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Rebel with a Cause: Student Political Activism in Catholic Higher Education Institutions

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REBEL WITH A CAUSE:

STUDENT POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN

CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

A dissertation submitted to

the Faculty of the Graduate School of

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By

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Chicago, Illinois

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Overview

Student movements play a central role in almost all contemporary social movements. The French revolution (1789), the German student revolt (1815-19), the Russian student revolutions (1860-65, 1914-17), the Bosnian student movement before the First World War, the American and Japanese students movements of the 1960s (Feuer, 1969: 4-19), the Korean student rebellion in the mid 1980s, and the bloody slaughter of Chinese students in Tian An Men Square of 1989 are all examples of student participation in social change.[1] Students' participation is vital to many social movements in the sense that they provide human power, time, energy, and other resources to various movements. Also, students initiate numerous political mobilizations with their own agenda and issues that are intimately related to other types of insurgence.

In the twentieth century, for example, there were student led movements throughout the "undeveloped" countries (Burma, Ghana), the "developing" societies (Taiwan, Korea), the "advanced" capitalist nations (the U. S., France, Japan), and various "socialist" countries (Poland, Soviet Russia). Lewis Feuer, for instance, in his

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[1] Student movement of the 1960s appeared to be a world-wide phenomenon. In the United States massive studies on student unrest started from the mid-1960s on. See Fishman and Solomon for a detailed journalistic account on student uprisings all over the world. (1964: 1-27, reference 2, 4, 14, 20-2, 25-30, 38, 40, 43, 45-6, 48-53)

book <u>The</u> <u>Conflict</u> <u>of</u> <u>Generations</u> (1969) described the universality of student movements during the past two centuries. Indeed, the radical changes which we are now witnessing in countries of the Eastern European Communist Bloc are largely the result of student movements. Maybe the most dramatic example of this trend was the unification of Germany in October of 1990.

Student activists have appeared in almost every social upheaval. Take the American student movement of the 1960s as an example: student activists joined anti-war demonstrations;[2] participated in the "Free Speech Movement;"[3] helped in the African-American voter registration drive;[4] the welfare rights struggle;[5] and community organizing for disadvantaged people.[6] The dramatic social changes of the United States in the sixties as a result of student movement such as the enactment of the Civil Rights Bills and the end of the Vietnam War are concrete examples of student efforts. It is no exaggeration to claim that student movements constitute the driving force of contemporary social change.

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[2] For instance, Solomon and Fishman, 1964: 54-73; Muste, 1966: 34-8; Converse and Schuman, 1970: 17-25; Kolko, 1973: 8-17.

[3] See Rosenfield, 1965: 13-8; 1966: 15-21; Gales, 1966: 1-19; Gerson and Noberg, 1968: 6.

[4] See Payne, 1966: 50-8; Hayden, 1966: 75-85.

[5] Howe, 1956: 121-3; and Titmuss, 1964: 28-37 are appropriate examples.

[6] For movements focused on the various combinations of the above goals and others see, Draper, 1965; Thompson, 1967; Mailer, 1968; McEvoy and Miller, 1969; Guttmann, 1969: 56-63; Kahn and Bowers, 1970: 38-55; Bacciocco, 1971; Casale and Paskoff, 1971; Breines, 1980: 419-29.

<u>Types</u> <u>of</u> <u>analysis</u> <u>in</u> <u>student</u> <u>movement</u>

The importance of social movements in general, and student movements in particular, is well recognized by social scientists. Student movements are, as defined in this study, the organized and conscious mobilization by students to initiate or resist change in the social order. This is parallel to "youth movements" outlined by Braungart and Braungart (1988: 53-6; 1990: 157) and other social movement definitions. (McCarthy and Zald, 1973) Furthermore, by adopting a humanistic sociological approach, student movements are seen as a process of consciousness raising and individual empowerment (via social action) that goes hand in hand with societal and cultural change. In this sense, my definition of student political activism is very similar to McLung's idea of sociology and of social science when he said:

> The great challenge of sociology and social science is not the concern with social equilibrium or stability...On the contrary, the great challenge of social science is the development and wide dissemination of social wisdom and social action techniques that will enable more and more people to participate in the control and guidance of their groups and their society. In meeting this challenge, social science stimulates and nurtures the fuller development of individual potential. (1973: 6)

Therefore, I exclude conventional student political groups and their activities while paying specific attention to the "radical" segments of student politics.[7]

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[7] It is a common practice to equate "radical" politics with the "left," "unconventional," or "confrontational" politics. Such practice--as adopted by many people--is not always valid, however. For instance, radical is not at all equal to confrontational when reactionary activists mobilize to counter-picketing anti-war protestors, or pro-life advocates harass pro-choice demonstrators. By the same token, violence towards minorities is unconventional but not left. Therefore, this study treats radical and the left synonymously which means "actions aimed at an increased self-

Research on social movements generally falls into one of three categories: descriptive, analytic, and predictive (or evaluative). Most journalistic reports and some semi-scholarly studies on special events and/or episodes belong to the first category, which involves the description of "what happened (or is happening)" in a particular case, and which does not go into the "why" and "what then" part of most events. One only has to open any periodical such as Time, Newsweek, Psychology Today, Life, or even some entertainment magazines such as Rolling Stone, People, and various tabloids from the period between 1964 and 1972 to descriptions of student activism almost daily.

Analytic studies revolve around the "causes" of the events on both societal and personal levels; the characteristics of the participants; factors influencing the development of the events; and the likely consequences of the events.[8] Such studies sometimes also involve some comparison of different societies (cross-cultural), discussions on theory and strategies, and evaluation of the role that media played in the movement. This perspective represents the main body of literature on social movements.

Some studies venture beyond the simple causality of events and attempt to focus

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control over one's own groups, activities, and well-being." Occasionally, all four concepts are used interchangeably.

[8] For "causes" of events see Altbach, 1966: 22-6; Braungart, 1969; Flacks, 1970: 310-1; Cutler, 1973. Keniston, 1967: 108-37; Trent and Craise 1967: 34-51; Jansen, Winborn, and Martinson, 1968: 552-62; Dunlap, 1970: 178-9; Hodgkinson, 1970: 537-55; Kahn and Bowers, 1970: 38-55; Smith, Haan, and Block, 1970: 261-88; Niemi and Sobieszek, 1977: 209-33; Jones, 1980, are examples on the characteristics of student activists. Consult Bowes, 1964; Scott and El-Assal, 1969: 702-9; Parsons and Platt, 1970: 1-37; Rothman and Lichter, 1982 on factors influenced the development of different events. For the evaluations on likely consequences of events see Eisenstadt, 1969: 133-50; Meier, 1970; Fendrich and Tarleau, 1973: 245-53; Fendrich, 1977: 144-57; and Willie and Cunnigen, 1981: 177-89. This is not an exhaustive list but a cluster of samples.

on the impact of student movements on other dimensions of society. These investigations are ambitious in the sense that they try to predict the happening of social movements, as well as comprehend the reasons for such insurgence. Given the difficulty this last mode of analysis implies, it is understandable that only a handful of works loosely fit into the evaluative category (Lipton, 1959; Goodman, 1960; Parkin, 1968; Lasch, 1978). Of course the above three categories are not mutually exclusive, and many studies involve various combinations of any two or even all three levels of analysis.

Student movements in religious institutions

Most investigations of student movements concentrate on the sixties and on non-religious higher educational institutions. There is little research on church-affiliated universities and colleges--especially Catholic institutions--and on the activism of their students. There are three suitable explanations for this phenomenon. First, there was a dramatic decline in the importance of religion in American society in the 1960s; consequently, researchers have not paid too much attention to religious institutions. Second, Catholic academic institutions are under-represented numerically compared to other schools, and only a handful of Catholic universities exist with national reputations and long histories which are competitive with public and sectarian private universities. Third, throughout the 1960s, Catholic universities remained relatively peaceful and quiet compared to other American institutions of higher education. Indeed, Jencks and Riesman, discussing the dramatically changing scene of American education in the late 1960s, conclude:

> Judging by straw polls on student political preferences
> during the Goldwater Campaign, by the relative rarity of
> civil rights and peace activities on Catholic campuses, and
> by our conversations with individual undergraduates, we
> have the impression that students at Catholic colleges are
> more conservative than those on nearby campuses to whom
> they might normally be compared. (1969: 371)

It is generally acknowledged that civil rights, the peace movement, and university reform were the main goals of the student movement of the 1960s. Concerning the limited literature on students at Catholic campuses, most scholars agree that student activism in Catholic institutions was concentrated mainly on "university reform." (Peterson, 1968: 10-1; Hassenger, 1970: 483-96)

Purpose of research

I undertook this study with four goals in mind: First, I wanted to describe current student political activism on Catholic campuses. I also hoped to uncover the mechanisms which driving student politics and to explore how administrations in Catholic institution react to student insurgences. Third, I was interested in studying the particular characteristics of student organizations in religious educational institutions. Finally, I sought to evaluate of the new trends in student activism in Catholic universities in the 1990s and to speculate on their possible futures.

Researchers involved in the study of student movements of the 1960s envisioned the gradual closing of the gap between sectarian and general academic institutions. Time has proven the accuracy of such a notion. Indeed, we all witnessed the dramatic changes of Catholicism after the Vatican II, if not indeed, onward from the 1940s (Fesquet, 1967;

Gleason, 1972: 91-107; Greeley, 1973; Hitchcock, 1979). An examination of the "causes" of student political activism reveals a continuity from the 1960's to the 1980's.[9] For example, Braungart and Braungart argued that the youth movements of both the 1960s and the 1980s were international in scope, with youth struggling for many of the same issues, including the creation of youthful countercultural movements, and an end to social inequities and injustices. Further, many of the tactics of the eighties were copied directly from the sixties.[10]

According to another journalist, Tony Vellela (1988), the "issues" of student movements in the past decade include Central American affairs, CIA recruitment, war research, fraternity members for peace, racism, women's issues, student empowerment, gay and lesbian rights, divestment, and general social welfare. Of these issues, the first four are obviously "peace" focused, while the next four involve various aspects of "civil rights," (in particular, the full blown form of the feminist movement and homosexuals' rights,) and the last two relate, directly or otherwise, to "university reform" and social reform. All three strikingly parallel the general goals of the 1960's student movement, with the exception of women's rights, which was mainly a spin off from the student movement in the late sixties, and gay and lesbian rights, which emerged in the early seventies. Thus, the concerns of university students prove timeless and situation-free.

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[9] Here, I am not implying that there was a "vacuum" in the 1970s; in fact, many of the activism of the seventies were a subtle continued legacy of the conspicuous activism of the sixties. Feminism and homosexuals rights are good examples of this decade. Unfortunately, activism of the seventies remained somewhat under-studied, as compared to the sixties. In later chapters, I will briefly mention seventies' activism; in particular, on women's and homosexuals rights.

[10] Braungart and Braungart, 1990: 178.

This continuity is important not only concerning the "goals" of student movements, but concerning strategies, and other related aspects. Many forces have contributed to the diminishing differences between Catholic and other academic institutions. The decline of "religiosity" of American society, or, to use terminology preferred by some scholars--the "secularization" of religion, represents only one aspect of this change. The economic situation comprised the second crucial factor. The cost of higher education has constantly increased since the 1960's, and it reached a record high in the 1980s. Today, even an undergraduate degree can easily put a student heavily in debt. Worse still, the shrinking budget for welfare, transportation, education, and various local spending, coupled with sky-rocketing tuition, makes university education a luxury for many people in the 1980s. Economic pressure forces students to do well in school, and many students are pushed for more lucrative and "marketable" majors instead of following their own ideals.

Another factor also contributes to the different manifestation of student activism of the 1980s. Most Catholic institutions in the 1960s possessed and exercised almost total control over disciplinary actions, such as expulsion and suspension, while secular schools usually turned such decisions over to local authorities. In the 1980s disciplinary measures customarily belong to all universities--religious or not--and school administrators tacitly adopt them as a control valve to limit political activism. In all, the social situation of the United States in the 1980s was rather different from that of the 1960s. Consequently, some of the styles, strategies, organizing forms, participants, and ideologies of the student movement vary as compared to the earlier ones, and these

modifications deserve thorough scrutiny.

The United States started the nineties with a brutal war against Iraq. Even though the war lasted for only six weeks, its impact to the America society is immeasurable. Some informants told me that they predicted the present decade would be similar to the sixties and that the 1980s paralleled the 1950s--a joke with some measure of truth. Undoubtedly, the Gulf War will direct America on an extremely different route into the 21st century. The U. S.-Iraq war awakened the consciousness of many Americans (especially college students) about the problems of this society. The war made many people question homelessness, racism, poverty, sexism, welfare, foreign policy, economy, and almost every social problem.

It is interesting to point out that even before the war, many students mobilized to protest--this was the first time in the history of the peace movement that oppositional mobilization started before a war, and the impact of this mobilization will have a profound impact on student activism. Despite the substantial support on the war drive in public opinion during war time, the 1990s anti-war movement still grew and flourished and was a distinct feature of the peace movement of the nineties. Some people argue that the anti-war protests were actually quite small. This may be true because opposition movements rarely involve a majority (particular initially) and, in fact, often involve a very small sector of any population. Nevertheless, the impact of peace demonstrations is tremendous. I will have a detailed analysis about the student anti-war movement in chapter five; it will suffice now to say that the Persian Gulf War was the most significant event in the nineties--as far as student politics is concerned.

Review of the literature

There are many "theories" explaining student movements, including demographic, social psychological, economic, political, and sociological theories, and various combinations thereof. Demographic theories conceptualize student rebellion as intimately related to the bulge in the youth population and their structural locations, i.e., schools. In other words, the turbulent sixties was a direct result of the "baby boom," when the first wave of baby boomers reached college-age in 1963. This sudden change in the demographic composition resulted in young adolescents of the 1960s receiving "insufficient socialization," in this instance fewer parents and teachers for education. Coupled with the escalation of the Vietnam War, the increased economic prosperity, and rapid social and cultural change, it was almost inevitable that the 1960s would become an "explosive" decade. (see Ryder, 1974: 45-64) But as pointed out by Perrow (1979: 196-9), cohort analysis represents a misleading theory which exaggerates the effect of population change. Perrow's claim does contain some measure of truth. Yet to totally dismiss the demographic factor is inappropriate, because the sudden increase of adolescents does have some effects upon society.

Collective behavior and generational conflict are major psychological perspectives in explaining student movements. It is interesting to note that while various versions of the collective behavior model have been applied to social movements, few researchers use collective behavior theories to explain student political activism. I believe that some portions of the collective behavior model (i.e., psychological grievances) are relevant in the study of student unrest, although my research leads me to disagree with the classical

model, which treats collective behavior as spontaneous, unorganized, and irrational (Blumer, 1946: 165-220; Smelser, 1962).

Generational conflict theory (Eisenstadt, 1956: 307-16, 1971: 68-79; Feuer, 1969) produced a potent paradigm in the earlier research on student movements. This line of inquiry generally treats protest by college youth as naive, passionate, idealistic, and irrational. In these theories, student unrest is the product of youth against age, children against parents, and as such is devoid of worthy content, sound judgement, or political responsibility. According to Feuer, the strongest advocate of this thesis, the universal and recurring themes of all student movements are terrorism, violence, suicidal tendencies, rejection of the father and authority, romanticism, elitism, and intolerance. This paradigm has been seriously criticized ever since its emergence, on the ground that it suggests nothing about the intensity, location, extent, or other crucial dimensions of student protest behavior. For example, if young people are universally under the psychological force of generational conflict, why did Jane protest but Liz didn't? Or, why did only John picket while Tom became a Weatherman? It seems that generational conflict perhaps explains one cause for some segments of the student population.

It is important to note that there was almost no mention of the generational conflict thesis after the end of the Vietnam War. Generational conflict was perhaps one of the effects that economic prosperity, which created a rather different family structure in terms of the child-parents relationship, brought to the 1960s. This relationship, in turn, became more easily subject to tension and conflict. Though the possibility is plausible in many ways, this researcher does not intend to engage in such an endeavor.

The classical resource mobilization approach (CRM), as formulated by Oberschall, Tilly, and Gamson (1973, 1975), and the Vietnam War thesis have become the most prevalent explanations of student unrest. The core concepts of CRM are ideology, grievance, and political power. This approach sees protest as the continuation of orderly politics by (sometimes) disorderly means. Since rebellion grows out of an ongoing political process and is a part of it, it need not be irrational nor discontinuous. This point alone distinguishes CRM from the classical collective behavior paradigm. Besides, CRM emphasizes the importance of social movement organizations and their relation with political resources.

The Vietnam War thesis sees protest as a sign of the American people opposing governmental foreign policy. Domestically, African-Americans, Native Americans, women, and marginalized people fall victim to hegemonic policies which exclusively benefit the status quo. Social unrest results from the inhumane and unjust politics; this injustice, in turn, provides the means and ends of mobilization. This approach never attracted a significant pool of scholarly support in the sixties; however, the war thesis is extremely compatible with the events of the 1990s. For instance, the issue of the "poverty draft"--i.e., minorities are disproportionately represented in the military forces-- can easily be related to racism; and the discriminatory treatments of homosexual personnel can be seen as an infringement of gay and lesbian rights. Further, the resources which were being used in the war could be better used in solving domestic problems. With the heightened consciousness about social inequality in the nineties, the Persian Gulf War served a crucial catalyst in student activism.

The problems of the political perspective are threefold. First, a complex phenomenon such as social unrest cannot be reduced to one factor. Second, this is a static model and there arises the possibility of ignoring other contingent factors. Third, and this is closely related to the second problem, some indispensable elements in the movement, such as the changing strategy, leadership, confrontational styles, and unexpected episodes, are not as thoroughly discussed as they should be.

Neo-resource mobilization theory (NRM) (McCarthy and Zald, 1973, 1977) uses a purely economic framework to explain student movements. Adopting a cost-benefit analysis, McCarthy and Zald employ many economic terms, such as demand curve, advertising, vicarious consumption, substitutability of product, competition for resources, brand loyalty, even social movement industry, and so on, to discuss social movements. According to such a model, even psychological grievances can be manufactured by professional issue entrepreneurs, and politics serves not as a possible central element, but as a structural constraint. In Perrow's words (1979: 201-2) "McCarthy and Zald removed Freud (from CRM, that is) but replaced him not with Marx or Lenin but with Milton Friedman."

Given the importance of economic factors, the flaws of NRM are clear. First, this is obviously an economic-deterministic model. Though it usually has a strong appeal, i.e., it appears to have powerful explanatory strength, such a model is grossly over-simplified. Charles Perrow rejects the application of NRM to social (and student) movements on several fronts (1979: 202-5) and Breines (1980: 419-29, 1989: 67-95) also points to the over-emphasis on organization in the NRM. Since the student movement

of the sixties lacks some central elements of the NRM perspective, e.g., outside agitators and leadership, issue manufacturers, and discretionary income, it reveals the shortcomings of neo-resource mobilization theory. But the biggest contradiction is, in my view, that the New Left had very little solid, feasible, and recognizable "organization,"[11] and it is upon such organization that NRM puts so much emphasis.

The various cultural and/or social change theories belong to the sociological theorizing of student movements. In some sense, the concept of "youth culture" or "counter culture" is a logical, albeit elaborated, corollary from the generational conflict perspective. Keniston, for example, stresses four factors in the origin of student protest: (1) the individuals involved must be suitably predisposed by their personal backgrounds, values and motivations; (2) the likelihood of protest is far greater in certain kinds of educational and social settings; (3) socially-directed protests require a special cultural climate, that is, certain distinctive values and views about the effectiveness and meaning of demonstrations, and about the wider society; and (4) some historical situations are especially conducive to protests. (1967: 116) Of the four factors, only the first one is psychological and the rest are all varying "cultural" factors.

The psychological characteristics of student activists have been extensively studied. According to some studies (Flacks, 1967: 53-75; Block, Haan, and Smith, 1969: 143-77; Westby and Braungart, 1970: 476-89; Baird, 1970: 123-33; McAdam, 1982: 36-8; Whalen and Flacks, 1989) student activists have been described largely as

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[11] Student Nonviolent Coordinate Committee (SNCC) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) are the most conspicuous exceptions.

intellectually gifted, academically superior, small in numbers and percentages (of the student population). In terms of their socio-economic status (SES) backgrounds, most are from middle or lower upper-class families where both parents have a college education and work in professional occupations. The families are characterized by good mother-son relationships, comfortable economic situations, and liberal political orientations. Furthermore, Flacks (1970: 134-57) and Unger (1974: 34-40) point out that many student activists share the same political orientations as their parents, but use more aggressive actions to act out their ideals, while their parents act more passively toward the "established" society. These findings make plausible a "red (or pink) diaper baby" theory, which is held by many people, such as Keniston, Flacks, and Roszak (1969).

