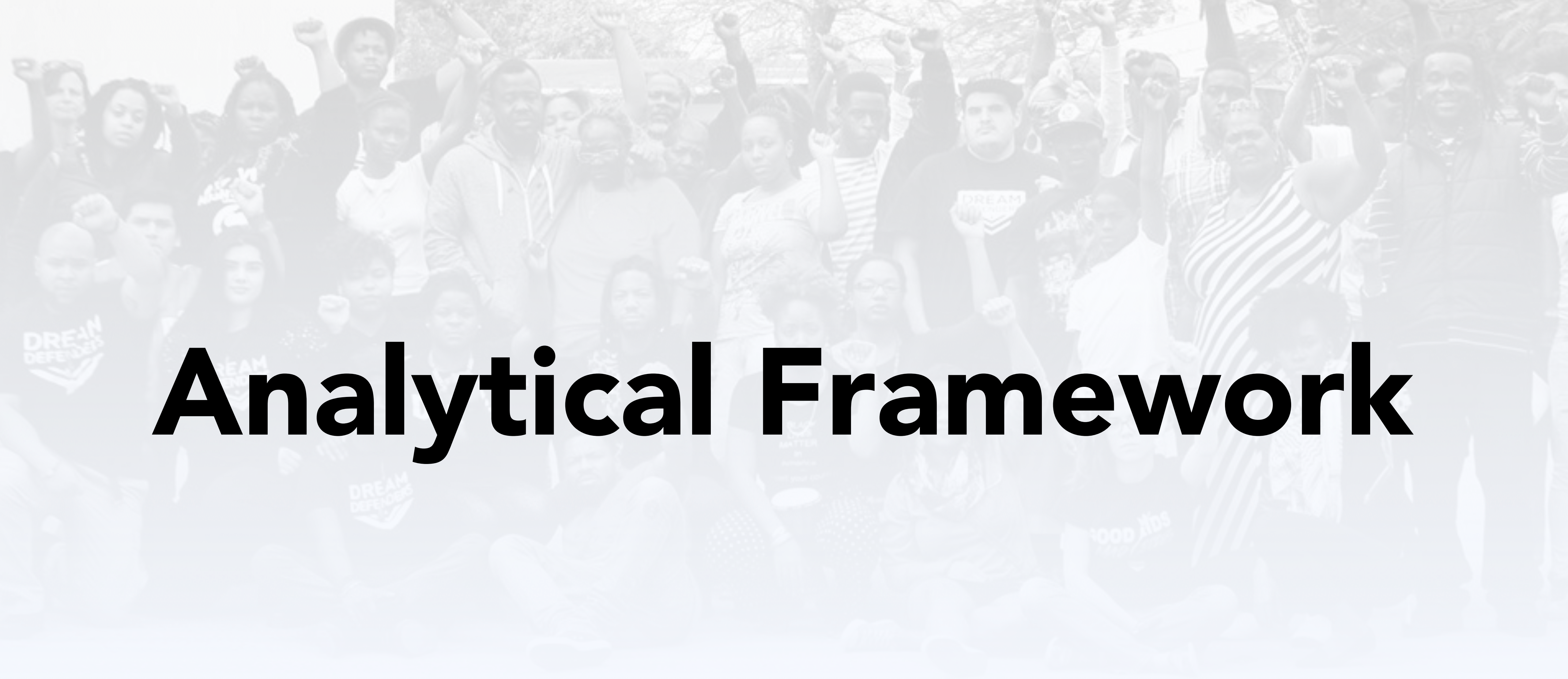
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2. Culture Jamming – a mode of media activist projects in which images, sounds, and text are appropriated from popular culture (e.g., entertainment, advertising, art and music, literature, and cinema) for points of social and cultural critique, political commentary, and similar analyses online.



# "Contra Diction

Poster by Robbie Conal (1988)





# Analytical Framework

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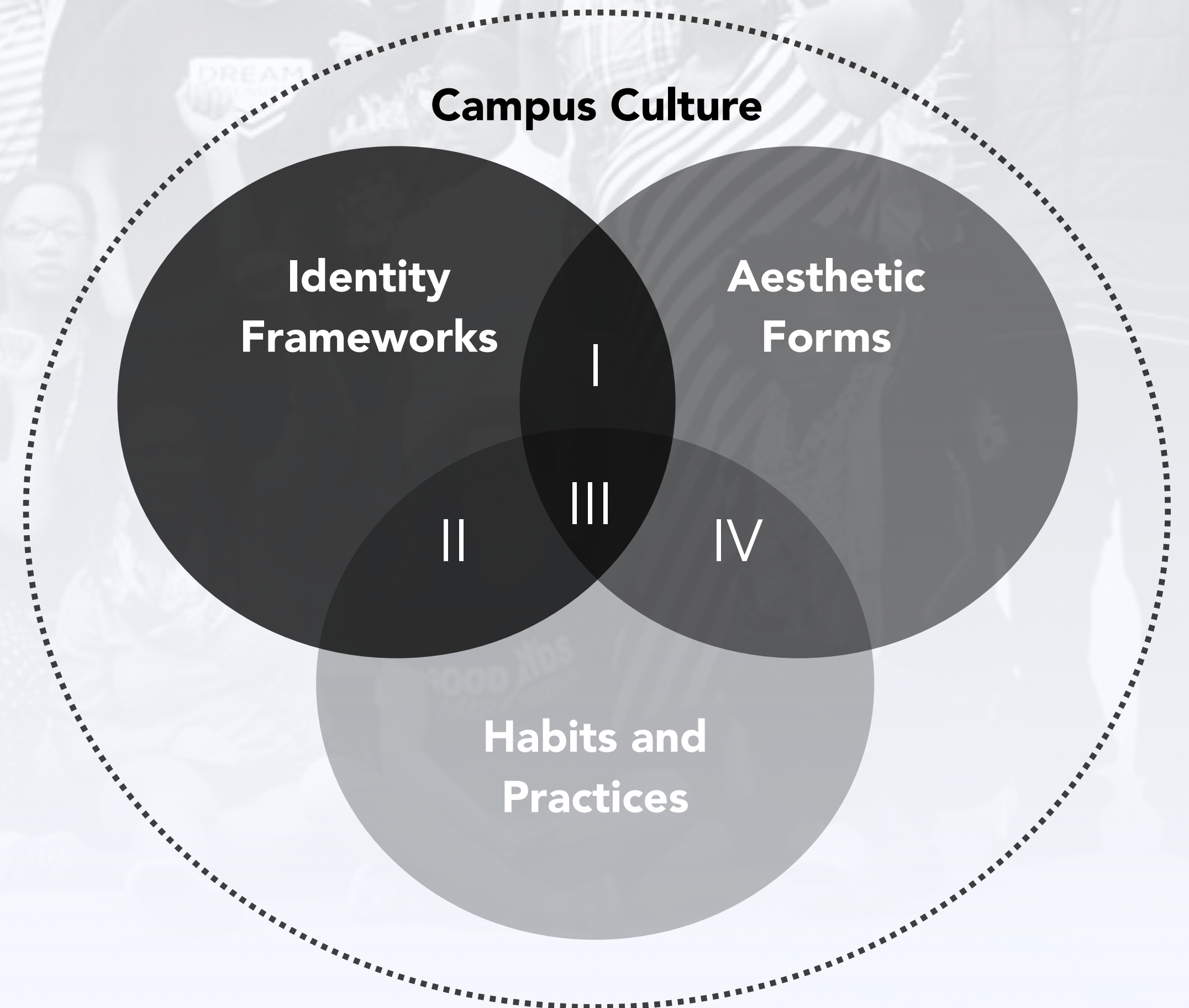


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# Analytical Framework

## **Hip-Hop Collegians** (Petchauer, 2012)

Hip-Hop Collegians is a heuristic to explicate the relationships between identity, aesthetic forms, and habits and practices of hip-hop culture in postsecondary contexts.





# Research Findings

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# Mediated Mobilization and Prognostic Framing

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# #TAKEOVERFL

Occupation of the Florida Capitol

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# #TAKEOVERFL

OUR THOUGHTS ARE WITH TRAYVON MARTIN'S FAMILY, WHO UNFORTUNATELY WILL NEVER HAVE THEIR SON BACK. THIS IS A TRUE AMERICAN TRAGEDY FOR EVERY CHILD, MOTHER, FATHER, BROTHER AND SISTER IN THE NATION. THIS IS A REMINDER THAT OUR COMMUNITIES STILL FIND THEMSELVES PROFILED, TARGETED AND OPPRESSED EACH DAY. THE BATTLE FOR TRUE JUSTICE IN AN UNEQUAL SOCIETY IS NEVER SIMPLE. FLORIDA HAS TAKEN ANOTHER ONE OF OURS. WE MUST HOLD ON TO OUR ANGER IN THE FACE OF THE INJUSTICE AND LET THE FEELINGS OF LOVE FOR OUR COMMUNITY PUSH US FORWARD IN FIXING OUR BROKEN SOCIETY. WE WILL NEVER FORGET HIS NAME.

DREAM DEFENDERS ARE BUILDING IN CITIES ALL OVER FLORIDA TAKING ON THE CRIMINALIZATION OF OUR YOUTH, PRIVATE PRISONS, AND POVERTY. THIS IS OUR PROBLEM TO FIX. IF YOU'RE READY TO WORK, JOIN US.

[DREAMDEFENDERS.ORG](http://DREAMDEFENDERS.ORG)  [@THEDREAMDEFENDERS](https://twitter.com/THEDREAMDEFENDERS)



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# #TAKEOVERFL

WWW.DREAMDEFENDERS.ORG

**DREAM DEFENDERS  
TAKE TALLAHASSEE  
TUESDAY, JULY 16TH**

**DREAM DEFENDERS** EMAIL: [INFO@DREAMDEFENDERS.ORG](mailto:INFO@DREAMDEFENDERS.ORG) FOR MORE INFO

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# OCCUPATION & AGITATION

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# Occupation and Agitation



# Occupation and Agitation

 **The Dream Defenders**  
@Dreamdefenders [Follow](#)

@figovscott did NOT agree to holding a special session for the #trayvonmartinact. We're not leaving the Capitol until he does.

9:52 PM - 18 Jul 2013


← ↻ 89 ★ 14

 **The Dream Defenders**  
@Dreamdefenders [Follow](#)

We provided @figovscott the opportunity to show real leadership tonight and he did not rise to the call. Our work is not done.

9:54 PM - 18 Jul 2013

← ↻ 111 ★ 14

 **The Dream Defenders**  
@Dreamdefenders [Follow](#)

Our demands have not been met. We are going to stay here until our demands are met. We are calling on the youth to band together now. Here.

9:55 PM - 18 Jul 2013

← ↻ 71 ★ 6

 **The Dream Defenders**  
@Dreamdefenders [Follow](#)

Power concedes nothing without struggle. This is a human rights struggle. Struggle with us. Join us.

Lets change the world. Together.