The special ingredients of the sociological perspective are diverse and meaningful. It is inclusive because it encompasses many essential elements found in any social movement. Economic prosperity, child-rearing patterns, increasing interaction among consensual peer groups, distinctive psychological characteristics, special social events, changing values and ways of living, and the growing availability of various resources are all included to increase its explanatory power. As a result, I think the cultural change theory provides the most relevant and powerful theory in analyzing the student movement of the sixties.

Cultural analysis will be used in this report because, in the realm of social movement, no one theory can explain every aspect of every social movement. Consequently, the employment of different perspectives in aspects where they have the most explanatory power becomes the main strategy of this research, which I call

"theoretical triangulation." Specifically, student political activism at Catholic institutions should be analyzed from two levels: personal and institutional change. On the personal level, the participation in the mobilization process will result a change in the consciousness, perception, values, and attitude of the involved individuals--a process similar to what McAdam called "political process model." (McAdam, 1982: 36-38).[12]

Following Goffman's (1974)[13] lead, Snow et. al. (1986: 464-81) articulated the "frame alignment" thesis in discussing the bridging, amplification, extension, and the transformation of frames of activists who go through the process of social movement. Attempting to link social-psychological and resources mobilization theories, Snow et. al. argued that "frame alignment is a necessary condition for movement participation, whatever its nature or intensity." (1986: 464) Though theoretically important, I find that Snow's model misses a crucial ingredient; namely, how did the first "frame" get established? Additionally, how did this first frame affect the formation and modification of later frames? These two questions are of fundamental importance in the study of student political activism because for many student activists, college years are when they first begin to engage in the "manifested" part of student politics. The answer to the first

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[12] In this model, McAdam points out a cluster of crucial issues in the study of the rising of social movement. These issues include latent political leverage available to most segments of the population; subjective transformation of consciousness; level of organization within the aggrieved population; collective assessment of the prospects for successful insurgency; and alignment of groups within the larger political environment. Since the last two items are less relevant to student mobilizations, this research will focus on the first three elements.

[13] "Frame" or "framework," as defined by Goffman, refers to the "schemata of interpretation" that enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" happenings in their life space and the world. The purpose of "frame" is to "organize experience and guide action." (p. 21)

part of the question can be found in the literature on "political socialization," while, hopefully, my endeavors in this project will provide a answer to the second part of the question. Overall, what I am attempting here, then, is to combine the elements of latent political leverage and level of organization (McAdam) with frame alignment (Snow et. al.). By combining these two theoretical models, the evolution of the changing consciousness of student activists in Catholic institutions can be more fully understood.

On the institutional level, student political activism at Catholic universities puts pressure on the school and creates tension and conflict. In the mean time, Catholicism itself is going through a change to modernization in which the church, as an institution, has been forced to adapt to a vastly different environment. This, in turn, combines with the transformation of the institution itself to explain the phases that the Catholic higher educational system is going through after the Second Vatican Council. This is the process of "contested accommodation." (Seidler and Meyer, 1989)

There has been a resurgence of student political activism in the last two years of the past decade. What had happened since the decline of "Reaganism" was dissatisfied students' responses toward the right-wing, conservative policies of the Reagan administration. In the latest survey conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California at Los Angeles and the American Council on Education, American freshmen were found to be "willing to work for improving the environment and a variety of other social changes." The subtitle of that article is intriguing: "After 15-year climb, the number of students planning business careers decreased for second straight year," and side by side with that article we see "A New Face Is Seen For

Activism In 1990s: Pragmatic Idealism," which claims student activism in the 1990s will be stronger than in recent decades, and will have a different face. (The Chronicle of Higher Education, January 24, 1990, pp.A31-6)

This research focuses on student movement of the 1990s. Although the basic nature and the goals of student activism remain largely the same, the social situation of the 1990s has changed dramatically. Legally, African-Americans have achieved civil rights, although they are still a long way from economic equality. In other words, discrimination against disadvantaged people has become less visible, subtler, and yet more powerful. In addition, the attack against legalized abortion has put women's personal freedoms at stake. The Persian Gulf War also awakened the consciousness of many students on college campuses. Despite the short duration of the war, many student activists will remain active and channel their energy to other reformist (or revolutionary) issues.

Research design

I chose three Catholic universities in the Midwest as the sample for this project. My criteria for inclusion were school size, geographic location, religious denomination, and availability of resources. Rosary College, Marquette University, and Loyola University were decided upon all considerations. Since the study is ethnographic in nature, I employed qualitative methodology. I first performed an archival study in each

school, and through personal acquaintances located the initial pool of key informants.[14]

A snow-ball technique was then used to gain the seventy student activists or ex-activists

who served as informants. A simple content analysis of student newspapers and relevant

publications of all schools was then conducted to search for pertinent issues and special

events.

I used "participant observation" to learn about the activities of different student

organizations. This was followed by individual, in-depth interviews of each activist, and

conversations with faculty members in the social sciences and humanities of each school.

At this stage, the emphasis will be on the distinctiveness of the student political activism

of the 1990s, with the theoretical findings of the sixties as the backdrop. Presumably

many faculty members (particularly in the humanities and social sciences) were activists

of the 1960s. Conversations with them will help bridge the gap of time, theory and

practice, and many other crucial issues. The researcher has personal friends including

students, faculty members and staff of all three schools under this study, and, in fact,

several of the teachers of this researcher served as the key informants of this study.

<div align="center">Structure of the dissertation</div>

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Following the initial introduction

in chapter one, chapter two will focus on gender inequality. Sexism, I believe, is the

oldest form of social inequality and the most difficult one to break.   Women's

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[14] Throughout the course of the study, conversations with other students, faculty, minister, and administrators in all three schools aided my research.

emancipation can be linked to a gender revolution, because it involves a fundamental change of people's consciousness. Prejudices, sex stereotypes, feminity-masculinity, and the differences between sex roles are deeply rooted in people's minds and ingrained in the social institution; consequently, it takes tremendous efforts and a very long time to overcome gender inequality.

The feminist movement can be roughly put into two categories: the organizational and the network. It is inappropriate to place them into revolutionary-reformist, radical-liberal, or left-right dichotomy because feminism cuts across the usual political categories and requires new perspectives to be understood. (Freeman, 1975a: 448-60) Women student activists on Catholic campuses represent the network wings of feminism, and that means they "do" activism in a loosely non-organized, non-hierarchical, grassroots, and bottom-up way.

Chapter three will describe the various manifestations of racism on Catholic campuses. It is ironic that religious educational institutions are supposed to be humane, liberal, and justice-oriented, as racism is prevalent in Catholic universities just as it is in outside society. Even more strikingly, the most infamous racial incident of the decade took place at a prestigious Catholic university, and the racial slur came from a professor in the philosophy department. With the resurgence of racism in America and the recent veto of the Civil Rights Bills, I think minorities--especially African-Americans--are facing an even tougher task than their counterparts of the sixties.

Lesbian and gay rights will be the topic of chapter four. Homosexuality is probably as old as prostitution, but the influential and contemporary uprisings only came

out some twenty years ago. Many people strongly suspect that there is a significant number of lesbian and gays in the religious community. It will be interesting to verify (if possible) such suspicion in the Catholic setting. However, the present study will focus on the student part of this phenomenon. In particular, emphasis will be put on the struggle of gay and lesbian students in Catholic universities to establish organizations to strive for equal treatment as citizens. This is a rather distinctive part of the study, because most Catholic educational institutions have yet to develop a full-fledged, legitimate, and massive struggle. By studying the initial efforts of the avant-garde, we may gain invaluable information in student political activism in the Catholic higher educational system.

The peace movement of the nineties will be discussed in chapter five. In the previous decade, efforts on peace movement were mainly concentrated on disarmament and anti-U. S. intervention. But the focus of the world suddenly turned to the Middle-East on August 2 of 1990, when President Saddam Hussein moved his military force into Kuwait. Activists all over America suddenly sprang out from their more-than-a-decade silence, and mobilized; the anti-war movement took the momentum that had no precedent in history. The scene on Catholic campuses were especially encouraging because, contrary to any movement before, in some of the prestigious student anti-war organizations, this time it was the students at Catholic universities who took the lead.

Chapter six will pay attention to a "will be" trend of the nineties--environment protection. Having grown out of the countercultural movement in the sixties, environmentalists are seriously concerned about the physical well-being of our planet.

Recycling, energy conservation, toxic waste dumping, clean water and air, alternative energy sources, global warming, ozone depletion, and deforestation are major agenda. The side light concerns of the environmentalists include concerns over the destruction of coast lines, vegetarianism, indigenous people's rights, and preservation of endangered species. Along with homosexuals' rights, environmental protection has been criticized by some of my informants as being "very white, very middle-class, very male oriented"-- a reflection of the broader society. Unfortunately, findings from this research confirmed such charge--at least on Catholic campuses. How to broaden the base of this movement to include more people, especially "minorities," thus becomes a critical question.

Chapter seven will highlight the characteristics of student political activism in Catholic universities. This includes the features of the student activists, campus student organizations, the counter-strategies used by the administration, the relations between campus ministry and student activism, different mechanisms student groups go through in Catholic schools, and the changing "atmosphere" of the Catholic educational institutions. Chapter eight will summarize the findings; discuss the contributions of faculty to student politics and the personal consequences of political activism for the students; point out the potentials of the different movements; and will conclude with some assessments about student political activism at Catholic universities.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NEVER ENDING WAR:
WOMEN'S LIBERATION

This chapter opens with a brief general history of the feminist movement in the United States at the post World War Two era. The second section explains the relationship between political mobilization and feminist concerns on Catholic college campuses. Specifically, I will point out the main characteristics of such mobilization in the context of religious educational institutions. It will become clear that the issues of abortion, the use of contraceptives, a comprehensive health care facility, sexual harassment, and reproductive rights are the sources of conflict between the feminists and the university. The third section analyzes the features of women's rights organizations in these universities. The final section assesses the feminist movement in Catholic institutions within the broader societal context.

The emergence of the feminist movement

Many historians of feminism pinpoint women's participation in the work force as an important source of the rising of feminist consciousness. Certainly, women's roles in American society changed dramatically after the Second World War, when more and more women moved permanently into the work force. With active involvement in every aspect of the economy, the consciousness of American women was drastically changed. Many women evolved into a different "person" as a result of their work; the demand to

be treated as an equal person, not as a "second sex," (DeBeauvoir, 1953) "property," or simply as a "sexual object," thus became the most important idea of the women's liberation movement. What Freeman stated twelve years ago on this point still seems relevant:

> The feminist perspective looks at the many similarities between the sexes and concludes that women and men have equal potential for individual development. Difference in the realization of that potential, therefore, must result from external imposed restraints, from the influence of social institution and values. The feminist view holds that so long as society prescribes sex roles and social penalties for those who deviate from them, no meaningful choice exists for members of either sex.
> (1979: xxi, italics mine)

Aside from the pursuit of economic independence, other demands--such as access to birth control, protection by law, equal pay, reproductive rights, and personal freedom--soon became the major goals of the new feminist movement. This growing feminist awareness was partly reflected in the mid-seventies, when both houses of Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1973. For the next several years, the ERA campaign[1] became a leading goal of the liberal feminist movement (Mansbridge, 1986). Some young feminists in the sixties and early seventies also tried to direct public attention to the problems of child care, domestic violence, lesbian relationships, and, generally the image of women as perceived by the society.

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[1] The campaign was an effort to make the ERA pass in three-fourths of all the state houses. In 1973 the Supreme Court also upheld the Roe vs. Wade decision, and thus laid the ground for legalized abortion. These two events significantly account for the increasingly strong feminist consciousness in the seventies.

Students and feminism

Starting in the mid-1950s, the first post W. W. II wave of American feminism--
the struggle for women's rights, grew out of the Civil Rights Movement of the African-
Americans. In the heyday of the African-Americans' struggle, many women were
enthusiastically involved in community organizing, voter registration, economic
development projects in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and legal reform for African-
Americans (Evans, 1979; Rothschild, 1979; Carson, 1981; Breines, 1989). During the
famous Freedom Summer of 1964, many young women joined other student activists who
worked in the Deep South to help the civil rights struggle of the African-Americans
(McAdam, 1988). In the meantime, women's emancipation was intimately associated
with the student movement. The bulk of activists of the fifties and sixties were students--
college students.

Many women student activists were heavily involved in the two prominent student
organizations of the time: the Student Nonviolent Coordinate Committee (SNCC) and
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Active women in the sixties, like women
activists today, contributed enormously to the "Movement"[2]: they gave constructive input
into the decision-making and implementing process; many of them actually did work in
poor communities; they took on the streets and "put their bodies on the line," just as
many of their male counterparts did; and, most importantly, they helped to maintain a

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[2] Unlike historian Lynd (1969: 19) and Unger (1974: v-viii) who used the term
"Movement" to designate the "New Left," I am using "Movement" to include all political
mobilizations of the sixties and early seventies. This is similar to feminist political
scientist Freeman's (1975a: 449) and sociologist Echols' (1989: 299, note 1) usage.

balanced perspective in directing the flows of the various movements, by challenging male chauvinism in the "Movement" (Aronowitz, 1984: 21; Echols, 1989: 23-8).

According to one distinguished Civil Rights activist: "at SNCC it was mostly women who were doing the work--from making policies to actually working in the black communities."[3]   Still, feminists in the sixties were constantly facing the male chauvinism of the New Left, and in 1968's SDS national convention, they were booed off the stage by men--when they tried to incorporate women's liberation to be a part of the organization's national agenda. It was at that point that women decided to "have a movement of their own."[4] Certainly it would be simple-minded to argue that sexism is the sole cause of the uprising of the feminist consciousness, because the pursuit of equality, in whatever form, has many diversified sources. Yet the male chauvinism within the "Movement" served as a crucial precipitating factor for the new feminist movement. (see, for example, Morgan, 1972: xx; Freeman, 1975a: 449)

Feminism and Catholicism

Catholicism has many characteristics: it is a world-wide religion, an institution, an ideology, and an organization. The emergence of the feminist consciousness in the United States took place at almost the same time as the most important event in

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[3] Personal conversation with Diane Nash--the third president of SNCC--2/26/91, my emphasis. The reason why she said "policy making," was because she was the third president of the student organization, the two before her (both were men) each lasted for a week.

[4] In another account, the failure of The National Conference for A New Politics (1967) to address women's issues led to a walk-out and the mushrooming of nationwide feminist groups, even stretching to Canada. See Freeman (1975b: 59).

contemporary Catholicism--the Second Vatican Council (1960-5). In a study about the conflict and change of Catholicism and the Catholic church after the Second Vatican Council, Seidler and Meyer stated: "The fact that religious confrontations coincided with the great wave of civil revolt, urban riots, and antiwar activities seems minimally relevant. Political protest may have set the model for imitation, but the Catholic Church was undergoing a dramatic transformation of its own, with its own sources and process." (1989: 2) It is curious that Seidler and Meyer did not include "women's uprising" in "political protest;" in part because the "manifested" feminist insurgence occurred in the late sixties and early seventies. Also, many of the feminist rebellions were in reaction to the results of Vatican II--especially in the Catholic educational community.

One of the fiercest conflicts between Catholicism and feminism concerns the issue of abortion. Following the Second Vatican Council, then Pope Paul VI announced his seventh encyclical, known as Humanae Vitae, which condemned abortion, sterilization, and artificial birth control. According to Seidler and Meyer, the controversy over abortion is the "root" issue concerning church transformation. Abortion touched on contested aspects of authority and other key topics, including papal power, freedom of conscience, control over laity, and the roles of expert commissions, professional theologians, and priest-confessors. (1989: 92) Even though Seidler and Meyer characterized this conflict as the tension between the "administrative" and the "professional" realms within the Catholic church,[5] they failed to see the more dramatic

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[5] Administrators refer to clergy including cardinals, bishops, and the pope, while professionals are mainly scholars and theologians. Seidler and Meyer see the controversy over abortion and the use of contraceptives as evolving around a "new" and "old"

manifestation of the conflict in Catholic universities.

This research presents one dimension of such conflict, because the tension between feminism and Catholicism often manifests itself in the struggle between student feminists and the administration within the Catholic university. This is to say that, although there are different "Catholics" within "Catholicism," most administrations of Catholic universities generally follow the policy of the Pope and the Church. Therefore, Catholic universities usually align with the Catholic Church on issues such as reproductive rights and personal freedom. Feminists, on the other hand, forcefully espouse the right of self-determination of women, which includes the right to abortion and the right to the use of contraceptives.

The Second Vatican Council brought many fundamental changes to the Catholic church, including the change of language to the more easily understood vernacular, the increase of lay participation in liturgy, and the acceptance of ecumenism.[6] The transformation of the Catholic Church in America, according to Seidler and Meyer, is accompanied by two contradictory forces: the Church incorporated enough aspects of

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understanding about Catholicism. And since administrators and professionals belong to different sub-structures, manifested conflicts appear in varying intensities in different settings. (pp. 95-103)

[6] Given the importance of the Second Vatican Council, scholars began to study its impact upon the Catholic Church, see Greeley, 1977: 127, Gallop and Poling, 1980: 62-9. There are many aspects of the study of Vatican II. Some focus on the differences in pre- and post- Vatican II Catholicism; others emphasize the change and impact of the Council. Items under research include: the meaning of the Council (Fesquet, 1967; Rynne, 1968); the ideal church implied by the Council (Osborne, 1968: 78-86; Greeley, 1973; Murnion; 1978); de facto changes (NORC, 1972; Fichter, 1977: 154-66; Gallup and Poling, 1980: 62-9; Schoenherr and Sorensen, 1982); and predictions about the future church (Greeley, 1977: 146-50; Schoenherr and Sorensen, 1982: 23-52). These information is an excerpt from Seidler and Meyer (1989: 3)

contemporary cultures to maintain relevance; at the same time, it retained its identity

sufficiently by revitalizing itself and by resisting extreme forms of accommodation. (ibid,

p. 22) Seidler and Meyer coined the term "contested accommodation" (pp. 24-34) to

describe such change, and I will use this concept throughout this report, to explain the

tension between student activists and the administration in Catholic universities.

Contested accommodation

Like any organization, Catholic universities exist in, and are influenced by, the

broader society. Further, occupants of the Catholic universities belong to one of two

groups: "supporters" or "challengers" of traditional "Catholicism." Although both

groups consist of students, faculty, and administrators, "supporters" are overwhelmingly

administrators. Their position is to conserve doctrines, laws, and Church rules that work

uphold Catholic tradition. "Challengers," on the other hand, mainly refers to student

activists who experience these doctrines as constraining and who attempt to modify them

in their interaction with the administration.

Interactions between "challengers" and "supporters" are marked with tension,

conflict, and negotiation; importantly, through this process of engaging in struggle, both

parties are changed. Changes are reflected mainly on two levels: tolerance of dissenters

by the administration[7] and alteration of policies as a result of negotiating the conflicts.

Tolerance of the dissenters leads to higher levels of visibility on campus and increased

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[7] The creation of tolerance for different opinions is itself a change in the definition, and application of Catholicism in its mission of "Catholic education."

participation in activities by both members of the dissenting groups and sympathizers--
this gives the progressive student organizations an increasing level of "legitimacy."
Essentially, the growth of the "challengers" has substantial impact upon Catholic higher
educational institutions. That is, "supporters" in the administration are forced to respond
to the greater presence and activism of the "challengers" whose previous efforts were
easily dismissed.

Thus, "contested accommodation" is a useful concept in explaining feminist
political activism on Catholic campuses. Different student organizations go through
similar mobilization processes; however, the administrations at Catholic colleges treat
those groups differently. In other words, student political activism gets played out in
different "mechanisms" within Catholic educational systems. It will become clear that
the administrations, in general, treat peace groups favorably (see chapter five), but
women's rights organizations usually clash with the administrations head-on. This is
because most of the demands of the feminist groups are in conflict with "the Catholic
teachings." Because of the incompatibility of ideologies, administrations in Catholic
universities treat feminist groups rather negatively. University officers in charge of
student organizations are uncooperative to women's rights groups. Further, the school
administration monitors activities, demands that women's rights organizations re-write
their constitutions, and occasionally even withdraws authorization for such groups.
Therefore, many women's rights groups at Catholic universities are forced to adopt more
"unconventional," "radical," and "confrontational" strategies. This interactional process
is usually played out in a conflict and struggle manner. As a result, feminist activism

characterizes the tension between Catholicism and the pursuit of women's emancipation-- with heightened consciousness of women's rights, the university is forced to alter its policies as regards women.