9:58 PM - 18 Jul 2013

← ↻ 45 ★ 18

 **The Dream Defenders**  
@Dreamdefenders [Follow](#)

Can We Dream Together, America?  
#trayvonmartinact

10:00 PM - 18 Jul 2013

← ↻ 32 ★ 9



# CIVIC DEMONSTRATION


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# Civic Demonstration



#PEOPLESSESSION  
@DREAMDEFENDERS

OPENING SESSION  
**TUESDAY 1 PM**  
@ THE OLD CAPITOL

GOVERNOR RICK SCOTT HAS FAILED TO TAKE LEADERSHIP TO CALL A SPECIAL SESSION FOR “#TRAYVONSLAW” TO REVIEW STAND YOUR GROUND, RACIAL PROFILING & THE SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE.  
RICK WON'T SHOW LEADERSHIP SO WE WILL. WE'RE HOSTING OUR OWN SESSION FOR THE PEOPLE, FOR THE COMMUNITY, AND FOR OUR FUTURE.



#PEOPLESSESSION  
@DREAMDEFENDERS

STAND YOUR GROUND  
**THURSDAY 1 PM**  
@ GOV. RICK SCOTT'S OFFICE

GOVERNOR RICK SCOTT HAS FAILED TO TAKE LEADERSHIP TO CALL A SPECIAL SESSION FOR “#TRAYVONSLAW” TO REVIEW STAND YOUR GROUND, RACIAL PROFILING & THE SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE.  
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#PEOPLESSESSION  
@DREAMDEFENDERS

RACIAL PROFILING  
**FRIDAY 1 PM - 3PM**  
@ GOV. RICK SCOTT'S OFFICE

GOVERNOR RICK SCOTT HAS FAILED TO TAKE LEADERSHIP TO CALL A SPECIAL SESSION FOR “#TRAYVONSLAW” TO REVIEW STAND YOUR GROUND, RACIAL PROFILING & THE SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE.  
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# POWER BUILDING

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# Power Building

**DREAM DEFENDERS**  
WWW.DREAMDEFENDERS.ORG/THE TAKEOVER

**#THE TAKEOVER**  
JULY 26TH, 2PM, FL CAPITOL

"THROUGH VARIOUS MOVEMENTS WE WENT OUT AND FOUGHT FOR OUR LIBERATION AND MADE OURSELVES A BETTER PEOPLE. DEEP IN MY SOUL, I KNOW THERE ARE MORE ROSA PARKS, MORE DR. KINGS, AND MORE ELLA BAKERS READY TO EMERGE."

**FEATURING**  
CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER  
HARRY BELAFONTE

**DREAM DEFENDERS**  
#TAKEOVERFL - WWW.DREAMDEFENDERS.ORG

**THURSDAY**  
**JULIAN BOND**

1 PM - FLORIDA CAPITOL - 400 S MONROE ST

*JET* AUG. 26, 1973 (W) A JOHNSON PUBLICATION  
JET POLL RESULTS: THE MAN BLACKS PREFER AS CANDIDATE FOR U. S. PRESIDENT



# POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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# Political Participation



An open conversation about:


## STAND YOUR GROUND

NOVEMBER 3RD  
7:30 P.M.




**DIAL: 1 (312) 878-3081**  
**ACCESS CODE: 483-439-878**

**RSVP FOR THE CALL: [HTTP://BIT.LY/SYGRSVP](http://bit.ly/sygrsvp)**




## #PACKTHEHOUSE



**THURSDAY NOV 7TH**  
**STAND YOUR GROUND HEARING**

**FLORIDA CAPITOL**  
**3PM-8PM**

**CALL TO ACTION!**  
**OUR HEARING!**  
**OUR LAW!**



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# Conceptual Frameworks

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# Culture Jamming Hip-Hop and Diagnostic Framing

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# #NEVERLOVEDUS

Digital Media/Culture Jamming Campaign

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# WORST BEHAVIOR

On my worst behavior, no? They used to never want to hear us;

Remember? Muthafucka **never loved us;**

Remember? Muthafucka!

Remember? Muthafucka **never loved us;**

I'm on my worst behavior! Don't you ever get it fucked up!

Muthafuckas never loved us! Man, muthafuckas **never loved us;**

Worst behavior! Muthafuckas **never loved us!**

Fucka never loved us! Worst behavior!"