ANALYSIS

Issues of the feminist groups on Catholic campuses

Students in the women's rights movement usually mobilize for the issues that are directly related to their well-being. Of all the goals of the feminist movement, several issues stand out as the issues for women college students at Catholic institutions. Abortion, sexual harassment, health care services, reproductive rights, campus security, personal freedom, and women's empowerment are those issues. The core issue in the feminist movement is abortion: "more than any other issue, abortion embodied and symbolized our fundamental demand--not merely formal equality for women but genuine self-determination." (Willis, 1989: vii) Not surprisingly, this is the single most controversial issue between feminists and the administration on Catholic campuses.

In this study, health care services was a conspicuous item on the agenda of feminist struggle at Catholic universities. According to many informants, most Catholic universities do not provide contraceptives to students--even married ones. Students active in women's organizations believed that a comprehensive health care program was vital for their well-being, but that many Catholic universities provided insufficient services, not for lack of resources, but because of different ideologies. One of the purposes of

feminist organizations at the Catholic institutions I studied, therefore, was to enhance and broaden the capacity of the student health center to respond to their needs for contraception and information about abortion, sexually transmitted diseases, and the like. Eva, an active member of the Women's Center at Loyola University, explains:

> We were distributing condoms at our literature table and that just drives them [the university] off the wall. We did that because the health center here is terrible--even married students cannot get contraceptives. They did do exams and give you basic gynecological care but they don't offer birth control and don't give any referral as far as women were seeking, or had questions or whatever and they wouldn't tell them where to go. We felt that was really irresponsible and I was shocked because most campus that I know of, even if I hadn't attended there, did have these services and they were available.
> (interview with Eva, 10/18/90)

The quest for improved health care services has thus become an indispensable demand for the women's rights organization.

Besides abortion and the improvement of health care, sexual harassment also takes the center stage of activism for many women on Catholic universities. Sexual harassment is the most direct threat to any women student, and for some students it is a common situation. Sexual harassment exists in many forms--from classroom harassment to the whole spectrum of sexual assault: minor verbal abuse such as shouting obscenities and making sexist jokes (which many women don't regard as sexual assault), verbal and physical molestation, attack, rape, gang rape, and so forth. Two women reported incidents of verbal abuse--having obscenities shouted at them while they were walking home at night. One student told me that she had been touched on her lower body by a man while she was with friends in a local bar. According to my informants, these

examples are by no means uncommon.[8]

Most universities in the United States do not publish statistics on sexual harassment, probably for the fear of a "bad reputation." Lack of publicity contributes to the insensitivity of many college students concerning the seriousness of sexual harassment. Activists in feminist organizations, therefore, are enraged by the school's unwillingness to openly discuss those issues. One of the central goals of women's organizations at Catholic universities is to raise the campus awareness of sexual harassment, and to discuss the solutions of this problem. There is probably no difference between secular and religious schools concerning the ignorance of college students about sexual harassment, but, according to many feminists in this study, the reaction to the attempt to raise such awareness seems stronger on Catholic campuses than on "others."

Campus security plays a vital role in preventing sexual harassment. Most women activists in the study regard their campus security as "poor." Consequently, a great amount of the energy of the women's rights groups at Catholic institutions is devoted to the improvement of campus security. Molly, one of the main leaders of the Women's Center at Loyola University, described the on-going effort to improve campus security as:

> One of the important things that we are working on is security. We really want the security to extend their boundaries...I've never seen a Loyola security car on my street at all, and I know a lot of students live south [and]... west of [the boundaries], I mean, it's ridiculous like continuously cruising around like a four-block area. I think

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[8] Though I know some stories about sexual harassment that happened to students in this research, I did not ask specifically for personal experiences--for obvious reasons.

> that they need to realize students do live outside and they
> do have the responsibility to protect them regardless
> whether they live in the dorms or not. Improving the
> escort services, I think we need to work on that, I mean,
> we pay to go into this university, it should certainly serve
> our needs, that's one of our goals, basically a lot of the
> security things.
> (interview with Molly, 9/30/90)

Other women activists whom I talked to, at both Marquette and Loyola, also voiced very similar concern over the poor security of their school.

Abortion, the fear of sexual harassment, better campus security and personal safety are all derived from the central idea of personal freedom.[9] Reproductive rights, an issue which includes a comprehensive health care plan and abortion rights, is probably the most important issue confronting college-aged women, because virtually all of them are of marriage and child-rearing ages. And, for sexually active women such freedom is so crucial that sometimes it will determine not only their whole educational career, but also their lives, because there is always the chance of getting pregnant. Therefore, the push for a comprehensive health care plan on campus and a legal, safe, low-cost abortion is urgent for women student activists at Catholic universities. If all the goals on abortion, health care services, sexual harassment, and personal safety can be achieved, then personal freedom can be also.

From the description above, we understand that the demands of women's

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[9] "Personal freedom" is difficult to define; however, activists explained the term roughly as: "we should have the right to decide whether we want to get pregnant, or to have an abortion; we want to have a safe campus--if we want to go out at night, we don't have to worry about being shouted at, harassed, attacked, or raped. Basically, personal freedom is the right to do whatever we want to do--as long as we don't cause troubles for other people."

liberation are somewhat different on college campuses than in broader society.[10] The

latter may put more emphasis on domestic violence, equal pay, child care, and legal

protection, among others issues, while the former focuses heavily on personal freedom.

In this regard, student activists working on feminist issues in Catholic institutions are met

with strong, hostile counter-forces from the administration. The interaction between the

two thus provides a fertile ground for investigation.

<p align="center">"Latent" and "manifested" activism</p>

There are two types of student activism: "latent" activism refers to the heightened

consciousness of social inequality, while "manifested" activism refers to putting such

consciousness to real social action.   These two types of activism are usually in

interaction, and tend to reinforce each other. It is interesting to note that many student

feminists in this study had a long history of latent activism, in the sense that they had

rather different perceptions of "reality" than their peers. For instance, Liz was among

a dozen students who initiated the effort to re-activate the Women's Center at Loyola

University in 1989. She came from an ardent Catholic family, and had been educated

in Catholic schools. Liz was very rebellious in her high school, and had a more

heightened activist awareness than her peers:

> I was in the Student Against Drunk Driving (SADD) and
> that was quite a thing among my peers because I was
> always into things they wouldn't into. My high school was

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[10] The difference between religious and other schools is that at the former stronger opposition from the administration might arise. Since no secular institution was included, such an idea remains a speculation.

> very oppressive and very conservative and any sort of
> independence was not tolerated. It was just like most high
> schools, they want you to conform, they just want to
> process you through and turn out carbon copies, and I just
> didn't like that. I was always accused of being a
> communist in my class.
> (interview with Liz, 10/1/90)

Another student, Molly, told me:

> It was really the issue of pro-choice. I think I was always
> pro-choice. My mother she has always been pro-choice,
> like she always considers herself a Catholic but she has this
> duality...and she just ignores their rules on like abortion
> and birth control because she thinks that's stupid. I'd
> never been like a Catholic, like some of the people that I
> met at Loyola, and they experiences and read and figured
> out, like going through this transformation that abortion
> isn't murder, but I never thought it was to begin with, it's
> always been really weird. I've always been brought up to
> believe that it's just like a basic right.
> (interview with Molly, 9/30/90)

It is not surprising that both Liz and Molly were very "special students" among their

peers in their respective high schools. And it was their political consciousness and

parental influence (i.e., "latent activism") which lead them to the feminist movement in

their college years. It is also interesting to note that both students started their activism

on the issue of abortion, because Molly mentioned that, "when the Missouri case

happened,[11] it really politically motivated me, because that really affected me. I

realized that something really had to be done about that." (ibid) And Liz's experience

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[11] In 1989 the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri reversed the previous ruling
of Roe vs Wade (1973), which recognized that the decision for a woman to have abortion
was her own freedom of choice. The Missouri Case, known as the Webster vs Health
Care Service Case, refuted the 1973 case, and upheld that the State, within its own
jurisdiction, could decide whether abortion was legal.

is even more intriguing:

> I've always been concerned about abortion. I've been very
> active, for a long time in a lot of issues, and very active,
> at that point, for a year on the choice issue. I remember
> the summer of last year, 1989, when the Supreme Court--
> Webster decision came out, thinking maybe finally we can
> get something organized at Loyola 'cause my friends and
> I had discussed forming a pro-choice group a year before.
> (interview with Liz, 10/1/90)

Here we can see that abortion (e.g., the Missouri Case) serves as the "key" in the

awakening of feminist consciousness, and subsequently as the catalyst for political

mobilizations at Loyola University. It is also clear that previous political consciousness

(in high school) is important for political action in college. Liz's comments testify that,

below the seemingly peaceful campus scene, feminist awareness was alive among many

women students on a Catholic campus. And further, it is through the active involvement

in activism that a change to the consciousness of a person can occur. This interaction

process is similar to what Marx termed "praxis."

Different perceptions at a "Catholic university"

Student activists had different ideas than administrators about the functions of a

Catholic university.[12] This difference in perception also contributes to the intensifying

of the conflict between feminists and the school. As we have seen, the core conflict

between feminism and Catholicism is over the issue of abortion--Catholicism prohibits

the use of abortion and contraceptives, while feminists espouse the right of self-

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[12] A fuller analysis about the different perceptions can be found in chapter eight.

determination, especially for women. In general, Catholic universities in America are facing a dilemma: they feel a certain commitment to follow Catholic doctrines or "teachings," such as to discouraging the use of contraceptives and condemning abortion. However, they must, simultaneously, realize the goal of higher education, which is to make a person well-rounded and capable of independent thinking. Some members of the Women's Center put the conflict in perspective, and Ida, a conspicuous non-white activist in the group, made a comment quite appropriately illustrating the point:

> It is true that pro-choice is "contrary to Catholic teaching" but there are many Catholics who are pro-choice. More importantly, however, university is a place to develop independent thinking, confronting different viewpoints, and encourage discussions. Sure it [Loyola] is a Catholic university, but it is a "university" first and "Catholic" second, what do we need a university for? (interview with Ida, 10/17/90)

It is the mentality of "a university first and Catholic second," plus the action of showing an abortion movie and distributing condoms at the literature table, that got the Women's Center and the administration of Loyola University into a fierce bout. To fully understand this conflict, we need to look into the history of the Women's Center.

With the efforts of around half a dozen women faculty, staff, and student feminists, the Women's Center at Loyola University was established in the academic year 1978-1979. The goals of the original Women's Center were: to address relevant issues on women, to promote more study to improve gender relations, to raise the consciousness about gender inequality, and to meet women's needs in Loyola's community.[13] This

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[13] According to a couple of the original members that I talked to, the Women's Center was established as a personal network association--not a formal organization (by

club met regularly for three years, but came to an impasse because core members graduated or departed. The remaining members met intermittently, and in the fall of 1983 a new group of students joined the association. Since the majority of the newcomers were students, members of the Women's Center decided to apply for recognition, and obtained official status. Since its inauguration, the Women's Center has conducted various programs including speakers, discussions, and films, besides holding bi-weekly organizational meetings.

In 1986, with the graduation of several key activists, the Women's Center again shrank to a handful of members and became less active. With the graduation of the then president, student activists in the College Socialist Organization (CSO) attempted to re-activate the Women's Center two years later, with little result. The CSO called several meetings, but few people attended; after one semester the CSO gave up. As a student group, the Women's Center was not active from 1986-1989, although there were some students with strong feminist consciousness who would occasionally get together and discuss feminist issues. This is a brief history of the Women's Center from 1979 to 1988.

As indicated earlier, the decision to revive the old Women's Center was sparked by the Missouri case, when some women students were frustrated by the Court's decision. Those women students were afraid that the decision would eventually lead to

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three women teachers, two staff, and two students). Though not an official organization, the Women's Center did implement several programs between 1979 and 1982 in the women's studies, counselling, and orientation--mostly through the sociology and psychology departments.

the recriminalization of abortion. For the student feminists, this case signified the resurgence of sexism; also, it implied a worsening situation of feminism in the United States. With these thoughts in mind, student activists at Loyola decided to re-organize the group and to work on the feminist issues.

The administration, on the other hand, did not recognize the existence of the Women's Center because there was no organizational activity. In 1989, one administrator in the Student Life Office attempted to tighten the rules and regulations on student groups, so he rewrote the policy. One of the new rules was to require every campus student organization to register with the office at the beginning of each semester. Since at that time the Women's Center had no members, it failed to respond to the registration requirement, and the office deleted the Women's Center from the directory of student organizations.

In the wake of the Webster vs. Health Care Service case, feminists went to the Office of Student Life and requested to form a new women's student organization. Later on, Liz and a handful of women students found out about the old Women's Center and then decided to re-activate the original organization. The director of Student Life asked for a list of officers and members of the group, and a constitution. Women students filled out the paperwork, and, by using the old constitution, registered the group. After official recognition of the Women's Center, student activists showed an abortion movie and distributed condoms at their literature table. These acts annoyed the administration

and led the two parties into a series of intense conflicts[14] known at Loyola University as the "Free Speech Movement."

Another controversy--take back the night

There are many ways to raise feminist consciousness on college campuses. The most effective and dramatic one is probably the "Take Back the Night" march, a tacit which started at the late seventies and immediately spread to many campuses. A separate, lesbian-feminist issue at the start, the "Take Back The Night" march became an activity aiming to raise awareness about violence against women. At many schools, the march is an annual event, with many sessions of films, forums, speak-outs, discussions, workshops, speakers, and panels on all aspects of sexual harassment and intimidation. The march involves mostly--sometimes exclusively--women, but increasingly men are taking part in this activity.

By the eighties, the march had been changed both in its ideology and practice. Ideologically, separatism and lesbianism no longer were fiercely insisted upon; practically, the duration of the event was shortened, the program was simplified, and more men were encouraged to participate. Both changes reflected the effort to use the event as a consciousness-raising tool, a form of political action, and a broader-based

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[14] There are two accounts of this process. The student activists insist that they got recognition first and then conducted the activities. It was because their activities then, that the school reversed the decision and declared that the group was suspended. The administration, on the other hand, argues that the organization was conducting inappropriate activities while still in the process of application. My personal experience convinced me that the students' account is closer to reality.

movement. Catholic educational institutions, however, did not catch the wave until the late eighties. For many Catholic universities, the "Take Back The Night" march is a one-day event with marching, chanting and slogan shouting. Though most marches include both women and men, the former often take a much larger and more conspicuous role. Marquette had its first "Take Back The Night" march in early November of 1989;[15] a year later, Loyola followed suit. In both events marchers walked through campus chanting, and in both cases marchers were heckled by hostile non-participants.

The march at Loyola was particularly controversial because as the marchers stopped at a first-year student dormitory, they were faced with furious verbal and physical attack from the residents. It is meaningful to study why the march would cause unusual hostile reactions from a religious school community, and especially why male students seemed to be oppositional to this activity. According to the student newspaper:

> Campion residents shouted obscenities and threw lit cigarettes and empty pop cans at a crowd of about seventy marchers in the alley behind the all-male dormitory during the rally. The incident prompted some members of the Women's Center, the organization sponsoring the event, to call for public reprimands of the residents who participated in the name calling. For their part, some residents who witnessed the incident said they felt as if the marchers were accusing Campion as being rapists. At Campion marchers shined flashlights into windows and shouted "men out there, show you care," and "men stop raping women." As the marchers poured into the alley, residents shouted "go home," "whores," and "let's go rape some women" at the demonstrators, who were marching to raise awareness

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[15] I learned about Marquette's march in the 1990--at the time when most of the main organizers were graduated. I talked to two of the remaining old members; they said that the participants were met with mild heckling but there was no serious verbal abuse or physical assault.

about rape.
(Loyola Phoenix, 11/7/90, p. 1, 3)

In some sense, this episode is very similar to what happened at Brown University when both victims of campus rape and women activists wrote the names of men whom they claimed to be perpetrators of rape in lavatories and buildings to warn other women students. Essentially, the pros and cons of the event involved debating over the purpose of the march. Participants of the march saw the event as an effort to raise consciousness about sexual harassment on campus, whereas some by-standers, and the residents of the dormitory, thought the marchers were accusing them of being rapists. It is interesting that the residents of the dorm were antagonized by the protestors, even though the participants did not at all accuse anybody of being a rapist. One student said in the student newspaper that the marchers were "entirely out to provoke something." But according to one of the organizers: "I didn't expect them to join in the march, but I was shocked and appalled by their anti-women actions. I don't think we were in anyway accusing them of being rapists." (Loyola Phoenix, 11/7/90, p. 3)

What happened at Loyola is not atypical in the religious institutional context. Secular schools, on the contrary, have had few or no reported incidents involving the march. It seems that radical feminist activity will result in a stronger reaction within religious institutions than at other schools. Many progressive students in other campus organizations, though sympathetic to the Women's Center, thought the march was very inappropriate[16] because

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[16] I interviewed several non-participants. It is interesting to point out that it was mainly male students who opposed the march, while female students were supportive.

> to do a march like that on this campus and on this neighborhood, and look the route of their march [which went through a predominantly poor community] and look what they shouted, it is plainly stupid, it would definitely antagonize the male students at Loyola, not to mention people who live in the dorms.[17]

On the other hand, sympathizers, organizers, and members of the Women's Center were enraged by what had happened to the participants. Dr. Wexler, the faculty advisor of the organization, expressed her concern by saying, "I thought there should be a public reprimand of the people who were so abusive verbally." (Loyola Phoenix, 11/7/90, p. 3) Dr. Wexler also made an effort to go through the administrative channel to inform the Dean of Residence Life, the Dean of Student Life, the Dormitory Director, and the Dean of Arts and Sciences about the incident. As a result, the office of Residence Life held a discussion with the residents of Campion Hall, and sent a letter to each student in the dormitory about prudence in their language and behavior concerning gender and racial issues.

The "Take Back The Night" march at Loyola raised many important questions for sympathizers to feminism in Catholic universities, such as: "Is the awareness of feminism so low on Catholic campuses that even a small rally will provoke furious hostility?" "Is it true that sexual harassment is less frequent and less serious at Catholic institutions than at other universities?" and "Is the 'Take Back The Night' march an appropriate approach to raise consciousness in a Catholic school community?" These are questions with no

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[17] Interview with Sid, 12/14/90. Sid was a very active student at Loyola, he was among the initial organizers of the College Socialist Organization (CSO), U. S. Out of the Gulf Committee (USOGC), and involved in many progressive student activities.

easy answers, especially the last one--which, I think, is the most difficult, yet the most important, question to feminists in Catholic institutions. Simply put: If the advocates of women's rights used suitable tactics, cooperated with potential allies, won a greater degree of sympathy from the general populace, and broadened the basis of women's liberation to a massive movement, then it would be much easier to achieve the goal of gender equality. On the other hand, the movement would not gain momentum and would eventually lose its strength if it alienated or even antagonized people.

Organizational characteristics

Membership[18]

One obvious organizational feature of the Women's Place (Marquette University) and Women's Center (Loyola University) is their size. Throughout the existence of both student groups, the membership was no greater than fifteen. Usually, campus student organizations at Catholic universities will have the biggest attendance at the first meeting of each semester. Also, in "crisis" situations when dramatic events have happened, any relevant group can expect a big turnout to its meetings. However, students who participate in the group's organizational meetings are not necessarily its members. Recruitment is a difficulty campus student organizations always face. A stable

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[18] "Member" is defined in this study as "those students who officially belong to a student organization and will consistently participate in the activities of that organization." Therefore, occasional meeting-goers or event-participants are not "members;" instead, they are "sympathizers."

membership for a group is important for several reasons. First, the existence of a group depends upon the presence of people, so a stable membership makes student groups possible. Second, any campus student organization needs human power to conduct activities. With the diversity of activities, any student group needs at least five people-- even to apply for recognition as an official organization, the administration needs a list of the names of officers and members.[19] Members are also necessary for the division of labor--to carry out the duties of a student group. Finally, membership is essential for the continuity of a student organization. Many student organizations in this research disappeared for a period of time simply because there was a lapse in student participation. To engage in constructive social change, the continuity of student groups is indispensable.

Membership in the Women's Center of Loyola fluctuated: it started with seven in 1978, grew to around a dozen in 1983, and dissolved from 1986 to 1989. When the first meeting of re-activation was called in 1988, about fifty people attended; it also drew roughly the same number of participants to its induction meeting a year later. However, not all meeting-goers were members. Throughout 1989 and 1990, the organization retained a constant ten members. In the beginning of 1991, with a handful of main organizers graduated, the size of the group dwindled to two. The declining membership of the Women's Center made the women's history month (March) a month with almost no activity. This was in sharp contrast with the previous two years, when Loyola campus was filled with feminist political activism.

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[19] This is a very common rule at many universities--religious and secular alike.