**DRAKE** *Rapper*  
OVO, YMCMB



**Peace** *Communications Co-Director*  
*Dream Defenders*





**Chubbz** *Art Director*  
Dream Defenders

Canon

CAN WE  
DREAM





**Sandra** *Communications Co-Director*  
Dream Defenders

# The Personal



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# The Personal



Israel "Reefa" Hernandez



Kendrick Johnson



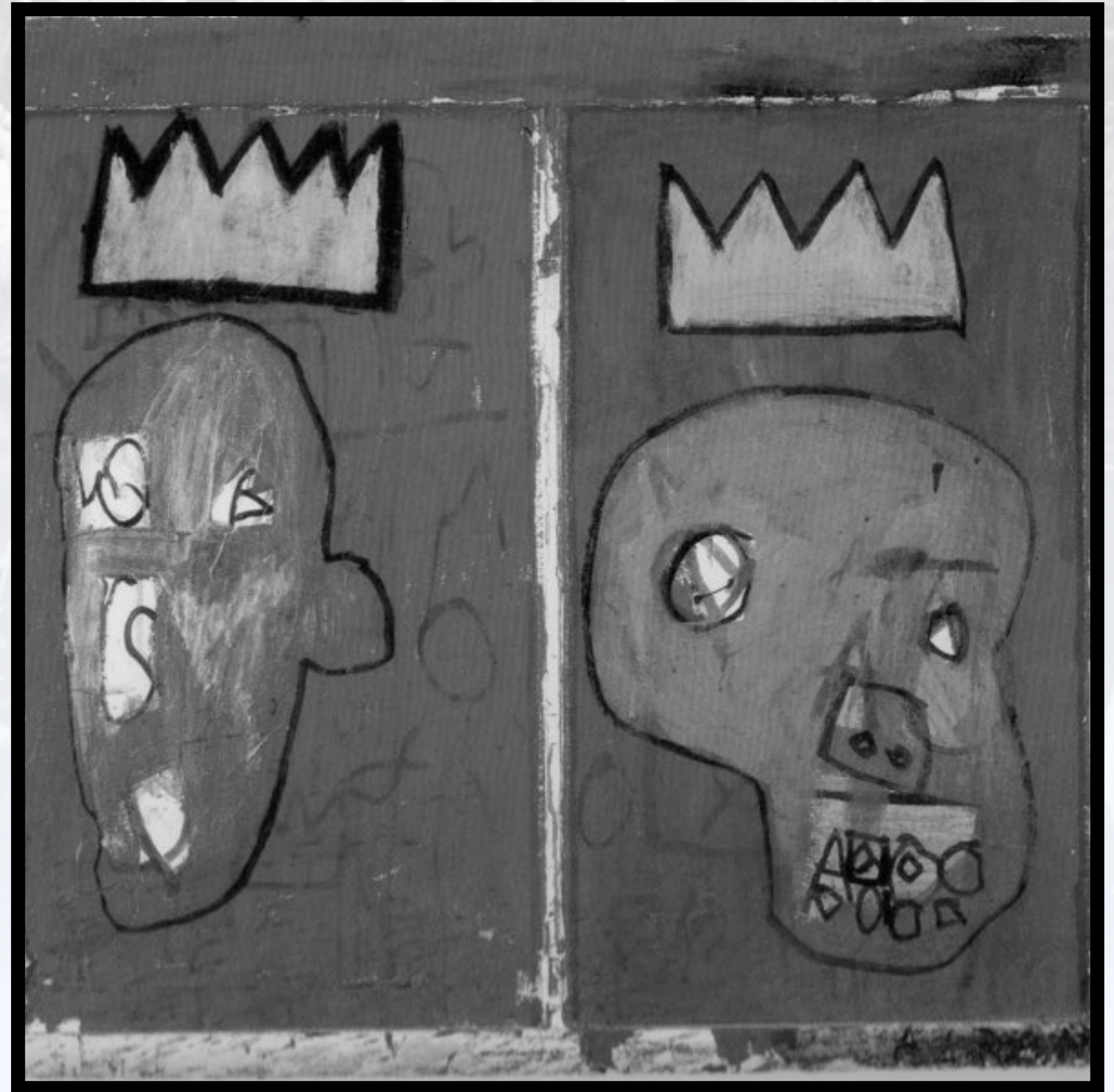
Jonathan Ferrell



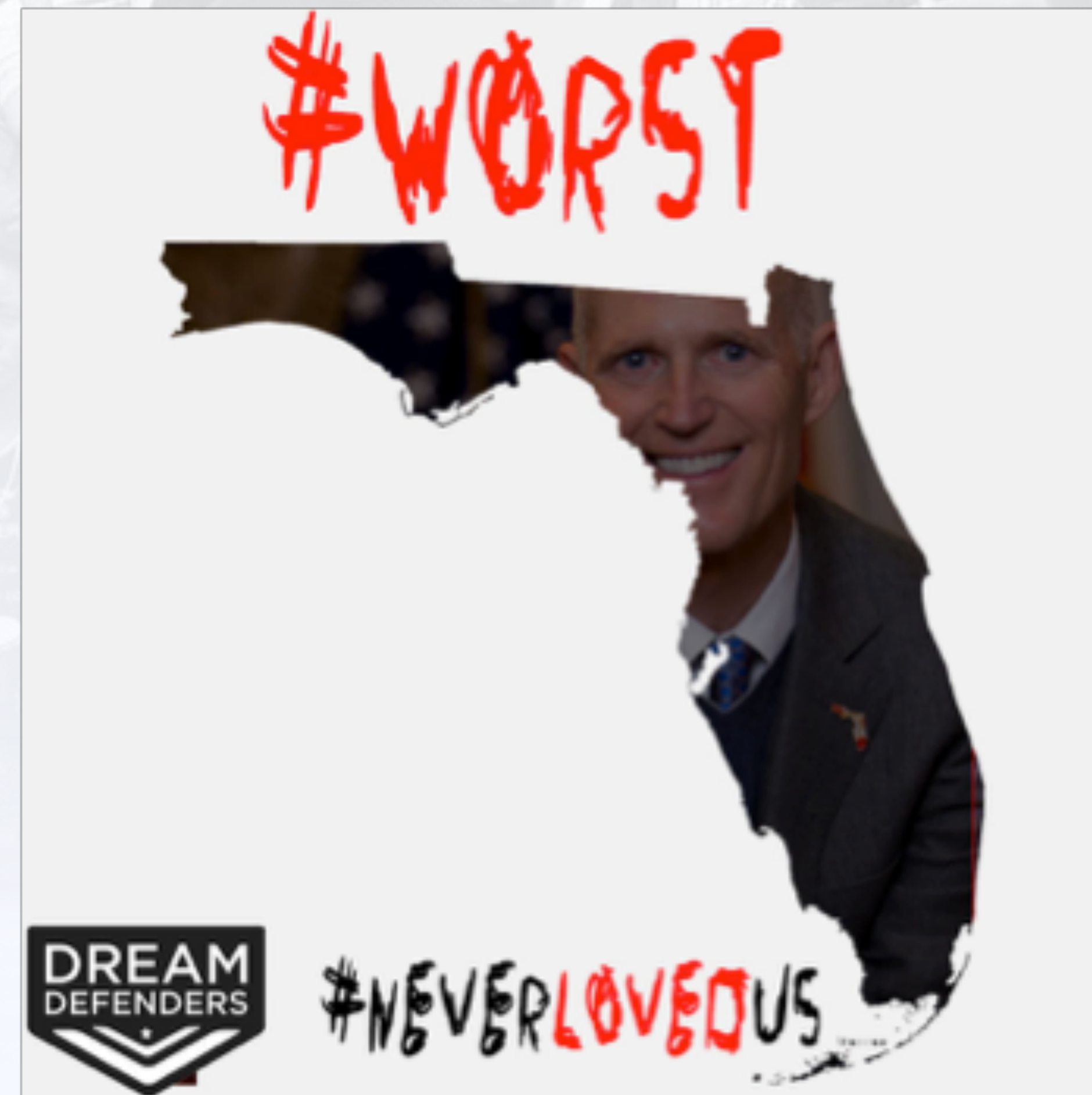
Trayvon Martin

# "Red Kings"

Painting by Jean-Michel Basquiat (1981)



# The Political



State Attorney Angela Corey

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Governor Rick Scott



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# The Historical



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# #BLACKEDOUTHISTORY







**Amiri Baraka** *Novelist/Poet*

**Gil Scott-Heron** *Soul Poet*

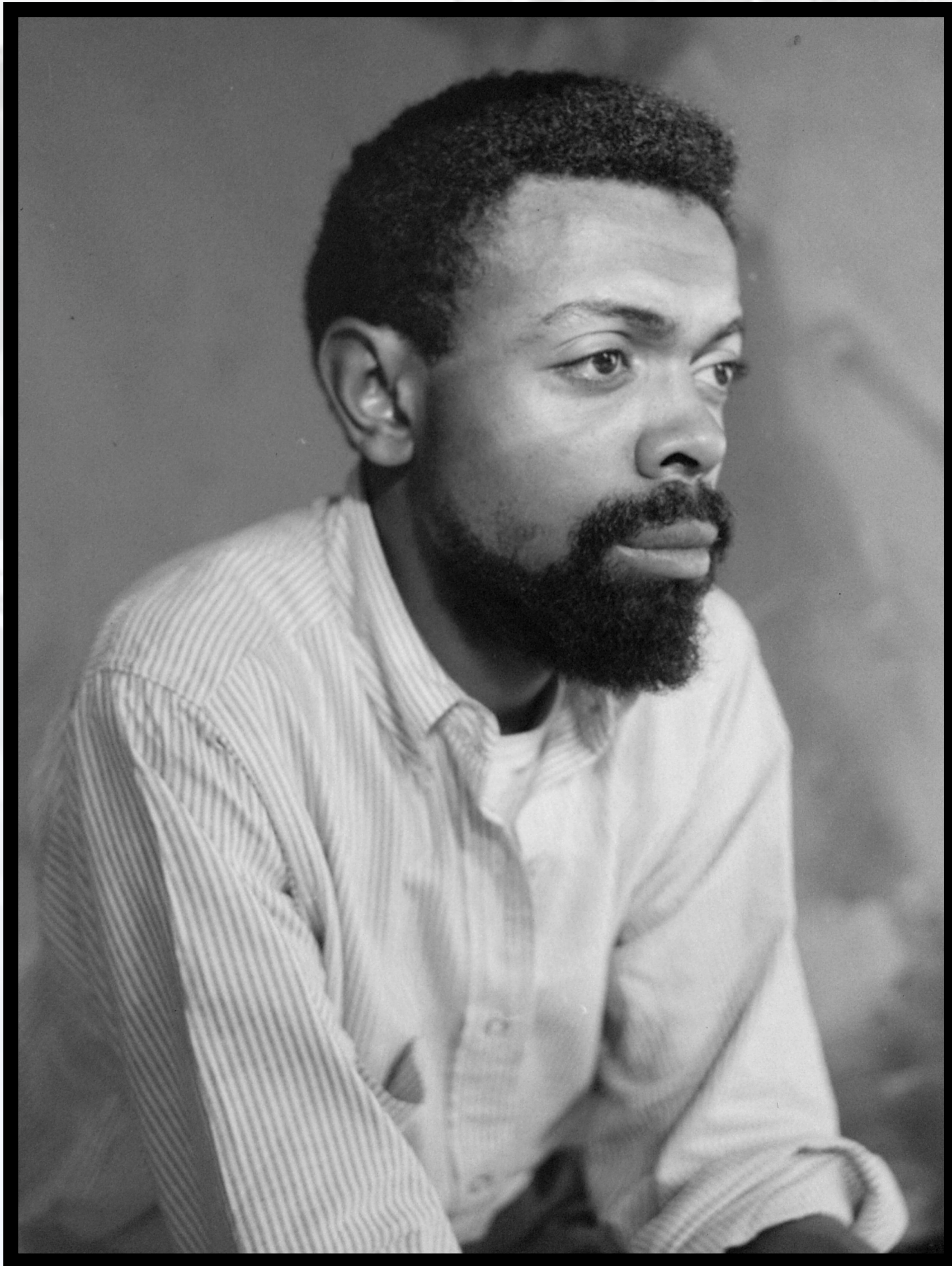
**Kanye West** *Rapper/Lyricist*

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## **“Who Will Survive America”**