Marquette's Women's Place is a strong feminist organization. Since its inauguration in 1980, though, membership has never exceeded twelve. However, probably because of its emphasis on consciousness raising, the Women's Place has never dropped from the horizon of student politics. Members of the Women's Place came from various backgrounds, but were concentrated in the social sciences and the humanities. Women's Place held weekly meetings, and these meetings often took place at a member's apartment. This reflects the structurelessness, looseness, and spontaneity of the Women's Place. Further, most meetings took the form of casual conversation, poetry reading, or informal discussion, with only occasional films and speakers. It seems that the feminist group at Marquette is mainly aimed at making personal changes for individual members. As such, it has effectively achieved its goal. The Women's Center at Loyola, on the other hand, is focused on structural changes, i.e., pressing the university into altering policies concerning women students. This approach, though spectacular, seems to have had few results in the short run.

Group structure

Both feminist groups in this study were non-formal, non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian, and non-structural. Take the Women's Center as an example: the group has several "committees," and each is responsible for a certain task. These committees include recruitment, publicity and public relations, education, literature, and ad hoc committees in extraordinary situations. When the "Take Back The Night" march was planned, it was organized by the "Take Back The Night" Committee, with the help of

interested members. There is a central steering committee over these various committees, with its members delegated from all other committees. All committees are not rigidly set, and members are free to participate in any committee. Decisions are often made by group consensus, and disagreements usually take long discussions to resolve.

This "flat" organizational structure is the most conspicuous feature of the feminist organizations. Activists often characterize such organizations as the opposite of "male" ways of organizing, which they see as usually structured, hierarchical, authoritarian, and formal (i.e., bureaucratic). Feminist groups are designed as democratic, consensual, and participatory. However, such organization presents problems. For instance, if one member neglects to fulfill her duty, then the job does not get done; or it does get done in a negative way. This is because of the smallness of the group--every member's input is vital for the entire group. There was one event at which the organization was planning to show a movie, and at the last minute the main organizer found out that the member who had promised to put up the flyers had not. That activity turned out to be an extremely poorly attended event. There were other times when members did not show up at the literature tables, which made the people who were overworked very upset. Besides such "irresponsibility" problems, discussions over disputes usually take a long time and subvert discussion of more timely, important issues.

There is another difficulty for this kind of organization: when it comes to situations where "organization" is needed--such as facing the broader society or resolving

intra-organizational conflict--feminist groups usually perform relatively poorly.[20] For example, at the height of the "Free Speech Movement" at Loyola, the Women's Center attracted national media attention. However, the person who spoke for the group aroused bitter feelings for many other members. Molly was one of the main organizers and she explained the situation as:

> When the fight of our group was on the media, there was one article in the New York Times which really pissed me off--there was like one man who was a graduate student, he was in a lot of groups and he was really out-spoken, but of all the people in the Women's Center, the New York Times sent the people to interview like one of the three men in the group, which is...(laugh)...I really didn't like this but this article showed up in the Times which looked like this MAN is our spoke person.
> (interview with Molly, 9/30/90, emphasis original)

This example is interesting, because it presents a problem of the women's rights organization with a distinctive twist, namely, "male feminism." It is understandable that the few men who are concerned with and willing to work for women's issues often face the difficulty of "gender tensions." It is not unusual for male feminists to face suspicion, distrust, and sometimes out-right hostility from female feminists. I think that sympathetic men in the women's rights groups are in a delicate situation where one has to keep the faith, be sincere and persistent, work hard, and be extremely cautious about words and deeds.[21] In other words, "trust has to be earned" from the oppressed people in order to

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[20] See, for example Echols (1989: 51-101) and Freeman (1979: 558-60).

[21] Being the only active man (member?) in the Women's Center (1990-1991) I find it difficult to assess the male opinion of this question. The few members who would address "male feminism" believed that sympathetic men did exist, and their comments echoed my statement.

forge a united force in pursuing liberation. The fact that men's participation in feminist organizations is so minimal probably demonstrates the difficulty of this task. This principle also applies to non-black people who work in the emancipation of blacks, which I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter.

In all, the advantages of the feminist organizations seem to be obvious: they are democratic, cohesive, intimate, and effective in making personal changes. On the other hand, they have the problems of unclear division of labor, too much spontaneity, and ineffectiveness in dealing with inner conflict and the outside world. It is noteworthy that when national or large-scale mobilizations do occur, both the Women's Place and Women's Center participate with the national organizations. In two national demonstrations in Washington, D. C., (1989, 1990) members of both groups attended.

Strategy and reaction from the administration

One function of the women's rights organizations on the college campus is to bring together a group of people interested in the discussion of (and action upon) feminist issues. Since many of these issues contradict with the Catholic doctrines, conflicts often arise. In some sense, feminist groups are forced to take such positions (p. 30) because "many of the things that we do are 'contrary to the Catholic teachings'"--according to one active member of the Women's Center.[22] Despite documents which proved that the Women's Center had been in existence since 1983, the administrators in charge of

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[22] Interview with Eva--a very active member of the Women's Center of Loyola University, 10/18/90. In fact, many students of the Women's Center expressed the same view.

student organizations insisted that the group was not official. For the administration's part, control of a student group seemed as easy as changing the rules; and, indeed, that was exactly what they did. But when the university failed to discourage feminists from organizing, the administrators simply added more rules. This is a distinctive behavior of Catholic universities in dealing with women's rights groups. We will see the re-appearance of this strategy in chapter four, when we discuss the struggle of homosexuals rights at Loyola University.

At the insistence of the university, which insisted that the Women's Center was not an official student organization, members agreed to apply for registration. In the mean time, the administration set up more rules for regulating the activities of the Women's Center. One of the new rules was that, "without recognition, the Women's Center could reserve rooms, hold meetings, and continue their political activity on campus only if a recognized student organization or an academic department 'sponsor' them." As a result, the Women's Center requested and obtained sponsorship from the Women's Studies Program. Since then, the battle field between the Women's Center and Loyola University has been diverted to include the Women's Studies Program (WSP).

During this period of time, the university saw the Women's Center as an "arm" of the WSP, because the director of the program was also the faculty advisor of the student organization. More importantly, the WSP offered generous support for the Women's Center. Unlike other faculty advisors to student groups, who functioned more as facilitator than advocates of particular activities, the director and the WSP were seen by the administration as the promoters of radical politics. The director, however,

succinctly described her motivation:

> The program [of Women's Studies] had been launched in 1979 with a firm directive from the then dean to avoid engaging in controversies over abortion. Until this year [1989], the program had kept its promise. Now students were asking us for help. We believe that acting on the students' behalf might endanger Women's Studies and possibly mean its demise. But we agree that if Women's Studies did not stand up for students' right to discuss and debate reproductive freedom, the program would not be worth saving...I reaffirm our intention to protect the students until they received official recognition.[23]

Still, the director had to sign every room and public space reservation, and every speaker invitation for the Women's Center--a practice with no precedent. Another step was taken by the administrators--they removed a bulletin board used by the Women's Center which read "Loyola women's Center" and replaced with a sign reading "Women at Loyola." These events were seen by the student activists, and some faculty in the WSP as a sign of petty harassment.

But then, even the process of getting the Women's Center recognized proved to be a difficult endeavor. The administration watched closely the members, officers, and especially the constitution of the group. It is not uncommon for the university to require a women's group (or any progressive organization, for that matter) to rewrite their constitution. Further, the newly recognized student organizations have to go through a year of probation in many Catholic universities. According to many informants, the rules of probation and regulation on the group's charter (constitution) are the main

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[23] Personal file.

weapons that administrations at both Marquette and Loyola use to control student groups.

The administration will also use another method to discourage student activists--personal harassment. For instance, Nancy was a very active student at Marquette University--she was one of the leaders of the Women's Place, one of the main organizers of the 1989 Divestment Week (chapter three), and was heavily involved in a lot of the progressive student groups. As a conspicuous student leader, Nancy experienced two major harassments from the administration. At one time Nancy, along with four other students, was falsely charged with theft. Though, after several months' "investigation" the university dropped the charge, many student leaders still had to go through a prolonged period of personal turmoil. Nancy was again harassed by the administration when there were allegedly some missing papers in the student newspaper office. Without any evidence, the administration sent security officers to her apartment to question her. According to Nancy, the university attempted to use harassment to prevent, or, at least, to discourage student political activism.

Ordinarily, the common activities of the women's rights groups include the conventional organizational meetings, speakers, films, discussions, and forums. It is interesting to note that feminists groups, just like other progressive student organizations at Catholic universities, developed into big organizations in unusual situations. For example, during the 1989 Free Speech Movement, the Women's Center at Loyola attracted virtually all progressive student groups into a joint-action in the battle with the administration. Molly was one of the major organizers in the Movement and she described the process to me as:

We got Peace, Bread, and Justice (PBJ), and a lot of groups, groups that had never really done anything other than meet among themselves and sit around. We got the Chinese Club which I didn't even know how the word got out because I don't really know anyone in the Chinese Club, they were there. College Socialist Organization (CSO), the Anti-Apartheid, Anti-Racism Coalition was there, students from the Ad Hoc of El Salvador Committee, they were there, a lot, like the American Muslim Student (AMS), like almost every student organizations, it was incredible. We had these signs and all that because we were just basically said, "Hey, even if you don't agree with us, we have the right to speak out about this issue!" and they were pretty much like, "Yeah, we don't really agree with you but sure you have the right to speak during this 'Free Speech' thing." So we had like this huge rally on the steps of the Centennial Forum and like the press was there. It was really great, all the student groups were behind us of what we acted when we asked them to.
(interview with Molly, 9/30/90)

What Molly described above was really an interesting phenomenon, because my observation confirmed that, in the dramatic events on Catholic campuses involving many student organizations, such events were rare and could only happened in what I call the "crisis" situations. Ordinarily, most student groups were concentrated on their "own" things. The struggle of the Women's Center exemplified this rule:

It was interesting, the student groups at Loyola really have not much to do with each other but our organization really pulled them all together and joined our fight with the administration. I don't think that, before that, any two student groups attended the same event and being like on the same issues. So, anyway, they all turned out and basically Loyola got really bad press like all over the Sun Times, the Chicago Tribune, and even in the New York Times. (ibid)

Further, in "crisis" situations the strategy of student groups tends to be more radical and confrontational, because in these situations activities of the student organizations usually

take the forms of rallies, demonstrations, protests, and so forth. In other words, the level of tension between the students and the school swells to open conflict. As a result, the school will either be more coercive and oppressive in order to control the situation, or, if that fails, and the event attracts media attention, religious universities that fear publicity will back down and make compromises to meet the students' demands.[24] Another such example will be given in the next chapter.

Women's empowerment

The issue of "empowerment" emerged after the first wave of feminism, an issue which drastically changed the consciousness of American women. Before that time it was held that, "women are relatively inactive in politics in part because they are denied opportunities to develop the self confidence that political scientists have to found to characterize the active citizens in a democratic system." (Lynn, 1975: 364) It was through the process of actual participation in political activism that women developed a different framework to look at the world in which they live. Women's empowerment took two routes--according to Freeman:

> [one] is the older branch of the movement...it began first. In addition to the National Organization for Women (NOW), this branch contains such organizations as the Women's Equity Action League, Federally Employed Women, and some fifty different organizations and caucuses of professional women. Their style of organization has tended to be traditionally formal, with

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[24] Media is a sufficient (but not necessary) condition in this process, i.e., media's involvement will increase the pressure to the university and accelerate the administration to make concessions, mainly because the university desires no negative publicity.

> numerous elected officers, board of directors, bylaws, and
> other trappings of democratic procedure...The other branch
> of the movement...it's activators were on the younger side
> of the generational gap...all were under 30 and had
> received their political education as participants in or
> concerned observers of the social-action projects of the
> preceding decade. Many came direct from the New Left
> and Civil Rights organizations where they had been shunted
> into traditional roles and faced with contradiction of
> working in a freedom movement but not being very free.
> (1975a: 449-50)

Both women's organizations of this study seem to adopt what Freeman called "the

younger branch of the movement" which is characterized as the elimination of hierarchy,

structure, and leadership. From my observation, this is quite typical among all

progressive student organizations on Catholic universities. The major method of making

change, in the younger branch of the movement, is "Consciousness Raising" (CR), which

is probably the most important contribution that feminists bring to social movement. The

process of consciousness raising starts with women come together in small groups (three

to 12 people) to discuss their personal feelings, experiences, and problems; and from the

public sharing of personal experiences, participants realize that the so-called "personal

problem" is in fact common, and what was considered a personal problem has a social

cause and probably a political solution. From this "consciousness raising" comes the

idea of "sisterhood"--since personal problems can be alleviated only by changing the

society. Therefore, group solidarity is essential in the struggle for equity. (ibid, p. 452)

Both the Women's Place and the Women's Center employ this strategy, with the

latter also emphasizes in making some structural changes. As indicated by Freeman (pp.

450-2), the younger branch of the movement served as a "radicalization" process for

active women, which drastically changed their views about themselves and society. Essentially, the emphasis is that "personal" is "political," and that genuine, effective social change can only be obtained through day-to-day activities and through group efforts. Feminist consciousness is crucial for a broad-based, massive liberation movement. With effective political action, other people will also be affected (in a positive way)--such as the case of the Free Speech Movement.

CONCLUSION

It seems that feminist consciousness and activity are somewhat different at Loyola than at Marquette. Student activists at Loyola University openly discuss abortion issues and reproductive rights, while active women at Marquette concentrate on consciousness raising. The situation at Loyola is a result of an intensive struggle between the women's rights student organization and the administration. On the surface, it may appear that Catholic campuses are not conducive grounds for the breeding of feminist awareness, because abortion and even birth control, are "contrary to the Catholic teaching." But it is precisely the hostility of the environment that encourages many college women to become student activists, although the hostility and the conflicts it provokes between feminists and the administration sometimes will delay the development of such movement. Women activists at Catholic universities are involved in the task of making a real change of society. And as such, it is especially crucial to articulate the ideas, constraints, tactics, and the effects of their endeavors. In all, women student activists

at Catholic institutions can provide invaluable lessons for the feminist movement in broader society. The Free Speech Movement, as initiated by the Women's Center at Loyola, provides a good example for a massive and united movement.

From analyzing the process that the Women's Center has gone through, we witness the difficulty of forming a feminist organization in religious institutions. This difficulty, it seems, does not exist in secular schools, in the sense that no incident has been reported at those universities. Whether or not women's rights groups can be recognized eventually, the process itself will "radicalize" many student activists. Interestingly, many informants of this research revealed that it was actually in the process of getting the group started that they learned the most valuable lessons. Ida was an active, non-white member of the Women's Center at Loyola University, and her experience was quite typical in this respect:

> After the experience here, I will never consider a Catholic school for my graduate study. But, you know, sometimes I wonder if I could learn as much as here, because if I went to a public school, probably they already had a women's group and they do nothing. The process [of getting the organization recognized] is very annoying but I really learned a lot from it--and changed a lot, too. (interview with Ida, 10/17/90)

Activists for women's liberation achieved tremendous success during the past two decades. In a real sense, treatment of women by men is better today than it was before. However, we should not be satisfied with the progress that the feminists have made, because the gains are hard-earned and are constantly facing serious setbacks. The failure of the ERA and the reversal of legalized abortion are cases in point. One of the findings of this study is that personal freedom appears to be the most significant aspect of the

feminist movement on Catholic institutions. And that the feminist struggle clearly manifests as a "contested accommodation" process that the Catholic universities are going through. It is fair to say that, even in this regard, the situation is improving (as we witnessed the success of the Women's Center). Nevertheless, we should put forth more energy to do more to change gender inequality. In this regard, several trends are evident. First, feminist consciousness is growing significantly, more and more women sense the sexism they face in society, and more efforts are mobilized to fight for women's emancipation. Second, an increasing number of men have also heightened their awareness of gender inequity. On the societal level, the growing participation of men in the feminist movement is a case in point. Third, for people who are sympathetic and active in women's liberation, a lot more emphasis has been placed on educating unconcerned men to be aware of gender inequality, and increasingly men within the feminist movement are willing to confront their own sexism. Finally, because of their constant struggle, it has become harder for the administration in the religious setting to ignore the demands of women students. I am hopeful that, in the near future, many major Catholic universities will have sexual harassment policies, complaint procedures, public statistics on sexual harassment and rape, emergency hotlines, counseling services, more comprehensive escorts, improved student health centers, and the extension of patrolling plans.

To envision a sexism-free society is a hard work, but, more and more people are willing to take on the task. An effective change on society and the abolishment of gender inequality has to start with women exploring their own power, understanding that power,

grasping that power, and relentlessly pursuing true equality. Empowerment not only means the change of one's consciousness, it also implies the willingness to continuously fight injustice. Empowerment is the key to end any kind of inequality, be it of gender, race, class, age, or culture. Empowerment includes both the change of consciousness and the actual engagement of political activism, and these two aspects are interacting and mutually enhancing. In so doing, one is not only able to change oneself for the better, but more important, collectively activists can actually transform the whole society.

CHAPTER THREE

NEW PHASE OF AN OLD STRUGGLE:
RACIAL EQUALITY

Besides gender inequality, the struggle for racial equality constitutes another

important element of student political activism in the Catholic higher educational system.

In this chapter, I begin with a general history of the struggle of African-Americans in the

U. S. I then highlight the contributions that African-American college students made in

the Civil Rights Movement, and compare racial conflict in the sixties and the eighties and

nineties. I describe two racial incidents pertinent to this research to illustrate the point

that, in general, there is a resurgence of racism in American society. Finally, I analyze

the characters and activities of African-American student organizations on the campuses

I studied. Efforts by white students in fighting racism are illustrated in Marquette's

Divestment Week. The chapter concludes with some suggestions on how African-

Americans might effectively combat racism.

Racial inequality exists in almost every society where there are two or more

races.[1] The United States has a long history of racial inequality; indeed, racism in this

country is so serious that Ryan argues "any proposed remedy for inequality can be

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[1] "Race" or "ethnicity" as a concept is difficult to define. "Ethnicity" can be referred to a group of people who share an objectively identifiable physical characteristics such as blood, hair, or skin color. However, there are serious questions, if such "objective" groups really exist. Race and ethnicity are more social or cultural constructs, including perceptions and differences in language, custom, religion, tradition, and folkways. Subjectively people belong to the same "race" should share a "we" feeling. It is not the intention of this research to discuss the definition of "race." A sense of "social" (or "cultural") understanding is assumed.

judged valid only if it also promised an end to <u>racial</u> inequality." (1981: 138, emphasis mine) I believe there are three preconditions for the existence of racial inequality. First there must be two or more races in a society, and the dominated race must <u>accept</u> and <u>cooperate</u> with the dominating race to make racism possible. Secondly, a legal system must be established to provide justifications for the actual practice of racism, i.e., discrimination. Finally, a belief system must be set up to support the thesis of "superiority" of one race over others. When people learn to believe that there are differences among races (in terms of, say, intelligence, physical strength, certain aptitudes, ability, etc.) and that one race has a "better" quality than other races, a we-they relationship is in order. Thus, the ground for the rationalization of ideological inequality (i.e., prejudice, or stereotyping) will be paved.

We learn from history that, in the blacks' struggle for equality, only the second element of racism was completely destroyed after the Civil Rights Movement. However, it seems much easier to eliminate discrimination than to combat prejudice, because overt, manifested behaviors can easily be altered without the change of people's values, attitudes, feelings, and emotions. Perhaps the most difficult task in challenging racism is to change people's thought. This change of consciousness is two-fold. For the dominating race, efforts should be made to address the injustice, inhumanity, and unfairness of exploitation. For the oppressed race, the task is to understand the nature of racial inequality and cease to cooperate. To change peoples' minds and persuade them not to cooperate--this is the hard part of the struggle.

Racism towards the African-American:
historical background

From the sixteenth century, when captured Africans were unloaded from the slave ships in Charleston, to today's ghettos on the south side of Chicago, African-Americans have been the victims of racism for centuries in America. Although the slave trade was made illegal by international laws in 1861, and America had its Civil War, which aimed to emancipate the African-Americans, slavery remained as the major force of production in the plantation economy in the South throughout the nineteenth century. With the ending of the Civil War emerged a group of middle-class people which included merchant-bankers, operators and owners of mines, railroads, and factories along with the old, established planters. (Scruggs, 1971: 73-87) This new development of power distribution made a "ruling class" possible because, as diverse as they might appear to be, members of these groups were highly consciousness of their common interests. In the mean time, the United States was experiencing a rapid industrialization which drastically changed the structure of the labor market. This meant that more and more poor and working class white people came into increasing contact and competition with blacks in the face of a tremendous population growth. (Key, 1949; Woodward, 1951; Scruggs, 1971) Consequently, these factors almost inevitably raised the tension and hostility between the lower- and working- class whites and the devastated African-Americans.