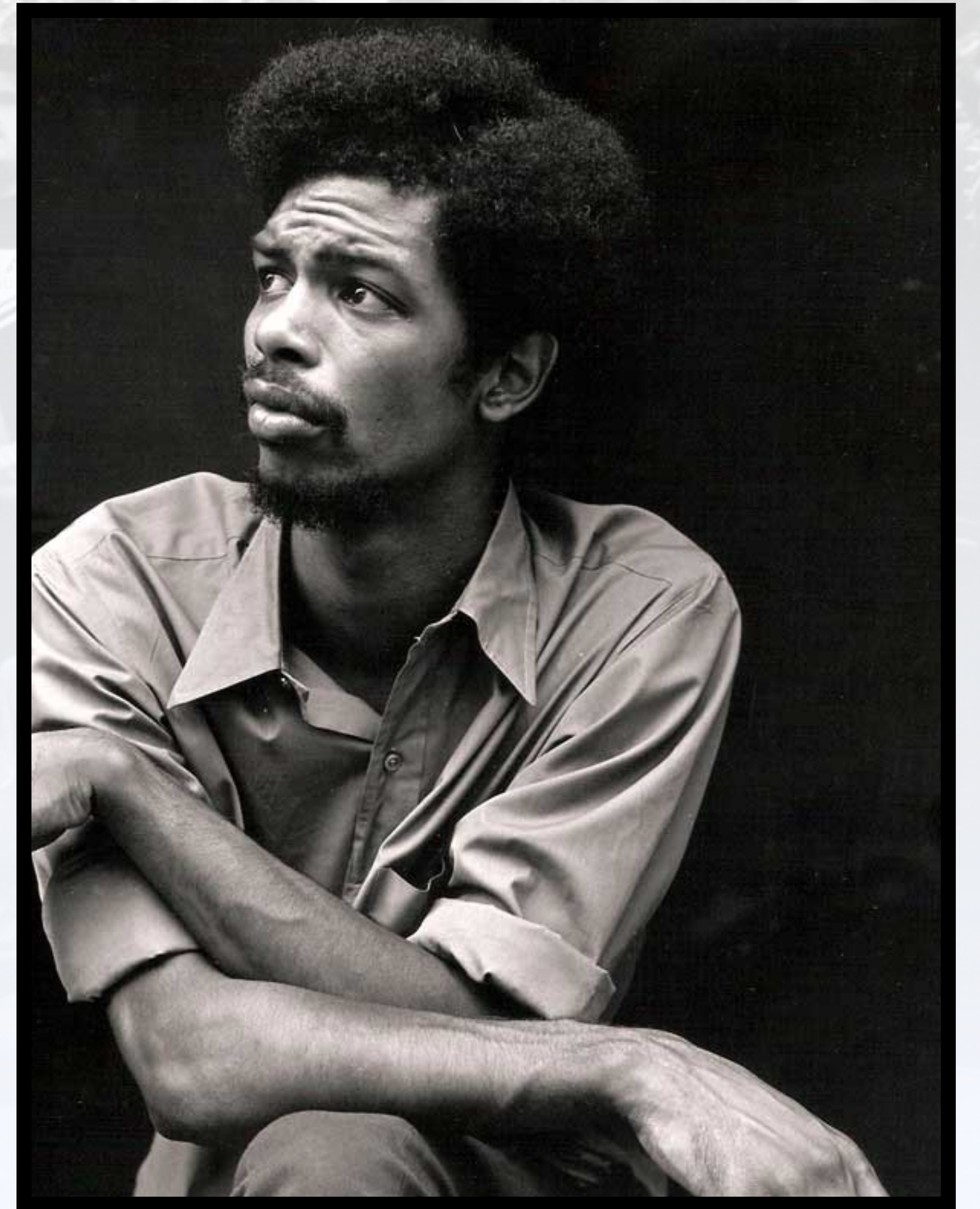
“Who will survive America?  
Few Americans;  
Very few negroes;  
No crackers at all.”