The potential danger of an uprising by poor whites was clearly seen by the white ruling class. As a result, the white conservatives used the limited political power of the African-Americans to counter the threat of white lower-class rebellion. For instance,

black votes could be used to overcome white working-class majorities. Economically, low-paid black workers could be used in the "undesired" segments of jobs; or as strike-breakers in case of white worker insurgency. Economic discrimination and political manipulation combined into a lethal weapon for the white elite to keep exploiting the poor and working-class people. Meanwhile, African-Americans also sensed the growing threat of economic competition and racial hostility from the poor white people. Under these conditions, many reciprocal accommodations between upper-class whites and poor blacks were made in what many scholars called "the paternalistic order." (Wilson, 1980: 55-6; Patterson, 1982: 339) It was also at this historical juncture roughly during the last two decades of the nineteenth century that the white labor reform movement was initiated and the Jim Crow Segregation law that swept through the South was implemented.

One can hardly describe the devastating impact of the Jim Crow law, because Americans, for many decades, were living under a "separate but equal" doctrine which not only legally separated races, but also dehumanized and degraded colored people. This separation was not in a strict physical sense, because many African-Americans still worked in white households--in fields as contract laborers and farmers, in homes as maids, servants, and janitors.[2] It was the social distance that Jim Crow created which further worsened America's race relations. It was not until the year of 1954 when the Supreme Court declared, in Brown vs. Board of Education case, that "separate is not equal (and illegal);" thus was broken the most fundamental barrier of America's race relations. Exactly one decade later, Civil Rights Bills were passed, and finally African-

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[2] See, for example, Wilson (1980: 17, 24-41)

Americans gained their full citizenship in this country.

Students and the Civil Rights Movement

Between the ruling of the Brown vs. Board of Education case and the enactment

of the Civil Rights Bills, American society went through ten years of turmoil

characterized by the courageous mobilizations of the African-American people.

Historically known as the Civil Rights Movement, the struggle of African-Americans for

racial equality exerted profound impact upon this country: it inspired many oppressed

people into the pursuit for equality, it set up a model for the liberation movement, and

it triggered many other social movements on a scale unseen in history. In short, the

black liberation movement forever changed American society.

According to African-American sociologist, Aldon D. Morris: "Nineteen-sixty

was the year when thousands of Southern black students at black colleges joined forces

with 'old movement worriers' and tremendously increased the power of the developing

civil rights movement." (1984: 195) Based on the philosophy of non-violence and direct

action, what the African-American students did was to "sit-in" in segregated lunch

counters, ask to be served, and directly challenge Jim Crow laws. "Sit-in" as a form of

protest started as early as in 1957,[3] even though most scholars regard the famous

Greensboro Four (e.g., Chafe, 1980: 109-16) as the beginning of the movement.

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[3] For details about sit-ins before the February 1, 1960, at Greensboro, North Carolina, see Southern Regional Council, "The Student Protest Movement," SRC-13 (April 1, 1960): iv, viii; and Morris (1984: 195, 197-8, 315, note 5). We should also bear in mind that the famous Montgomery bus boycott is also considered to be the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement, see Unger, 1974: 16-7; Morris, 1984: 40-63.

In Morris's study, African-American students in black colleges played a vital role in the Civil Rights Movement, because "they were responsible for the bulk of the protest activities." (ibid, p. 196) Combined with the black churches, communication networks, movement centers and half-way houses, economic boycotting of white businesses, and support from the black community, African-American students were able to make the sit-in a massive movement which successfully challenged the white establishment and shook white racism from its root. More important, however, is that by the actually participating in the black liberation movement, African-American students changed their own consciousness, established the first student organization for civil rights (i.e., Student Nonviolent Coordinate Committee--SNCC), and were catalytic in the rise of the modern white student movement of the 1960s.

This study differs from much of the previous research in the sense that it focuses exclusively upon various political mobilizations of African-American students in the Catholic setting. Previous studies either treat black student uprisings as a part of the whole Civil Right Movement or consider African-American students' mobilizations within the broad spectrum of a student movement.[4] In the first instance, emphasis is put on the relations and impact that African-American students brought to the Civil Rights Movement. And in the second case, by treating all African-American students as a whole, without the distinction between, say, college vs. high school or religious vs. secular, the important differences that might exist between various segments of African-

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[4] See Blaustein and Zangrado, 1968; Brooks, 1974; Chafe, 1980; Morris, 1984 for the first category; and studies such as Orum, 1972; Unger, 1974; and Carson, 1981, belong to the second category.

American students are missed.

Different face of racism: the 1980s

Before 1964, African-Americans were fighting for legal emancipation with the goal of attaining full citizenship; they achieved their goal through cultural traditions, church activities, a heightened consciousness, community organizing, and political mobilizations. After the enactment of the Civil Rights Bill, and especially in the 1980s, the goals of black liberation became the pursuit of economic equality, cultural heritage, self dignity, and the real abolition of racism (i.e., genuine racial equality). For example, it is evident that African-Americans make up thirteen percent of the population (U. S. Census, 1990) and yet, with rare exceptions, they are overwhelmingly in the bottom rungs of the social stratification.

Even though African-Americans made gains in the past three decades in terms of reducing discrimination, racism is very much alive today. There are still stereotypes about African-Americans students; for instance, African-American students often feel that white students automatically assume that blacks are less honest and more prone to stealing. As one interviewee recounted:

> I mean, I come to a class and this is true and this has happened many times: I come in there, and I DON'T care about those girls' purses or stuff like that but as soon as they see me they bring it closer to them. And I'm like, or they grab things or they move it, but make sure I can't sit next to them. I DON'T care about that. And if they see me on the elevator: I got on an elevator in one of the dorms with one of the girls, she got off and decided to take the stairs. I WASN'T gonna touch her, you know, things like that, and she was in there before me and then she just

> got off. How do I feel? What do people think how I feel
> about that? That's how I feel, I feel anger, I feel
> bitterness, and yet, I'm laughing because this girl is stupid,
> she is afraid of me--another human being because of the
> complexion of my skin--of who I am.
> (interview with Ziggy, 2/9/91, emphasis his)

Similar stories were reported by other black students of this study. Essentially, this is what I called "cultural racism," according to which some white students think that "white" is the best and devalue other cultures. On many college campuses, a common scene is that groups of students of the same race hang around together in the cafeteria, library, classroom, and almost everywhere. I observed that this situation is particularly obvious in the rural or suburban settings. Lack of inter-racial interaction reinforces the ignorance, bigotry, and stereotyping of different peoples.

In all, the struggle for racial equality is a very different thing than it was thirty years ago. This is true not only for blacks; racism today is so subtle, so invisible, so institutionalized, and so prevalent for all colored people, that it almost becomes a "cultural separatism" and thus, a "cultural racism." What the "minorities" in this country are fighting right now is not so much the use of different facilities, sitting at the back of the bus, cross burning or even lynching--those are rare phenomena; rather, today they fight for a fair share of the resources, recognition and respect, dignity, identity, worthiness, and most important, one's own humanity. As will become more clear in the following analysis, the strife for racial equality is more urgent now than ever before, simply because Martin Luther King's "Dream" remains a "Dream."

The experience of "Black America" is an unique one--Actress Ellen Holly wrote the following three decades ago:

> Black is not a color of the skin, it is an unique experience
> shared by Negro Americans, however varied they may be,
> that sets them apart from any other group and results in a
> certain kind of psychological adjustment that no other
> group has to make--namely, the adjustment of learning how
> to survive, and perhaps even to flourish, in an atmosphere
> that is almost totally hostile.
> (Quoted in Young, 1971: 17, [first published in 1969])

The recent veto of the Civil Rights Bills by President Bush further illustrates the point

that racism is alive and well today in America,[5] and that striving for racial equality by

African-Americans seems to be a never-ending struggle. This should not surprise us

when we consider that there was a re-emergence of racism in the 1980s--as a result of

the prevailing conservatism by the Reagan administration. I will start the next section

by giving two concrete examples on this point.

ANALYSIS

Racism on Catholic campus

College students in the 1980s represented a different generation with different

sensibilities from those of the generation of college students of the "turbulent sixties."

African-Americans at Catholic institutions, in particular, represented a distinct group of

students who know the civil rights movement, not from personal experience, but from

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[5] Many people regard the President's move as simply a means to find an agenda for the 1992 election. By defining Affirmative Action as a "quota" (the Q word, as they say), and with the growing popularity by "winning" the Gulf War, this move seemed difficult for a liberal Democratic to oppose. It looks like there is no issue to be discussed for the presidential election for the two parties--despite the deteriorating life of the American people.

history text books. Further, many African-American students at Catholic universities were coming from middle-class backgrounds, and had no previous experience of the dire strait of "the black underclass." (Wilson, 1987)[6] Even so, it is not uncommon for black students, even on Catholic campuses, to face white racism and fight back. It is a total misconception to think that religious educational institutions are free from many of the social diseases of broader society.

In 1989, some white students at Rosary College (River Forest, Illinois) wrote letters with KKK to the African-American students who, in some way or other, had frequent contact with the white students. One dormitory assistant, after enforcing a regulation by asking a late visitor to leave the dorm, received a letter threatening violence. One academically excellent African-American student was warned "not to show-off," and another student, an athlete, popular among both white and black students, was told to "keep off white girls." In all cases, the letters were signed Ku Klux Klan, and the incidents immediately raised a tremendous amount of hatred and the thirst for vengeance. The Black Student Association (BSA) at Rosary reported the incidents to the administration right away, but the school took no action. A couple of days later, the white students who wrote the letters began to receive letters signed Nation of Islam and

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[6] It is rather clear for me, after several interviews, that many African-American student informants are quite better-off economically than their public school counterparts--most of them admitted that they "were coming from middle-class background families." Further, my personal observations confirmed that African-American students at Catholic institutions are very different in the sense that they wear designer clothes, use brand-name products, drive sport cars, and so forth. One word of caution: the percentage of African-American enrollment in Catholic schools is quite small as indicated in this study--both Loyola and Marquette are about six percent while Rosary has less than one percent.

Black Panther Party. Jay was one of the victims and organizers of the mobilization; he told me:

> When we reported these things to the administration, they said: "are the problems really that bad? are these things really going on like this?" Well, why would you make something up like that, that's not something you joking on as a black student because you understand the severity of something like that. I don't think they understand the reasoning behind it, they, in, their minds they think probably they were just wrote it down and obviously it's just a joke. But that's not the point, it is the meaning behind that joke. When somebody comes up and writes KKK that symbolizes one thing to you but it symbolizes a totally different thing to the blacks and they really don't understand that. And we really didn't have any kind of dialogue of students and students, students and faculty until a few students decided to retaliate on the KKK. And then all of a sudden these same white students who were telling us "don't worry about it," "laugh it off," all of a sudden they were worried, you know, "wait a minute, this isn't funny anymore."
> (interview with Jay, 11/6/90)

Then the BSA launched a program which included a modification of the core curriculum and a proposal to conduct workshops for faculty members, which aimed to change the racial hostility at Rosary. In the program, the BSA requested Rosary to incorporate a ninth requirement for incoming first-year students. This ninth requirement is a course on non-European, non-Western cultural study (African, Asian, and Latin American studies were suggested), which would serve as an integrated part of the core curriculum. Though the workshops never materialized, Rosary did add a ninth requirement into the core curriculum in fall semester of 1990.

Throwing epithets is probably the most common form of racism. In 1990, it was

alleged that a professor in the Philosophy Department at Loyola University called the only black student in his class a nigger several times in front of all her classmates.[7] This professor's racial epithet soon triggered a massive oppositional movement on Loyola's campus. This episode exposed the dark side of race relations at Catholic institutions, and exemplified the reactions of African-American students in facing racially demeaning epithets. Students who were very familiar with the event told me that several factors made the Loyola case so conspicuous: it involved a locally "renowned" teacher, it was fueled and manifested by the extreme insensitivity of the administration, and, perhaps most importantly, it attracted most of the main-stream media's attention. From March to July of 1990, Loyola suffered extensive negative coverage by the media. As a result, Sandra Westmoreland's[8] story almost became weekly news; this brought some significant changes to the Loyola community.

The above two incidents support the thesis that, due to the conservatism of the Reagan administration, throughout the 1980s American society witnessed a resurgence of racial hostility on college campuses.[9] Most reported incidents of racial tensions and conflicts were ignited by overt racists. For example, in January, 1987, after a campus radio station program disc jockey at the University of Michigan made racially demeaning

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[7] This statement is strictly based on the information provided by the student activists in this study. Readers are suggested to see this story from the students' side, i.e., to treat the following episode as an allegation by some students (which was ultimately found with little merit by a governmental investigatory commission).

[8] Here I am using the real name of the student activist at her specific request. This is the only real name on this study; all others are pseudonyms.

[9] Tony Vellela's book New Voices: Student Political Activism in the '80s and '90s provides a sample of the events; see chapter 14, pp. 239-48.

jokes on the air,[10] 30 students protested, leading to the firing of the show's host. Later, following more racist incidents, hundreds of students launched more protests, and the United Coalition Against Racism outlined its demands for action. A couple of months later, an African-American student at Columbia University was verbally and physically assaulted, which triggered many rallies and demonstrations. The incident ended several weeks later, when the university called in police to harass the students, and one by-stander--an African-American faculty member--was arrested for no reason.

Fighting racism in Catholic institutions

In reaction to the racial incidents on campus, African-American student organizations at both Rosary and Loyola immediately responded with student mobilizations. The Black Student Association (BSA) at Rosary adopted a gradual, reform-like manner to challenge racism. One of the main organizers, Jay, told me:

> What I did was to bring together a group, I brought 'em to
> BSA with the idea of "let's go through the system and see
> if it's gonna work," "let's not get carried away and get
> radical and put ourselves in the situation where they can
> say, 'Look! all the black students are violent and radical'."
> Let's try to deal with it on their terms 'cause we are bigger
> than they are. So we organized ourselves and we came up
> with outline of exactly what we wanted: we had our
> demands, what we demand and why; and we also had a
> time scheme...we went right through the whole chains of
> command, we started first with the Dean of Students and
> went all the way up, so we met with the president
> eventually.
> (interview with Jay, 11/6/90)

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[10] This racist episode was extensively covered by the media. The host of an anti-black program said: "why do black people smell?" "so blind people can hate them too."

In some sense this process almost looks too easy, because in large Catholic universities it is nearly impossible for students to meet with the president. Since Rosary is a small college with only 1,500 students, it is probably easier for the student activists to put pressure on the administration. Still, many concerned people were pessimistic about the outcome, according to Jay:

> Most students didn't think we get anything out of it but this year rolled around, at the start of this year we found out that we had a major effect because the president decided that it was important, that we did need a ninth requirement dealing with non-Western cultures and diversity. So now we have a requirement called the minorities studies and something to that effect, and [first year] students are required to take at least one course in black studies, Hispanic studies, or Asian studies. And as far as I'm concerned, it's a start. (ibid)

Although Jay was not completely satisfied with the result because he thought the racial sensitivity workshops were at least as important as the ninth requirement, he thought he would leave that battle for his successors:

> What I was looking for and being the primary spokeperson for the group and the organizer, I was looking for something that dealt not only with the students but, more importantly, with faculty. I think the students are the extension of the faculty, if the faculty is ignorant of certain situations the students are ignorant of those same situations. Many people think we had a big success [about the ninth requirement] but I see it as a compromise because they didn't install the workshop. I am graduating next year, so I will leave this thing to them. (ibid)

The Loyola case was very different from the Rosary one because some students perceived that the university did not respond to the complaint in a timely manner--

according to the student herself.[11] As a result, many student activists sympathized with

Sandra Westmoreland, and they opposed the administration. According to Sandra:

> In the second week of the Spring semester of 1990 I was in a philosophy ethics class taught by Dr. Azi and suddenly, just out of the blue, he said, "this is a nigger, we had a nigger student in our class," he said this several times while pointing directly at me, and the tone of the voice was so strong and dominant...and the next time when the class met he again singled me out with "buppies" [black urban professional]. Five days later I made an appointment to see him and in the end I said: 'Dr. Azi, I was wondering if you could please not single me out in the classroom because it really makes me uncomfortable by being the only black student in your class room?' and he said, 'Oh, I thought that the reason you want to see me, I only did it twice! I'm sorry, if I embarrassed you, if I offend you, I won't do it again.
> (interview with Sandra Westmoreland, 12/5/90)

Further, Sandra told me: "the way he said he was sorry, like it was a slip out, like a

jumbo of words--it didn't mean anything and 'I would have left it alone [the teacher

said].' That's all he said, but then he looked at me and said: 'you know, I like to give

examples, like the one I used, used you for, so that they can understand what I'm saying

because when I give them a visual example, they can easily remember it'." (ibid,

emphasis original)

Based on the description, I think, this constitutes a racial harassment--a rare(?)

manifestation of racism from an university professor. Like the Free Speech Movement

in the last chapter, the Sandra Westmoreland incident soon triggered a series of rallies,

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[11] One middle-level administrator had talked with Sandra Westmoreland and initiated a grievance process before the incident was public, but the act was perceived as being "too little, too late" by the student.

protests, demonstrations, and forums on Loyola's campus. Throughout February, March, and April of 1990 Sandra, along with black activist Lu Palmer, the national executive director of Operation PUSH (Rev. Tyrone Crider), alderman William Henry (24th Ward), and the bulk of Loyola's progressive student organizations[12] conducted a series of demonstrations.[13] Sandra and two active members of the Black Culture Center (BCC) made two radio talk show appearances. The first one was a live broadcast which also included two middle-level administrators from Loyola University; the second one was recorded with no participants from the school.

Sandra also met with various administrators of the university in many meetings. The BCC and LUASA arranged three press conferences, held numerous organizational meetings to discuss the incident, and requested other student groups to join the uprising. Like the Women's Center episode in the last chapter, the involvement of the media brought extra pressure to Loyola University. For fear of the extensive press coverage, school official were eager to make concessions to the students. Here we see another example of student activists using media to their advantage. Although the media by no means showed unanimous sympathy to Sandra--indeed, some reports were quite cynical

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[12] Other than the Black Student Council (BSC), Black Culture Center (BCC), and Loyola University African-American Student Association (LUASA), most progressive student organizations joined the mobilization. These included the Women's Center, the College Socialist Organization (CSO), Peace, Bread, and Justice (PBJ), the Latin America Student Association (LASO), the Marxist Humanist Forum (MHF), and Amnesty International, Loyola Chapter (AILU), among others.

[13] There was even one in the Downtown Water Tower Campus (WTC). Some faculty and administrators told me that there has never been a protest at WTC--not even in the 1968 Democratic National Convention when Loyola's Lake Shore Campus (LSC) was surrounded by barricades.

and suspicious--publicity in itself was a pressure to the university.

Most meetings held by the administration were not open to the public, but student organizational meetings attracted huge crowds. In early April the Black Student Council (BSC), LUASA, and BCC presented a list of demands to the university, which included the resignation of the professor, an increase of the budget and re-furnishing of BCC, a broadening of the core curriculum to incorporate non-European cultural studies, an effort to establish a racially harmonious campus, the institution of a racial harassment policy, more African-American reading materials in the library, racial sensitivity training for faculty, and stepped-up efforts to increase black student and faculty representation on Loyola's campus.[14]

In reaction to the student uprisings about racism on campus and other demands, Loyola University did several things to meet the demands of the students. The BCC was re-furnished during the summer (1990) and its budget was increased. In the fall semester of 1990, the Office of Student Affairs recruited an Asian-American advisor for the needs of the growing Asian-American students.[15] The offices of Student Affairs, Student Life, and Inter-Racial Relations each delegated officers in April to form a task force to study racial harassment. In January of 1991, Loyola instituted a "Policy and Procedures for Racial Discrimination, Abuse and Harassment." From all this, there seems to be some sincerity on the part of the university, though the demand for the resignation of the

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[14] A relatively accurate report can be found in April 15, 1990's Chicago Tribune, section 2, p. 1, 5

[15] Asian-American students became the largest group of "minority" students at Loyola University since the academic 1989-1990 year.

professor was not successful, and the racial sensitivity workshop never materialized. Increasing the representation of African-Americans on campus may take a period of time, and the results still remain to be seen. Overall, the students did gain something from the school, and racial relations on Loyola's campus, hopefully, will be improved.

In this case, African-Americans at Loyola seemed to be circumvented in their attempt to confront the university. Unlike the Rosary incident, where student activists could meet with the president, Sandra could meet with the Dean of Arts and Sciences, and one vice president--that was as far as she could go. The administration did not want to impose disciplinary action for the involved teacher, and for a while the responses to Sandra were very slow in pace. These conditions further fueled the discontent of the victim and concerned student activists. Consequently, racial tension surfaced as a serious conflict between the administration and African-American students on Loyola. In the next sections, I will discuss the organizational characteristics of the black student groups and their performance in this conflict.

<u>History</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>black</u> <u>student</u> <u>organization</u>:
<u>Loyola</u> <u>University</u>

Students who were sympathetic towards Sandra went through a full-fledged mobilization process which can best describe the student political activism in fighting racism on a Catholic campus setting. The Loyola University African-American Student Association, LUASA, and the Black Cultural Center, BCC, were at the forefront throughout the process. Many issues emerged when BCC and LUASA attempted to incorporate other student organizations and form a united front to support Sandra

Westmoreland. Those issues are very important for discussion, because many African-American student organizations on college campuses are facing similar problems whenever the issue of "fighting racism" emerges. Let me start by introducing the historical background of LUASA and BCC.

During the period of this research, there were eight black student organizations at Loyola University; most were social groups (e.g., the Black Student Council, the Black Greeks), or groups serving the professional needs of the African-American students (e.g., the National Association of Black Accountants, Black Lawyer Student Organization, etc.). The Loyola University African-American Student Association was formed in the late sixties as a result of the Civil Rights Movement. From its inception, LUASA has served as a political organization devoted to issues of concern to black students at Loyola University. This means LUASA is able to put out political agenda, support political candidates, organize debates, and mobilize students for political activities.

The Black Culture Center evolved out of LUASA in the late seventies as a result of financial difficulties. According to a former president of BCC:

> It got to a point that the black student organizations needed money, and the only way they could get the money was through the university, but I don't think the university was too pleased with what LUASA stood for, what LUASA would say, and that's why BCC was evolved. Because we said, "Okay, well, we will have a cultural center and we need money to educate," that's how it basically was evolved.
> (interview with Xima, her emphasis, 12/11/90)

As a result, the BCC became the "cultural" wing of the African-American students and

focused on the educational events of Loyola.

Membership and officers

Just as that of many student organizations on college campuses, LUASA's membership fluctuates; it has some fifty members--according to the present president.[16] LUASA is organized hierarchically. It has five officers, including a president, a vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, and a public relations officer; the officers from an executive board make decisions and implement policies. The meeting schedules of LUASA vary semester-wise, but the most common ones are weekly and bi-weekly meetings. Members can have a say in events, policies, and decisions, and such are usually decided with votes in the organizational meetings.

The Black Student Council (BSC) grew out of LUASA in the early seventies, and later became the umbrella organization of all African-American student organizations. BSC is an organization with no political function other than that of a "bridge" between other black student groups. The Black Culture Center, as indicated earlier, was also a spin-off organization from LUASA, and because of its function, BCC became one among a dozen funded student organizations on Loyola's campus. Currently BCC has a membership of about 75; again, there are around ten active members. The organizational structure of BCC is the same as LUASA, with officers overlapping in both organizations.

The major programs offered by the BCC are cultural, educational, and social.

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[16] But my personal observation reveals that there are only around a dozen members who consistently, actively participate in activities.

For example, in Black History Month the BCC will sponsor many activities, such as films, exhibitions, forums, speakers, music, dances, and parties. BCC works closely with LUASA and in 1990 the two groups almost consolidated into one. This was made possible through personal friendships, communication networks, and the efforts of the executive boards in both organizations. Presently three persons serve as officers and members of the executive board on both organizations; most activities are co-sponsored by the two; and even the meetings for LUASA and BCC are held in the same place and at the same time. Since the main organizers in the two groups are good friends and memberships overlap considerably, combining the two groups can avoid repetition and distraction of activities. Except for strategies, funding, and membership size, the two groups are virtually the same, and by working together, African-American students at Loyola have been able to effect many changes--as exemplified in the Sandra Westmoreland episode.

Leadership

Leadership is a distinctive feature in both LUASA and BCC. Since both organizations are highly structured, the leaders usually have a tight control over the group and a heavy load of duties. As indicated in the last chapter, most progressive student organizations on Catholic campuses tend to have a very "flat," non-hierarchical structure, in the sense that most decision-making is made through discussion and group consensus, and the division of labor is spread out evenly among many members. Leaders of BCC and LUASA, on the other hand, are usually burdened with many tasks and

eventually get "stressed out." Organizational activity including decision-making, program implementing, meeting organizing, flyer posting, calling people, and everything else would come down to one person (usually the leader), and that person, after "burning out," would resign. At that point another enthusiastic student would take over the leadership and go through the same cycle.

At least from 1986 to 1990, BCC and LUASA went through this vicious cycle, according to one ex-president of the organization:

> Sophomore year was a stressful year; it was a time that, I think at the time the BCC executive board was dormant whereas they were doing nothing because it always came down to one person, and eventually that person will get stressed out and said, "Look, I've had it, I come here for study!" you know. Although it was selfish--at that time I perceived it as a selfish attitude, you know, "How dare you leave them at the time they need you the most?" until I gotten the shoes myself whereas I said to myself: "Hey, I'm not doing myself anymore'!"
> (interview with Xima, 12/11/90)

Another downside of this type of leadership is obvious, because the leader takes care of everything; this can easily develop into an authoritarian, rigid, and totalitarian outlook. Both Xima and the leader of BCC immediately before her were being charged by other progressive students, who know very little about the organizational structure of BCC, with being "dictators."[17] It seems the most effective solution of the leadership problem is to get more students involved, because, as the group expands, many responsibilities can be distributed to other members. Unfortunately, meetings of BCC

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[17] Interestingly, this comment came from many student activists who were heavily involved in their own organizations.

and LUASA were always poorly attended, and many participants did not voice their opinions. Thus, the issue of getting more people involved became a difficult task. I will have more discussion on the difficulty of insufficient participation and recruitment in the "Problems" section of this chapter.

Inter-organizational activities

LUASA occasionally will co-sponsor activities with other student groups. For instance, at the end of 1990, the organization worked with Latin America Student Organization (LASO) on a toy and clothing drive to help needy people. And in the beginning of 1991, LUASA cooperated with the Political Science Society in organizing a mayoral debate. Danny Davis, Jane Bryne, and Richard Daley were all invited to the debate, but the last two declined the invitation for different reasons: Jane Byrne was ill and Mayor Daley said that he "did not debate."[18]

For student activists at Loyola, the Black Cultural Center remained the focus on campus during the racist episode. Following the Women's Center's battle with sexism the previous year, racism united almost all progressive student activists in their struggle for equality. One of the main organizers, Xima, explained the process to me as:

> For a while a lot of people didn't want to be with us, you
> know, now it's like the "in" thing to do almost. I guess
> it's because BCC has made a name for itself through

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[18] It is noteworthy that Mayor Daley showed up a couple of weeks later on campus for his primary and the endorsement of Alderman Robert Clarke of the 49th Ward. When asked about his refusal to attend the previous mayoral forum, Daley replied: "I come up to Loyola and Rogers Park all the time. It's a great university." Loyola Phoenix, February 13, 1991, p. 1.

> Sandra's case, through our press conference, through those summer meetings, and things of that nature. I think, even when you look at a lot of the college campuses, they are like: "THAT'S what a student organization is supposed to do!" this is how it supposed to be done. They are supposed to be out there and fighting for their rights instead of letting the institution taking them over and rule them. Now it's like everybody wants to do program with us and I think it's wonderful because there's probably something LASO can teach me that I never know--maybe they don't all sit around and eat tacos, I don't know that, you know, just to say that they don't know if we all sit around and eat ribs and fight all day, you know, because there are all these stereotypes.
> (ibid, emphasis original)

However, cooperation among various student organizations sometimes can be very problematic. It is particularly delicate for groups trying to work with ethnic student groups. Evidently, the participation of whites in African-American student organizations will almost always arouse suspicion, and so with other non-black (and non-white) participation. Just as it is to male feminists who work in the women's rights groups, I think the issue of "trust" is extremely important here. And the only way to achieve trust from the oppressed people is through sincerity, time, and efforts ("Trust has to be earned!"). In this regard, the fervent mobilizations concerning divestment and anti-apartheid in the mid-eighties are good examples, because many of these uprisings were led by white, middle-class, male students.

My informants told me that, at Loyola, the interaction between a white student group and an African-American student organization usually starts when the former goes to the latter and says something like: "We decided to do such and such, why don't you join us?" or, "No, this shouldn't be done this way, we are the pros, let's show you how

to do it!" or, "We know what's best for you, we are the Marxists--the experts in fighting

oppression!"   Worse still, white students will ask African-American students to

participate in their meetings and activities while the white students themselves seldom

show up in the black's group meetings.[19]   This process further distanced black-white

relations and reinforced the hatred and disgust of the black students.   Three prominent

white student leaders at Loyola actually confessed such wrong-doing to me and they all

reached similar conclusion:

> It took a long time for me to realize this [prejudice], now
> I am more sensitive towards my own racism. I never have
> any problem with those people [minorities] and I'm always
> trying to help, but the way I communicated with them
> before was very racist--I have to admit that, and right now
> I am very careful and conscious.
> (interview with Ted, 2/5/91)

Another example:

> I always welcome their participation; I hope they can take on the
> leadership roles, but I used to use very inappropriate ways to talk to them;
> it's not that I used racial slurs or anything but, you know, I am a very
> egoistic person. Right now I've changed a lot, not in my intention, but
> in the ways that I approach things, or talk to people. I really want to
> work with them [black students].
> (interview with Sid, 12/14/90)

The manifestations of racism in the larger society provide a strong call for

students who want to do something to challenge racial inequity; still, relations between

students of different races pose a real threat for many attempted joint efforts.   In fact,

racism and sexism are the two biggest obstacles for a unified, progressive student

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[19] These are real examples told by some white student activists; they were describing
the situation before 1988.

movement. "Progressive," "radical," and "left-wing" by no means indicate "prejudice-free." Many students of social movement acknowledge that, in fact, it was the male chauvinism in the New Left that triggered the women's liberation movement. And if the white men in the New Left were sexist, it is even more possible that they were racist-- though their prejudices might manifest themselves in different ways, or they might have a lower level of prejudice as compared to other whites.

Strategy of the black student organizations

The tacit of LUASA and BCC are two-fold: ordinarily, efforts are made to educate the university community including, students, faculty, and staff, and to build a coalition which includes programming with other student groups through films, speakers, shows, forums, and social gatherings; all these are mainly done through the BCC. Other than the Black History Month, the BCC will conduct other educational activities. The mayoral forum and the toy drive (mentioned earlier), and a forum on War, Religion, and Racism (to be discussed in chapter five) are some examples. Under extraordinary circumstances such as a racial incident, LUASA will mobilize students and engage in more dramatic actions, such as rallies, petitions, demonstrations, and protests. Since LUASA is the political wing of the black student organizations, it is only natural for LUASA to play the roles of agitator and fighter. In fact, most of the organizing work in the black community at Loyola, during the Westmoreland incident, were done by LUASA.

Education and coalition-building are long, tedious, and difficult tasks. By finding

common ground with other student organizations on campus and working with them, eventually a broad-based support can be built. If successful, coalitions can be a crucial base for unusual situations. Coalition can also be beneficial for the involved student groups. Take the Westmoreland case as an example:

> When we [BCC] presented our demands to the school, a lot of student organizations started coming in, because we gave them the impression that this is a good time for y'all to jump into the band wagon to say what you need. I said, "you get 'em while you got 'em, NOW." And I just don't know why people do not understand politics, I don't understand what's so hard understanding it because if I am a part of the Latin American Student Organization (LASO) and I see that the black students want something, I'm like, "Hey, we need something, too," and if the university's gonna hand out 'em something, they'd better give me something too. And I'll jump right on and say, "by the way, I'm from LASO, we need to increase our budget," and then the Asian student will be like, "by the way, we need an advisor"--just to put the pressure on the institution to automatically make them hand out stuff to suffice everybody. It didn't sort of coming together like that but slowly and surely, a lot of student gathered.
> (interview with Xima, her emphasis, 12/11/90)

Just like the Women's Center uprising in the previous chapter, the BCC was successful in mobilizing Loyola's students in their fight with the administration. In both cases, student activists achieved some results on their efforts. However, the success of an student organization is, sometimes, not without some side effects. In the next section, I will discuss some of these problems.

Problems of the black student groups

There exist some apparent difficulties in the African-American student

organizations on Loyola's campus. The biggest problem is that many African-American students are not actively involved in the organization. During the whole month of February (the Black History Month) BCC and LUASA programmed twenty-six events, including films, speakers, exhibitions, discussions, showcases, and forums. Of the sixteen events that I attended, only one event had a over-a-dozen participants (16), and four of them had only five people. In fact, poor attendance has been a problem for many campus student organizations, but my observations informed me that this deficiency is especially serious in African-American student organizations. As Xima pointed out:

> I think the hardest problem with ANY organization is how
> to get people to come to your meetings; I think that's an
> old problem of any campus student organization. I'm
> pretty sure that the KKK is like, "how do we get people to
> come to our meetings?" and NAACP "how do we get
> people to come to our meetings?" you know. So you try
> to create various things that can accommodate different
> students, a lot of things that grab their attention: if it meant
> a movie, if it meant a rap session, if it meant a field trip,
> or if it meant just talk to each other, it's like a new way to
> approach an old problem.
> (interview with Xima, her emphasis, 12/11/90)

Poor planning enters the picture as the second problem, because many events in the Black History Month were set up during inconvenient times and at inconvenient places, so that many students simply could not attend. Insufficient publicity is another problem--many African-American students didn't even know about the activities. The most effective method of advertising on college campus--flyers--were conspicuously lacking for the whole month. Finally, the main organizers often failed to confirm and coordinate with the speakers. As a result, only three events that I went to were on time, and some sessions were even more than an hour late. This produced a very negative

effect, because many students could not wait that long, and the organization lost its

credibility for later activities.

Black students' mobilizations on Catholic campuses demonstrate a peculiar

feature: they are almost always followed by a racial incident. At all the schools in this

research, there was no significant radical, overt activism without some sort of reported

incident. It is rather unfortunate that black students in Catholic higher educational

institutions seem to have little interest to aggressively attack racism. Some of my

informant subtly revealed their discontent when they said, "all they [inactive black

students] want is to get their diploma and find a job." (interview with Ziggy, 2/9/91)

Or,

> they are here taking classes, finishing the requirements, and
> getting out of here as quick as they can, and unless
> something happens to them, they will never be here. But
> if they have never been here and something happens to
> them, how dare they expect us to help them, I really hate
> that attitude.
> (interview with Pony, 2/23/91)

Marquette's "divestment week"

After the analysis on activities of African-American students in the pursuit of

racial equality, this section describes the efforts of predominantly white students in

fighting racism. Many mobilizations initiated by the whites, particularly in the mid-

eighties, were concentrated on "divestment" which aimed to force the South African

government to abolish apartheid. The divestment campaign, coupled with economic

sanctions, have effectively forced the South African government to modify its policies

on race relations. Story in this section enables us to have a glimpse on campus scene at

Catholic institutions.

The week of April 16-20, 1990 marked the second annual Divestment Week of

Marquette University. Organized by Marquette University Student Taking Action by

Coming Together (MUST ACT), the week featured sleep-out, fast, bread-breaking,

petitioning, and mass. These events attracted the eyes of many curious students. Grace,

a junior, social work major student, was one of the main organizers of Divestment Week.

She told me the story of MUST ACT:

> I went to a retreat last spring...that's where I learned
> Marquette has all these investments. And so a group of us
> were talking on that retreat, and they said there were so
> many different groups of people that were at one time or
> another interested in different issues; there is a progressive
> student movement or student organization, there are so
> many different factions, so they wanted to form a group to
> try to bring all these groups to come together, and then just
> focus on different issues. And so that's kind of how
> MUST ACT got started.
> (interview with Grace, 4/4/90)

The retreat which Grace participated in was sponsored by the Campus Ministry at

Marquette University. This is the first evidence that we encounter on the importance of

Campus Ministry to student political activism. A detailed analysis about the roles of

Campus Ministry plays in student politics is presented in Chapter Seven. Suffice now

to say that, in general, Campus Ministry serves as a catalyst in student activism in

Catholic universities. Grace continued:

> It was on that retreat that we got together and decided we
> must have probably 50, 50 to 60 people for the first
> meeting. It was just basically word of mouth; we got a lot
> of people there. It was there that we discussed the issues

> that needed to be addressed on this campus. It was pretty unanimous that we start with the divestment issue. Although MUST ACT started out to be focused on a lot of issues, it pretty much turning to just South Africa--call for divestment group and that was originally started out last spring. We planned to have a sleep-out and a fast for a week. So we did that last April.
> (ibid)

Grace was heavily involved with the campus ministry throughout her college career. Starting in her first year, she helped out with the liturgy, organized mass, participated in a soup kitchen, and many campus ministry-related activities. In fact, the retreat that she mentioned (the Social Justice Retreat), was sponsored by the campus ministry.

Connie was also actively involved in many student groups. Being a good friend of Grace, Connie learned many things about divestment. Throughout the 1989 Divestment Week, though, Connie remained a participant without taking on a leadership role. But her involvement in 1989 made Connie more aware of the issues of apartheid and divestment. Furthermore, Grace became extremely busy in 1990, so in 1990's Divestment Week, Connie became one of the main organizers. Connie explained her personal change through the participation of the previous Divestment Week as:

> Last year when MUST ACT just was beginning to get started I was really busy: I was taking twenty credits plus I was really involved in Marquette Integration Leadership Council (MILC), and I was just involved in a lot of things. And so I learned about divestment and the situation in South Africa by asking people about what divestment will mean, and whether it will hurt the blacks in South Africa, will it hurt the university. And then Grace was really involved in planning the whole week last year. And so I learned a lot from her 'cause I was a good friend of her.

(interview with Connie, 4/18/90)

It is worth noting that some student activists in this study were inspired by their friends.

Although most active students are concerned about inequalities, dedication in particular

issue(s) seems to relate to friends' persuasion. For some informants religious and

humanitarian were the prime motivations, as Connie continuing her story:

> And then I went to the meeting and decided that this is
> really a good thing: these people seemed very grounded in
> faith and they care for each other, and maybe this will
> work. But still, I didn't take on the leadership role at all,
> I just was a participant. I sat out on the lawn and I slept-
> out for a night, and I fasted for a couple of days, and as
> the week went on I got more and more involved. Like the
> first day I was just there, and then by the second day I was
> handing out pamphlets and having people saying things, by
> the third day I felt comfortable enough to maybe say things
> at vigil, or some of the leaders asked me to read
> something. It was like gradually I became more and more
> convinced that this is right, and on the day before the last
> day I gave a little speech at a rally.
> (ibid)

After the 1989 Divestment Week, MUST ACT decided to write a proposal for

divestment. Connie, Ned, and Mark volunteered to write the proposal. The three

worked during the fall semester of 1989, and ended up having a hundred and four page

proposal. Connie's comments represented the result of the collaboration:

> It was only after we finished the proposal that I felt I really
> learned a lot about South Africa, I really knew the stuff,
> that anyone could ask me anything [about South Africa], I
> would probably be able to find it. And that's when I
> started feeling that this divestment was something that I had
> just to follow through on.
> (ibid, emphasis original)

The students then gave the proposal to the administration. The students also held

a couple of vigils and protests in the building where the offices of the higher-ups of the

administration were located. And, during finals time, MUST ACT made Christmas cards

for South Africa and distributed them on Marquette's campus. Still, MUST ACT

received no response from the university. In the early part of the spring semester of

1990, Jesse suggested to Connie that maybe there was a need for another week of sleep-

out, and Connie agreed. Using a phone list from the previous Divestment Week, Connie

and Jesse mobilized about ten very active students to prepare for the 1990 Divestment

Week.

Before mid-April of 1990, MUST ACT held weekly meetings. Connie, Jesse,

and other activists would call up people to come to the meetings, set up literature tables

at the student union, chalk around campus to spread messages, hand out flyers, and talk

to administrators. In talking to the administration, Connie encountered obstacles because

MUST ACT was not s student organization. Like many Catholic universities, the official

student groups at Marquette have to have a list of five students, a constitution, and an

advisor. Since members of MUST ACT knew that their actions would be in every way

against the university, they intentionally did not want to become an established group.

Connie explained to me:

> If you want to become an official student organization, you
> have to write a constitution, say what your goals are, fill
> out the application forms, submit a list of five names, and
> have a contact person. Then you can reserve rooms, put
> up flyers, have meetings, set up tables, and other activities.
> But then, also, the university can monitor you, and if they
> don't like what you're saying, they will disband you.
> MUST ACT never wants to become official, because we

> didn't want to answer what the university was saying.
> Basically we are working against what the university was
> saying. It would be unproductive if we become an official
> student group. It was a strategic move. (ibid)

However, such a move had its side effects. For instance, since the group was not

recognized officially, they weren't allowed to put up flyers, reserve rooms, and have

meetings--on campus. Members of MUST ACT would have meetings on public grounds

or at someone's apartment. At the several meetings which I had attended, everybody

was sitting on the floor of the student union where it was somewhat noisy and very

inconvenient for taking notes and making posters--many activities need tables and a quiet

surrounding.