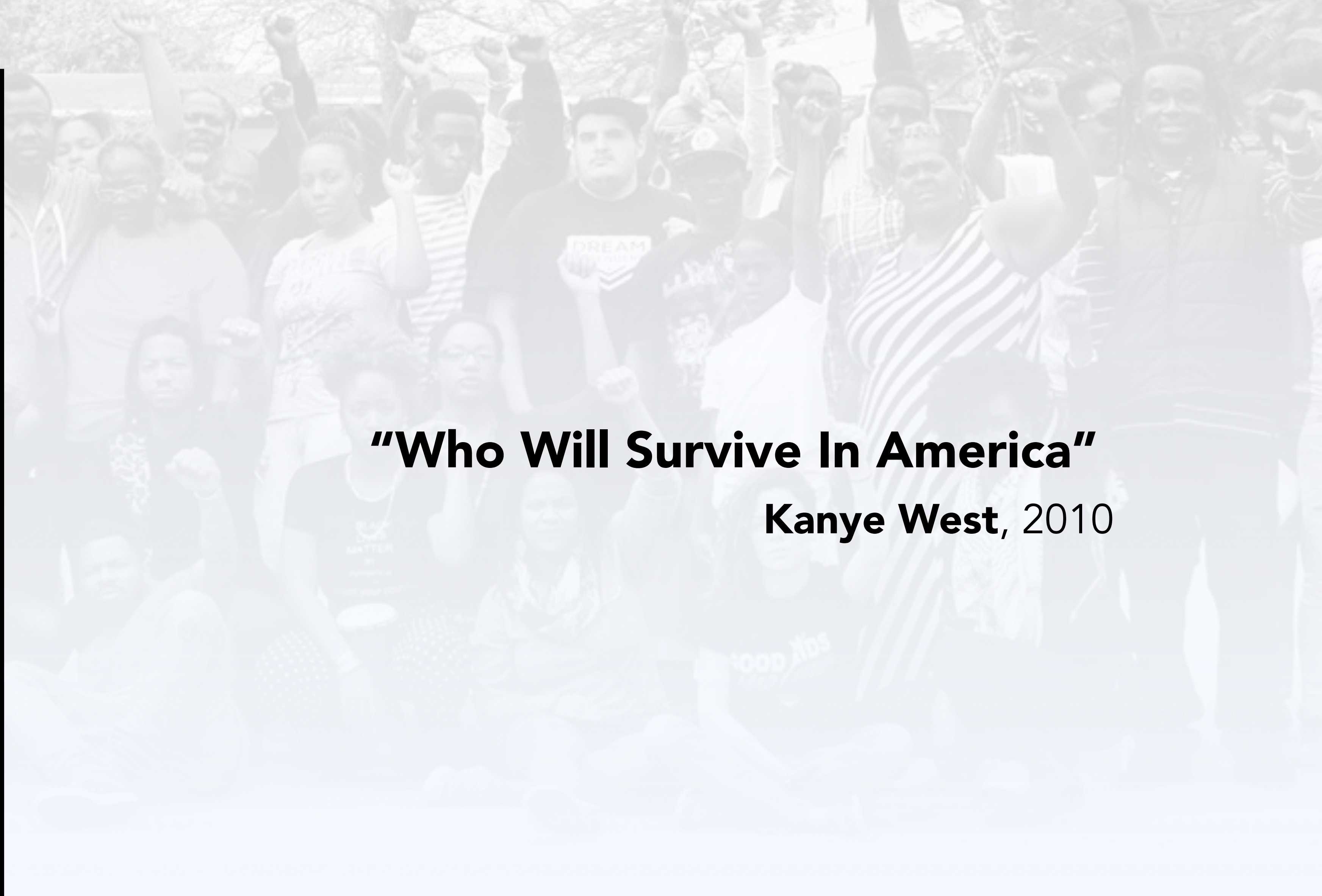
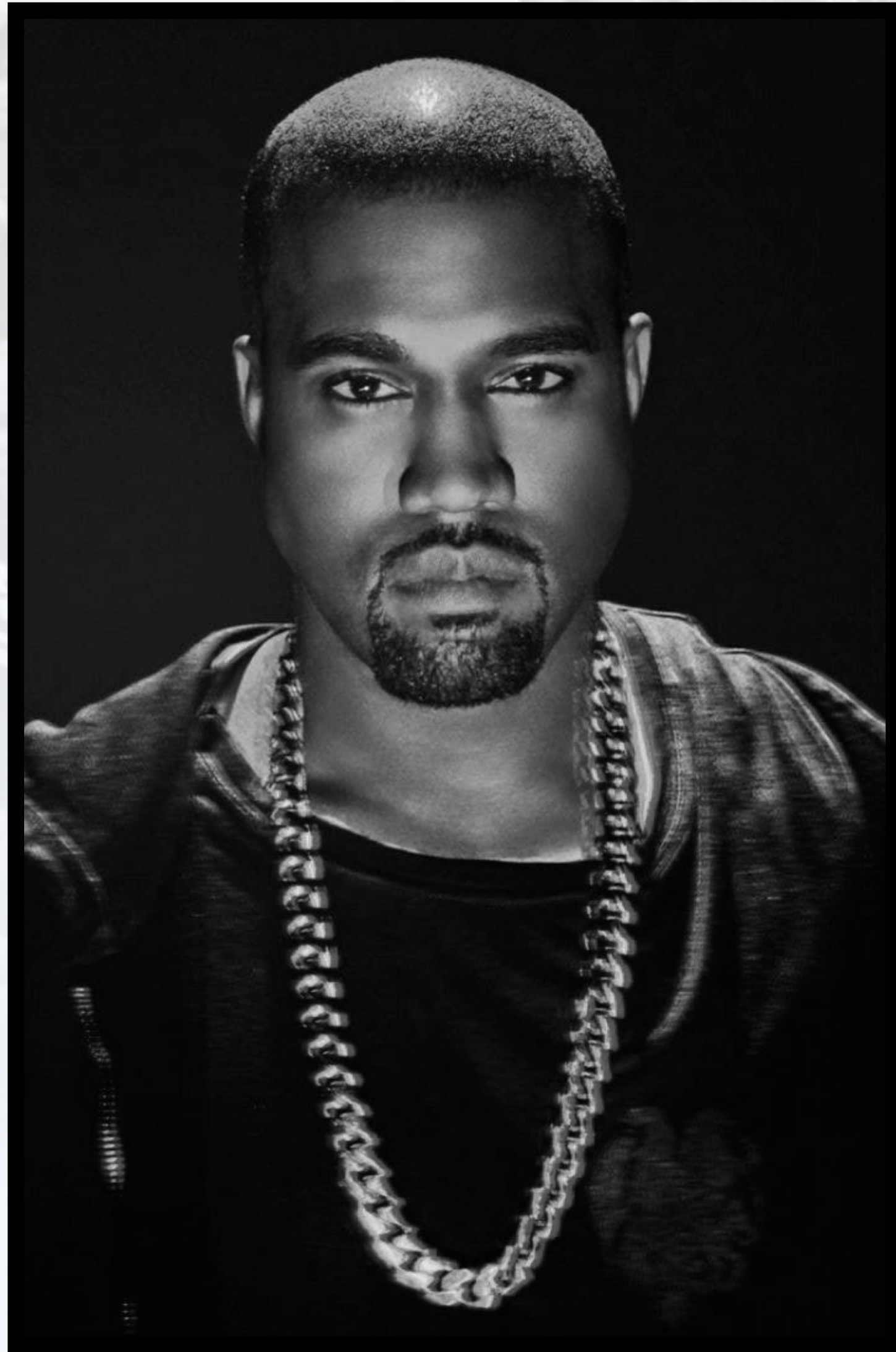
**Amiri Baraka, 1968**

## "Comment #1"

"Fuck up what you can in the name of  
Piggy Wallace, Dickless Nixon, and Spiro Agnew;  
Leave Brother Clever and Brother Malcolm alone,  
please,  
After all is said and done, build a new route  
To China if they'll have you;  
Who will *in* survive America?  
Who will *in* survive America?  
Who will *in* survive America?"