MUST ACT could not post flyers, either. As a result, members chalked around

campus to spread messages. This is a very interesting phenomenon, because Marquette

is considered to be private property, and it is technically illegal to chalk on private

property; but MUST ACT did it anyway. The administration asked a couple of times

for the names of the chalkers, but nobody confessed. This was another advantage

because officially there was no such group as MUST ACT, so no one would be

responsible for chalking. Then the school announced that chalking was banned on

campus, and that whoever did it would suffer disciplinary action. Members of MUST

ACT still did it--in a much more careful manner.

Divestment Week of 1990 went by pretty much like the one MUST ACT had in

the previous year. There was a group of about 30 people who slept every night in the

Central Mall which is located in the middle of the whole campus. Tables were set up

on the lawn, and members of MUST ACT handed out flyers and attempted to talk to passer-by students. Sympathetic students would stop by and chat with the participants. Some curious students would approach tables and ask for information. MUST ACT members also asked people to vote on a sheet of paper, to ascertain the general attitude of the university community. In 1989, MUST ACT collected 5,000 signatures in a petition to protest against the investment of Marquette in South Africa. The voting of the 1990 Divestment Week showed that about 3,000 students were pro-divestment.

The participants of the week were transient; some students would stay in the lawn between classes and other activities. Some students would come in and out, and others would show up and stay for a while and then leave. Still, the students who slept-out throughout the week were largely the same group. Two bread-breaking ceremonies were performed daily during the week each followed by group prayer. A vigil was held on the second day of the week. There was a mass conducted by a priest from the campus ministry on the third day. One rally was held on the fourth day, and the week ended with a march to downtown and a rally in the park across from campus. The finally rally drew about one hundred participants; four speakers showed up and each gave a talk on different aspects of divestment.

Unlike the 1989 week, two incident occurred in the 1990 week. On the first night, at twelve forty-five, a group of five people with Navy uniforms ran through the lawn and threw plastic bags filled with water on the students. Those who had been hit by the water bags reported the incident immediately to campus security. Ten minutes later, two patrol cars arrived at the scene, and the security officers, after talking to the

organizers, assured them that they would circle around the campus to prevent other incidents from happening. All participants were enraged by the attack, and a couple of the students were fearful about possible future incidents. Fortunately, that incident proved to be the only attack of the week.

Shortly before midnight of the fourth day, a group of seven students went to the lawn across from where MUST ACT was located. Those seven students carried signs saying they supported the university's investment in South Africa, that "constructive engagement" was beneficial for the blacks in that country, and that they were there to present another view point. Oddly, the organizers of MUST ACT knew the person who organized that "counter demonstration"--the past chair of the College Republicans. Two organizers from MUST ACT, Fannie and Jesse, walked across the lawn and talked to George--the organizer of the other side. George claimed that he felt that there was a lack of dialogue on campus concerning divestment. He disagreed with what MUST ACT was espousing, so he mobilized a group which he called the Common Sense Party (CSP) to show that there was another side to the argument.

The conversation between Fannie, Jesse, and George was friendly and rational. This was partly because all parties were acquaintances; also, neither side wanted any action other than rational discussion. The Common Sense Party left the lawn shortly before dawn and never went back. Still, the student newspaper was attracted to the scene and one reporter interviewed all three students. Both sides' views appeared in the next day's student newspaper, even though MUST ACT had been there for five days with about a hundred people and the CSP stayed for five hours and with seven students. Both

sides ended up having about the same amount of coverage.

I tried to talk to the members of the CSP with no luck. The next day I tried again; George accepted my invitation (I didn't have a chance to talk to George the previous night because he was busy talking with Jesse and Fannie), but all other members of the CSP declined my interview. So I conducted an interview with George on noon of April 20, at the student union. Essentially, George's point was that there had to be different view points in democracy. The reasons he organized CSP were: 1) he did not think divestment would help the blacks in South Africa; 2) MUST ACT dominated the public opinion of Marquette by massive mobilization; and 3) he thought that voice of people who shared his view should be heard as well. When I asked him if he intended to initiate other actions, and why they showed up at the end of the week-long event, George said "I just want to make a presence to show that there is an 'other side' of the issue; presently, I have no other plans, but I would love to have a debate with MUST ACT in the near future. The reason why I was here this late was because we had very little time, I had only one week to prepare for this." (interview with George, 4/20/90)

After the Divestment Week, MUST ACT presented a proposal on divestment in the Board of Trustee's meeting. At the same time, Marquette had a new president, so the administration told the students that it would thoroughly review the proposal after the new president arrived. Rumor had it, among the student activists, that the new president was relatively open-minded and was more willing to seek change in some policies; so members of MUST ACT remained quite hopeful after the 1990 event. However, the official response of the university went to the students in August 1990. A letter stating

that the university would not change its investment policy in South Africa thus killed the hope of MUST ACT. A bulk of the members of MUST ACT were seniors at the time and graduated in May. With the final announcement from the school and many of the main organizers leaving, MUST ACT dissolved in the fall semester of 1990.

Analysis of Divestment Week

The story of MUST ACT represents a typical form of student activity in pursuing racial equality on college campuses in the 1980s. With an overwhelmingly white participation and popularized in the mid-1980s, divestment campaign aroused mixed reactions from the African-American communities.[20] Marquette's MUST ACT is distinctive because it is a non-official student group. We can learn lessons from the process that MUST ACT went through. First, if students push hard enough, they may change something. For example, two days before the actual sleep-out, Connie informed the Dean of Students about the event, and the latter's first response was: "No, you can't do that, you are not a student group!" Then Connie insisted, saying that the students would do it regardless what the administration's reaction. The Dean then compromised by saying that the students should find a group for sponsorship. Connie listed five names from various campus student organization and filed and application for the lawn. It worked out fine, and the group obtained the Central Mall for their activity.

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[20] According to the student activists of this research: some African-Americans welcome divestment and see it as an effective method to end apartheid in South Africa while others charge the campaign as dominated by whites and ignore the domestic racism.

Second, Divestment Week is unusual in this research by being the only event that aroused open opposition. This is extremely important, because most of the dramatic activities of progressive student organizations meet ridicule, heckling, and condemnation from reactionary students. But this one aroused an <u>organized</u> counter-activity. Even though the actions of the Common Sense Party seemed eventful and bemused in many ways, they are worth studying nevertheless. Unfortunately, I could only find one student from which to study the motivation of the opposition.

Finally, Divestment Week provides a clear example of how student activists become further radicalized by their actions. When Connie told me about her feeling after finishing the proposal, I almost thought she had became <u>addicted</u> to divestment.[21] As many students told me in this research, political activism seems to grow with the frequency and intensity of the activity. Some students first went into politics with a simplistic notion of doing good, but as they went along with their activities, their ways of thinking, attitudes, values, perceptions, and behaviors were dramatically changed as a result of their participation. Many activists reported to me that after their first experience of being arrested, their whole idea of politics was changed, and they became more willing to do "radical" things. Some student activists even "expected" civil disobedience in a march, so that they could be arrested.

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[21] Major organizers of MUST ACT such as Grace, Mark, and Ned told me similar stories.

CONCLUSION

In general, the struggle of African-Americans on college campuses is a reflection of broader society. As we described in this chapter, racial inequality in America is manifested quite differently in the eighties and nineties than it was in the previous decades. Discrimination as the behavioral dimension of racism has not been totally eradicated by the Civil Rights Movement. Further, the psychological aspect of racism, i.e., prejudice and racial stereotyping, is worsening in the eighties due to the resurgence of the conservatism of the American society. It is ironic that African-American students in Catholic institutions also face racial hostility in a supposedly friendly environment. This illuminates the point that any social institution is affected by and interacts with other segments in broader society. The real solution for racial equality, therefore, should be the endeavor of many people to work simultaneously in as many aspects as possible within a society. From the study of the strength and weakness of the black organizations on Catholic campuses, we may learn valuable lessons in the pursuit of racial equity in society at large.

Ziggy sums up the goals of LUASA quite nicely, and I think his words represent the political dimension of the struggle of the African-American students on Catholic campus:

> The goal [of LUASA] is to promote a positive image of the black people and our culture. We are a political[ly] based organization...we make sure that our needs are met at Loyola University and in society. What I mean about that is, if we felt we are being left out in any aspect: education, financially, or discriminated against, that's when we take

> a stand. We do not tolerate that to any form of
> discrimination, any aspect to be in placed, reflect on our
> people or any other people. Our goal is to make sure that
> we work with Loyola in the best way to maintain some
> kind of common ground and unity in the community--
> Loyola community and the black community. And if we
> feel that in any way that Loyola is deviating from the needs
> of the African-Americans, we will bring it to their attention
> in any aspect that we possibly can, by any means possible,
> we will do that and that's how we done.
> (interview with Ziggy, 2/9/91)

The means and goals of LUASA are mainly political; these include the effort to

be rid of the discrimination dimension of racism. On the other hand, the Black Student

Association at Rosary College is devoted to the psychological aspect of racism--just as

the Black Cultural Center does at Loyola University. It's aim is to make cultural (and

social) change. According to an ex-chair, the goal of the BCC:

> is to educate people, people of all races who are being
> interested in being educated about issues that concern
> African-Americans, and African around the world, in terms
> of music, culture, poems, and ideas. I think this is a
> forum where those things can be expressed where they
> can't be expressed, say, in classes. Education is the key
> here, even if we have a jazz person come out here, for
> instance, and you will come out of this situation knowing
> more than before you came in--this is what I called the
> educational factor. We are a culture center, when you
> educate yourself you are coming closer to a civilized world
> or so, supposedly. So I always make sure that aspect is
> included because education--that's why we are here for.
> (interview with Wanda, 2/5/91)

According to this research African-American student activists can be divided into

two groups: assimilationist and separatist. The first proposes to work with the system,

build mass support, emphasize education and coalition-building and gradually change the

environment to a more hospitable one (the Rosary case). The second espouses a more radical stand, based on cultural pride, and stresses self-respect and adopts a "by any means possible" attitude (the Loyola case). This distinction is somewhat parallel to the division of cultural and radical feminism. I think both divisions are needed, because the reform-like one can be used ordinarily while the revolutionary-like one seems necessary for extraordinary situations. It is plausible that we use different approaches in varying situations. As long as ending racial inequality is our goal, I agree that any means can be possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEWCOMER OF THE NINETIES:
LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS

The struggle for homosexual rights is the subject of this chapter. The chapter is divided into three parts. Following the introductory section will be a short guide to the gay rights movement since the late sixties. A documentary of a lesbian and gay rights group at Loyola University is next, and the third part is a discussion of homosexuals' rights issues. In conclusion, the importance and the uncertain nature of homosexual's rights at religious institutions are again emphasized.

Homosexuality is, along with abortion, probably the most controversial issue within the Catholic community. For most Catholic higher educational institutions in the United States, the surfacing of gay activism is a very recent phenomenon.[1] According to Adam, a prominent gay rights researcher: "The status of gay people in religion has been perhaps most problematic of all, given the intense hostility of most Juedo-Christian officials toward homosexuality since the thirteenth century." (1987: 134) Even as late as 1986, Pope John Paul II still reiterated the traditional anti-homosexual Catholicism through a formal decree. (National Catholic Reporter, November 7, 1986)

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[1] Presently there are four Catholic universities having homosexual rights groups on campus. They are Georgetown University, St. Clair University, the University of San Diego, and Loyola University. Except for the Georgetown group, all others are registered ("recognized") student organizations. The Gay and Lesbian Association at Georgetown exists semi-legitimately on campus after an intensive conflict between student activists and the university. All four gay rights student organizations were established after 1987.

The myth of heterosexuality

Sexuality is a topic as old as humanity. For most human societies, heterosexuality is considered to be the "norm" regarding sex, and therefore homosexuality, or even bisexuality, is regarded as "unnatural," "deviant," "sinful," or worse, "criminal." However, homosexuality is one of the oldest forms of human behavior.[2] Sexuality has been extensively and intensively studied since Freud's psychoanalysis emerged. In 1948, the American entomologist turned "sexologist," Dr. Alfred Kinsey, published his research on Americans' sexuality, and some of his findings were quite disturbing to the heterosexual community. For example, he found that many respondents reported sexual desires for, or experience with, members of the same sex. Further, his study indicated that thirty-seven percent of his male informants had engaged in, "some sort of homosexual experience to the point of orgasm between adolescence and old age."

Kinsey's efforts soon initiated a "sex revolution" in this country;[3] many people began to discuss more openly various issues about sexuality. Hostility towards gay and lesbian, however, largely remained intact. Homosexuality survived for millennia despite

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[2] Literature on homosexuality can be found mainly in anthropology. In fact, the abundance of literature almost makes it look like that homosexuality is the "norm" of human sexuality. From the most "primitive" societies to the most "developed" nations, from western Egypt to South America, it has been common for many males to have homosexual relations. See, for example, Levi-Strauss, 1969; Evans-Pritchard, 1970; Foucault, 1984; Herdt, 1984; Adam, 1985. Even in China (ancient and contemporary) many homosexual stories have been reported; unfortunately none of them is available in other languages.

[3] Most studies were constructed to refute Kinsey's findings; however, some researchers were somewhat sympathetic. For a comprehensive review on the responses from the psychoanalysis community see Lewes (1988: 122-39). Also, some scholars followed the direction of Kinsey's studies; see, for instance, Hooker (1956: 217-25), Humphreys (1970, 1972), and Laner and Laner (1979: 215-28).

the tremendous hostility from the "normal" society. Indeed, gay and lesbian people have persistently fought against the expectation of "nature" from heterosexuals, and evidently have succeed: we can see various manifestations of homosexuality in language, plumage, life style, opera, irony, syntax, novel, couture, and even in religious ceremony.

Anthropologists provide ample accounts about the naturalness of homosexuality. Mead wrote, for example, that "we shall not really succeed in discarding the straitjacket of our own cultural beliefs about sexual choice if we fail to come to terms with the well-documented, normal human capacity to love members of both sexes." (Mead, 1975: 29, my emphasis) Trewartha echoes Mead's point and describes the positive attitude of the Native Americans towards homosexuality. (1989: 24-5) In all, sexuality is not a fixed point for a person, nor a "choice." Rather, sexuality is a spectrum in which people move back and forth all their lives. To attack people who have a sexual orientation other than heterosexuality is itself unnatural, unethical, and pathological. To assert a "radical pluralism" that accepts sexual diversity is crucial, above all, to changing the world. (Benn, 1989: 18-20)

<div align="center">History of homosexual rights</div>

At the end of the 1960s, homosexuals started "coming out of the closet," in concert with the feminist and other social movements.[4] It is interesting to note that the

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[4] I am not, at all, implying that before the 1960s there was no gay rights mobilization. On the contrary, there were plenty. For a partial list of homosexual activism, especially before the 1970s, see Gunnison, 1969; Altman, 1971; Steakley, 1975; Bunch, 1976; Katz, 1976; Gittings and Tobin, 1978; Adam, 1979, 1987; Conover and Gray, 1983; D'Emilio, 1983. My purpose here is to put the struggle in the context

decade as a whole, for many reasons, seemed to be conducive to any kind of liberating, enlightening, rebelling, and revolutionary mobilization.[5] Lesbian rights and gay rights followed different paths, however. The issue of lesbian rights was intimately related to women's emancipation; indeed, radical-lesbian-separatist-feminism emerged along with the general women's liberation (the Feminist) movement in the late sixties, and caused many tensions among women activists. In general, lesbian feminists espoused a different ideology, one which stressed the distinctive "feminine" culture of women in a way that is drastically different from the picture that heterosexual feminists wished to draw. Consequently, lesbian feminism drifted away from the "mainstream" of women's emancipation, and became a real "separatist" movement of its own in the early seventies. (Echols, 1989: 203-4, 228-41, 249-53)

The gay rights movement, which many scholars agree began in 1969 with the Stonewall riots in New York City (D'Emilio, 1983; Adam, 1987: 75-89; Greenberg, 1988: 458-9), was a separatist movement from the start. Until the late 1980s, gay rights activists worked on their own to pursue justice and equality.[6] I believe the central theme

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of the religious institution, i.e., in Catholic university. In this regard, few studies are available. Furthermore, as indicated in the beginning of the chapter, lesbian and gay rights group appeared only after 1987; see note 1.

[5] Again, as Margaret Mead pointed out in Bisexuality: What's It All About? "All the liberation movements of the last decade have given voice to groups in our society-- Blacks, ethnics, young people, women--who have banded together to protest against gross discrimination and to demand equal access to good jobs and fair pay, equal housing and rights within the community and, above all, dignity as individuals." (1975: 29)

[6] Some students of the gay liberation movement may not agree with me on this point (Teal, 1971; Humphreys, 1972; Shelley, 1972: 31-4), but even as renowned as a scholar, and the author of The Rise of A Gay and Lesbian Movement pointed out that there existed thick tension between the liberation of gay, and lesbian (Adam, 1987: 89-

that defined gay rights movement in the beginning was leisure--the nonconformative use of lifestyle, time, and sexuality. Just as those in the lesbian rights movement did, gay rights advocates faced tremendous ridicule, apathy, hostility, and resistance from society at large. It was with the discovery of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in the early eighties that gay and lesbian activists were first pulled together, because straight society victimized homosexuals by blaming them for being carriers of the disease, and more importantly, for being responsible for the spread of that disease.

It is unfortunate that lesbian and gay activists did not join together sooner to forge a united front in the struggle with heterosexual society, since the latter was the real enemy of both. Many concerns of gays and lesbians are the same, especially since the resistance to both groups from straight society is the real source of oppression. Nevertheless, it was the massive diagnosis of AIDS, and the sense of growing hatred from society in the early 1980s, that pushed both gay and lesbian to cooperate in fighting for their well-being.

Homosexually oriented people have less of a problem economically than some other "minorities," because gay and lesbian couples are usually better off financially than heterosexual families, in the sense that these couples have double incomes but usually do not have children. Their problems are mainly social, cultural, psychological, and political, as the result of prejudice and discrimination from straight society. Some informants of this research even go so far as to say "we have many concerns but none of them are on economic issues, because most of us are [or will be] Yuppies." (interview

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97). See, also, Echols (1989: 211-8).

with Alex, my emphasis, 11/2/90) It is interesting that gay students, at least some of

them, have this mentality, because most of them don't even have regular jobs yet.

Aside from economics, it is those other issues that make being a lesbian very

difficult: personal trauma, psychological stress, and slurs from the heterosexual

community. Straight society not only psychologically attacks homosexuals, it also

discriminates behaviorally against them by setting up discriminatory treatment on the job,

in health care, housing, and almost everything. Homophobia is so pervasive in every

society that lesbian and gay bashing becomes a daily event.[7] Homosexual people made

some improvements[8] in society by changing the laws to some extent, but it took them

more than twenty years, and the results are far from satisfactory. For instance, the State

of Illinois initiated the decriminalization of homosexuality in 1961, which was then

followed by many other states. In 1989 the City of Chicago also passed a city Ordinance

with a non-discrimination clause regarding homosexuality, and the State of California

legalized consensual homosexuality in as early as 1975. Lesbian and gay people,

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[7] In a paper entitled Global Gay Bashing: Why Such Silence on Violence Against
Homosexuals Rist said, "Bigotry against homosexual men and women never incites broad
public outrage, regardless of the grotesque form the hatred takes." (The Nation, April,
9, 1990) Citing examples from Argentina, Colombia, Peru, Liberia, Hungary, Romania,
the Middle East, England, and the United States, Rist also pointed out the unwillingness
of certain human rights organizations (Amnesty International, in particular) to
acknowledge the oppression of lesbians and gay men. Indeed, the verbal and physical
abuse, harassment, and assaults do appear to be a universal phenomenon.

[8] One informant put it this way: "When I came out in the early seventies, the social
situation was very different from now. I remember how the straight looked at men
wearing earrings, pink and purple shirts--it was a taboo and it was terrible. Now it's
almost 'normal' for men to wear earrings and those 'feminine' colors. Still, I think
homosexuals have a long way to go." (interview with one faculty member, name
withheld, April, 5, 1991.)

however, still face difficulties in adjusting themselves to an overwhelmingly heterosexual society. It seems that homosexuals are very much like African-Americans, who obtained legal equality only to end up finding more inequality in other spheres of life.