**Gil Scott-Heron, 1970**





## **"Who Will Survive In America"**

**Kanye West, 2010**

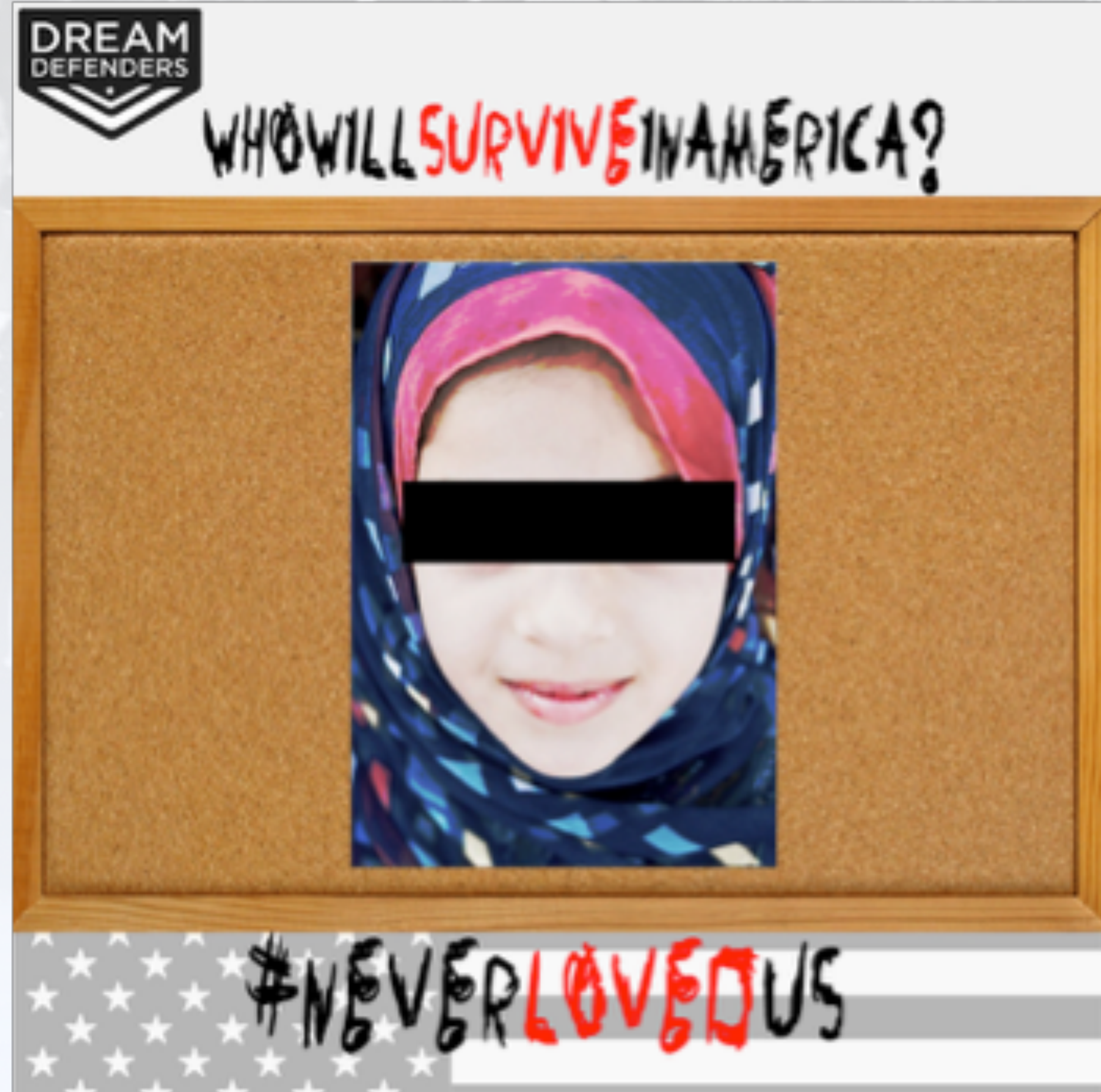
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# The Personal





# Implications

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# Theoretical/Conceptual Implications

## Off-Campus Imaginary of Postsecondary Ecology

The off-campus imaginary refers to an undefined and virtually limitless set of social contexts and geographic locations experienced by college students throughout their postsecondary educational journey. This includes a more expansive set of boundaries and spatial geographies comprising a broader postsecondary ecology not limited to an individual campus.

## Social Media, Mobilization, and Movement Frames

New and social media specifically provide sites of possibility to aid social movement organizations in 1) mobilizing pre-existing networks – now also online – as well as the mobilization of *new* networks, and 2) social movement framing processes (e.g., culture jamming). More formative theory explaining the aforementioned processes should be developed and refined as further investigation takes place.

# Research Implications

## Methodological Considerations

Practicality and Feasibility of Ethnographic Research in Higher Education

Digital Research Methods and Methodologies

Ethnographic and Qualitative Research Teams

## Research Directions

Expanding Activism and Social Movement Research Programs

Research on Digital and Digitally-Mediated Activism in Higher Education

Off-Campus Activism and Organizing in College



# Recommendations for Practice

## **Student Activists and Social Justice Organizers**

Developing technological skills useful for organizing

Grounded practice in traditional organizing strategies and tactics

Inclusivity across difference other than race

## **Student Affairs Professionals and Social Justice Educators**

Navigating conflicts of interest regarding acts of political dissent



# Thank You

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