ANALYSIS

The emergence of gay rights on Catholic campus

The issues of homosexuals' rights emerged rather early at the Loyola campus (but late in comparison to other schools), when in 1985 a student organization attempted to incorporate a non-discrimination clause regarding lesbian and gay rights in their constitution. In trying to establish the College Socialist Organization (CSO) in 1986, Sid wrote in the constitution that "we will not discriminate on the basis of...and sexual orientation." This sentence aroused serious suspicion on the part of the administration that the progressive students were trying to form a "sub rose gay rights group under the table." The CSO's response, though, was

> if we wanted to set up a gay rights group, we certainly wouldn't cloak it as a socialist group! We would call it the Christian Charity Club or something. [laughs] Still, the group had to go through several meetings with the administration because a lot of people who were ruffled by the idea that we [the CSO] would defend gay rights. In the end, I had to compromise by saying: "of course we will defend gay rights--it is a form of oppression and we are opposed to oppression. On the other hand, we are a socialist organization and we do not want to take the issue of gay rights and parade that on the campus. We are not trying to embarrass the university...we will not make that

> our top priority. If some student claimed that she or he
> had been discriminated against because of their sexual
> orientation and it became an issue we will certainly be
> involved and address the issue, but we do not intend to
> embarrass the university with this.
> (interview with Sid, 10/14/90, emphasis his)

It was these assuring words that relieved the administration and got the CSO established in 1988. But here we can clearly see the attitude of the university on the issue of homosexual rights in the mid-eighties.

Even though there were some scattered efforts to address the lesbian and gay rights issue after the recognition of the CSO, and especially when the Women's Center (WC) was re-established, activists in the WC relentlessly called people's attention to this issue. Before 1989, homosexual rights remained an "underground" issue, with very little open discussion on Loyola's campus. In the spring semester of 1990, however, the situation on campus had changed. A couple of very active gay students arrived on campus and were very discontented about the lack of a voice for homosexual rights. Through some devoted actions and a long struggle, lesbians and gays now have a student group at Loyola. The following is their story.

Building a homosexual rights student group: Gay and lesbian alliance--GALA, a documentary

Two graduate students arrived at Loyola in the fall semester of 1989. Both are from Indiana and are gay. They got to know each other through a mutual friend who has been a friend of Zebra since high school, and who has been a friend of Yosef since they were both at the University of Chicago doing undergraduate studies. Both Zebra and

Yosef had come out fully in 1989, and shortly before school started they got together and discussed the idea on forming a gay student union at Loyola University. After the initial discussion, Yosef ascertained that there was no gay student organization at Loyola. In the meantime, Zebra learned that DePaul University had just formed a gay student group at their Law School, so they went to the DePaul meeting.

When Yosef and Zebra returned from the meeting, they decided to initiate on action to establish a homosexual rights group on their own campus. Near the end of the fall semester of 1989, Zebra and Yosef met with the Dean of Student Life and inquired about the procedure for forming a new student group. The Dean required a constitution, a list of names of five other students, an advisor who could either be a staff person or a faculty member, and the relevant paperwork. When asked about the pace of the application, the Dean of Students Life said, "we will move along with your pace." So in early January of 1990, Yosef wrote up a constitution, organized a list of names of several interested students, contacted a part-time professor who agreed to be the advisor of the new organization, filled out the application forms, and sent the materials to the administration.

After the students submitted the forms to the administration, a nine-month period followed with almost no response from the school. Yosef and Zebra would make occasional calls to the Dean of Student Life to ask about the progress, and the latter would respond with "it's still in process." Sometimes the administrator would ask questions about the names on the list, and about the constitution. In early April of 1990, another open gay, Kafka, feeling the lack of a homosexual student organization on

campus, contacted the faculty member who was willing to be the advisor of the group and got to know Yosef and Zebra. Kafka proved to be a strong force in the organization, because he was a very popular undergraduate student active in many school events. Most importantly, Kafka had many friends and personal networks within the student body, with faculty members, and with administrative personnel, which later helped the organization tremendously.

At the end of spring semester of 1990, the Dean of Student Life returned the constitution to Yosef and said that the school was "not comfortable with the Human Rights Ordinance." This was because the City of Chicago had passed a Human Rights Ordinance (HRO) in the summer of 1989 that prohibited discrimination based on sexual preference. The group originally attempted, in its constitution, to incorporate the Ordinance so that there could be a legal ground for the group to exist. If the school did not want to recognize the organization, then the student activists could use the HRO against the administration. Therefore, it said in GALA's original constitution that they would not discriminate, based on that Ordinance. The university said that they felt that the HRO had not been tested in court and so they were not comfortable with that--since there's no legal precedent. After a lengthy discussion, Kafka, Yosef, and Zebra decided to leave out the reference on the HRO. Zebra rationalized that as: "I know Yosef's perception is, which makes sense for me, that ended up being fine with us and we could use that as a bargaining chip, you know, that we were willing to give that up and hopefully that would be seen that we were being fairly flexible." Yosef and Kafka expressed similar points when I interviewed them, and they used terms such as "good

intention," "goodwill," and "flexibility" in explaining their motivation.

After many unsuccessful attempts, Yosef and Zebra finally got a chance to meet with a middle-level administrator and a vice-president in the summer. In that summer meeting, the administrators discussed thoroughly with both students the nature of the group, logistical concerns, rules and regulations of the school, issues which the university deemed problematic and which needed to be solved, and the potential reaction from the general school community. The administrators started by saying that the application was still going through the administrative process, but that, because the nature of the group, it would take more time--because there was no precedent on the gay and lesbian issues. The administrators also talked about other Jesuit schools and what they had done in regard to the gay and lesbian groups. They insisted that most Jesuit schools and Catholic universities in general did not recognize gay and lesbian organizations. As for the few such organizations that were acknowledged, they existed quasi-legitimately, as at Georgetown and the University of San Diego.

The administrators further tried to persuade the students to establish their group within the campus ministry. According to Zebra:

> The university made the initial go through this proposal that it would be interested in having the group to be a part of the campus ministry. Yosef and I said definitely no to that, on the ground that it is a Catholic university, and that's what the main focus of the ministry is--a Catholic university, but the Catholic church has still not decided as to how to handle homosexuality and the main thing being split between the dignity which is the archdiocese group and we didn't want our group to be in either category. We want to be open and to be fairly apolitical and not to make political stands, and if we joined the campus ministry, we would then have to make a political stand, and we didn't

want to do that.
(interview with Zebra, 12/3/90)

The vice-president pointed out the difficulties in recognizing the group, suggested the students make the necessary changes, and assured them that "if you improve those problems, we will be fairly willing to recognize you," and "you will hear something at the start of the year (fall semester of 1990)." The actions of the university were seen by the students as uncooperative, apathetic, uncertain, and even a little hostile, because they prolonged the application process by not sending out materials to the advisor, delayed the evaluation on the application, and changed the rules about student organizations. They seldom took the initiative to contact students.

Zebra summarizes the feeling of the three involved students: "all these changes suddenly come up, before they didn't mention any of these to us, and suddenly they were coming up at the time that they gave us the meeting, you know, so we did think that there were maybe political plots to slow us down." (ibid) But the administration's unwillingness actually fueled the desire of the student activists to try harder to get the group established, just as in the case of the activists in the Women's Center. Zebra continues, "So, those points, you know, we kind of explore with them but there wasn't any one stopping point for us, so we were more firm in pushing our demands." (ibid)

During the summer of 1990, the school changed its policy on the qualification of advisors for student organizations. Prior to the school year of 1990 there were virtually no restrictions on the status of advisors of student groups as long as they were a "faculty member or staff person" but starting in the 1990-91 academic year, advisors of student organizations had to be "full-time professors or administrative personnel." The school

claimed this was because "part-timers are not familiar with the school's situations and the student organizations within it." This change of policy was perceived by the gay and lesbian student activists as "another road-block (or 'hoop') set up by the administration to stop us from becoming a group." (interview with Yosef, 10/24/90)

Another policy change also took place during the summer: the school did not want this student group to use Loyola as part of their name. For example, the group was originally named Loyola Gay and Lesbian Alliance but the university insisted on Gay and Lesbian Alliance. Apparently, the school did not want to have its name associated with certain student organizations. This avoidance of name association had happened several times before: when the CSO wanted recognition, they chose their name as Loyola's International Socialist Organization but the school rejected it. The original name for the Women's Center was Loyola Women's Center. Essentially, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance was fighting with the university's continuing reluctance to have its name associated with women's rights, socialist organizations, or homosexuals.[9] Eventually, the group ended up with the name Gay and Lesbian Alliance (GALA), which since has been modified to GLABA (Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Alliance).

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Special treatment of a homosexual rights
student group: the issue of "prudence"

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In the beginning of the fall semester of 1990, the administration sent a letter to

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[9] In the summer of 1991 Loyola University made a policy change concerning the usage of "Loyola" by student organizations--no student organization can use Loyola as the first word of their group--with two exceptions: the Loyola Phoenix (student newspaper) and Loyola University African-American Student Association (LUASA).

the three students active in the GALA stating that it was willing to register the group if

the group agreed to be "prudent" in their activities. I asked Zebra about the meaning of

"prudence" and he said:

> One of the school's vice-presidents sent us a letter and said
> that he acknowledged that it was something that the
> university was, it was new to them, they were not on safe
> ground, or on shaky ground, you know, exactly how this
> gonna be responded to. They did talk about the safety
> factors that they were concerned, that they did feel that
> they have the responsibility for the safety of the students of
> the group when we use the facilities. His main illustration
> throughout that was a same-sex dance, that he was afraid
> that this time this newly formed group that would be the
> type of activity that might cause other groups to oppose the
> gay and lesbian group become possibly violent or more
> active, and so that was his concern. I agree that you [the
> school] have an interest on the safety of the group--that's
> legitimate, that I do agree--from my personal standpoint
> that there are certain things that would probably not be in
> the best interest of the group to do, at this beginning
> stages, that we still have to step quietly. What I did not
> agree though, is letting them define for us what is going to
> be "prudent," or what is going to be appropriate.
> (interview with Zebra, 12/3/90)

The issue of "prudence" became the most discussed item on the agenda of

GALA's first organizational meeting, which took place on October 11, 1990.

Surprisingly, that meeting drew about 50 people from students, faculty, and staff. Most

of the participants were either gay or lesbian undergraduate students, with a handful of

graduate students, representatives from other progressive student organizations, a couple

of staff members and teachers. All three initial organizers told me that they were

"thrilled," "happy," and "surprised" to see such a big turnout, and that people at the

meeting seemed energetic and were enthusiastic about discussing various issues. Most

participants in that meeting felt that the "prudence" requirement set the group in a

minority status which would have negative impact upon its activities. The argument

goes: by accepting the "prudence" requirement--which other campus student organizations

did not have to follow--the administration would inevitably have a strong control over

GALA, and members of GALA refused to accept such "special treatment." In the end,

GALA decided to discuss with the school the removal of "prudence."

The three organizers had a meeting with the administration after two

organizational meetings to suggest the use of "good judgement" instead of "prudence."

The term "good judgement" is in the student handbook, and is one of the general

guidelines applied to all Loyola's student organizations. The administrator said that he

would think about suggestion and would get back to the students. In the final letter

which recognizing GALA in mid November, neither "prudence" nor "good judgement"

appeared, Zebra explained the logic as:

> I feel that perhaps they felt they needed to have something
> to point to, you know, with the upper administration, the
> alumni groups, and things--kind of a way to save face for
> those groups, you know. Again, also the process to
> recognize a student organization, so I thought we would
> give it to them but with something we could both use by
> "good judgement" that we felt comfortable with us and we
> gave them something that they could then help them with
> relationships with other groups who might oppose to us but
> they didn't even end up using them, so that did surprise
> me.
> (interview with Zebra, 12/4/90)

Kafka gave me an even more pragmatic account:

> I think that the university should have, by now, if they
> have the intelligence, if they have learned their lesson with
> the Women's Center controversy last year [see chapter

> two]. It would just seem so ludicrous for them to attempt
> to censor the organization in any way at this point,
> especially considering this organization hasn't done
> anything to incite, you know, to embroil the university in
> a controversy. We have been very sober, we have been
> very mild-mannered about everything, and if they don't
> accept us in the near future, we may become another
> controversy.
> (interview with Kafka, 10/17/90)

Kafka's analysis presents a distinct view about the ways in which progressive student organizations are established on Catholic campuses. The first path-breaking progressive student group will draw the school into a fight about constitutional rights. It could be any issue from feminism, socialism, or whatever "isms"--as long as the students could prove that the school was violating the constitutional rights of the students. Once the fight was won by the initial group, other progressive student organizations would have a easier fight. Whether the group gets recognized or not, the school will not want to get negative publicity. Therefore, it will be easier for later radical groups to gain concessions from the administration if a proper example has been set up. This process, which I call the "chain reaction" of student activism on Catholic campuses, will be thoroughly discussed in chapter eight. Also, the process of recognizing GALA indicated the negotiating nature of forming a progressive student group on Catholic campuses. Both the administration and the student activists took the object conditions and constraints into account, and it was through much dialogue, communication, negotiation, and patience that such student organization are recognized. This process is, essentially, what Seidler and Meyer called "contested accommodation."

Group characteristics of GALA

GALA, like many progressive campus student organizations at Loyola, is organizationally very "flat." This means the group has no significant hierarchical order. GALA has two co-chairs--one woman and one man--one secretary, whose job is mainly to keep records and take minutes, and one treasurer. All of these positions exist in a non-authoritarian way. Like the Women's Center, the group has many "committees" responsible for different duties, such as publicity and public relations, education, social activities, political mobilization, and mutual support. The first crucial goal of the group is to provide a "safe," "friendly," "supportive," and "positive" environment for homosexual people. The Educational committee is responsible for raising the consciousness of the school community by inviting speakers, showing films, sponsoring forums and discussion groups, and conducting other events with the purpose of educating the university community. Discussion on the issue of AIDS, information, and referral are also included in the educational committee.

Organizing various social events is the work of the social committee. The proposed events include parties, field trips, skits, film festivals, get-togethers at someone's apartment, and so on. On Valentine's day of 1991, some members from the group attended a gay and lesbian party at Northwestern University. The support committee aims to provide support to the members of the group, particularly those who have AIDS or have tested positive for HIV, and attempts to build group solidarity. Providing literature, making public announcements, relating the group to the university environment are the tasks of the publicity committee. This committee is also responsible

for coordinating and co-sponsoring work with other campus student organizations in many activities. The political committee will mobilize members of GALA and other Loyola students when the rights of homosexual people are infringed upon. Gay (and lesbian) bashing is a real problem for homosexual people. Some members told me that they suspected the force of harassment at a Catholic university was possibly stronger than at secular schools, and that issue has to be dealt with.

Many of the issues that GALA is working on are interrelated. For example, the issue of AIDS is not only relevant to education, but also to support, and publicity. Gay bashing is mainly rooted in ignorance, and so political mobilization may counter the hostility from the straight community. The real solution is education--to change people's perceptions of homosexuality. Therefore, gay bashing is also intimately related in many other committees. Here we can see the difficulty of political activism: that everything is interrelated and one has to work on many things simultaneously if one wants to really "solve" the problem. This is both difficult and exciting. It is difficult because every social movement is limited by resources; one simply cannot stretch oneself onto everything. It is exciting because once a large number of people are radicalized, real changes can occur through working together on many things at the same time.

Membership and activity

Aside from biweekly organizational meetings, GALA was not very active. The membership dwindled quickly to about twenty after the first organizational meeting. The decline of participation had four causes. First, the organization was in its beginning

stages, and many issues were only in their discussion stage; even the goals were unclear then. Second, in some discussions, the group was split: one faction wanted to adopt a gradual way of educating the straight community; the other espoused a rapid, radical, and separatist strategy to fight for homosexual rights. The conflict was resolved by more fierce discussion--and ended with a compromise from both sides--unfortunately, many members were discouraged by the conflict and dropped out rather quickly.

Third, many members within the group were new to each other, and the schedule of meetings seemed to be inconvenient to some members. As a result, some participants did not have sufficient time to get to know other members of the group, and eventually those people lost their interest and dropped out. Fourth, and finally, the activity of the group was restricted to organizational meetings. Many students came to the group with other wishes: to find support, to socialize, to meet new people, to know more about the issue, and probably to do something. Facing the slow pace of the organization and the dullness of the meetings, many potential members drifted away from the group.

I think that the problems with GALA are common to all student campus organizations; mainly, that people join a group with the idea of having fun, socializing, and learning something; few of them, in fact, are interested in the tedious organizing, discussion, and policy-making of the group. Even fewer are actually willing to spend their own time, energy, and efforts on the organizational aspects of a group. Therefore, any new group on college campuses will likely go through the process that the GALA went through in the fall semester of 1990. My conversations with other student activists at Loyola convinced me that this was indeed the case with the CSO, WC, AILU, and

many other student groups.

In the spring semester of 1991, the group did several things besides hold holiday organizational meetings. Other than the party at Northwestern University on Valentine's day, some members of GALA attended a film festival for homosexuals, and some attended a social gathering at the group's advisor's apartment which also included a trip to a local bar. The group also invited a speaker from AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT UP) to talk about issues regarding homosexual rights. The last activity was particularly encouraging, because it was done through cooperation between GALA and the Peace Days Committee--another progressive student organization on campus. GALA also planned to work with the Black Cultural Center, the Women's Center, and Peace, Bread, and Justice. Throughout the Spring semester of 1991, GALA had three speakers, two co-sponsored programs, some forums, and the regular organizational meetings. It seems, furthermore, that the group had gone through its formative stages and is ready to initiate more diversified activities.

Conflict between GALA and Loyola University

One issue which often creates conflict between student organizations and the school is censorship. There are certain things that activists do which are likely to result in intervention from the administration in the context of Catholic universities.[10] Not too long after the recognition, GALA experienced a major act of censorship. At the end of

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[10] Distributing condoms, showing abortion movies of the Women's Center (chapter one), and the espousing of revolution or homosexuality are appropriate examples.

the 1990, however, GALA did do one thing which impressed the general student activists on campus. For years, the Student Activity Board (SAB) has sponsored a window decoration contest before Christmas vacation at Loyola University. Since the GALA was recognized in mid-November, the group obtained a window for decoration at the end of November. Three members of the GALA: Tina, Sandy, and Walter spent one evening in early December painting the window. At the top of the painting it said, "Ho, Ho, Ho, Your Homophobia Has To Go." There was a big Christmas tree in the middle, full of the pictures of same sex couples and some bisexual couples; the words "Condoms," "Dental Dams," and "Safe Sex" scattered within the tree. A big slogan of "Bisexual Love And Kisses!" was painted at the bottom of the window.

No sooner had the three students finished the decoration than they led the group to the scene and displayed their accomplishment. It was about nine in the evening. Late that night (at about eleven o'clock) the Assistant Dean of Student Life went into the building and saw the painting; he immediately called a staff person from the Physical Plant Maintenance Department to erase "Homophobia," "Condoms," and "Bisexual"from the picture. Members of GALA were enraged by the act when, the next day, they went to see the painting again. Sandy, Walter, Tina, and Kafka drafted a letter to the administration asking about the painting; the latter agreed to have a meeting.

Five days later, the four students representing GALA met with the Assistant Dean. The administrator said that the purpose of the window decoration was a seasonal greeting. Social messages and slogans with "political" content should not have been painted on the window. Members of GALA, however, argued that the slogans

represented the nature of the group; further, the slogans were only intended to call people's attention to the issue of the existence of homosexual people. Following a lengthy discussion, the group agreed with the administration's stand but the students also asked why the school did such a thing without even contacting or consulting with GALA. It was a crucial and legitimate question: censorship. The Assistant Dean mildly apologized but rationalized the act: "I did try to contact your group, but it was late--I could get no one, and I had to make a decision on the spot."

Implications of conflict resolution

This incident made quite a stir on campus, and many students were sensitized about the issues of homosexual rights and censorship on the part of the school. It is interesting to compare this episode to another similar one. Just a year before, when the campus was focusing on Central America, another progressive student group, Peace, Bread, and Justice (PBJ), did a painting of a Christmas tree with the words: "Have A Bloody Christmas in El Salvador!" The word "Bloody" was immediately erased after the completion of the painting by the administration, and this aroused no response from PBJ. When I asked members of PBJ about the incident, most members thought that to protest the school's action would have been in vain. Some student activists claimed that the message would get across no matter what the administration did, because when students saw the blank, they would ask what was missing and then find out about what the school did. And as for people who saw the original wording--either way it would "radicalize" the audience, so there was no point protesting. Maybe GALA has a different view in

educating students, and maybe GALA was more sensitive to censorship. In any case, GALA reacted quite differently than PBJ concerning censorship by the university.

This episode had a drastic impact on GALA, because the administration also mentioned that one of the reasons that they erased the word "Bisexual" was that GALA was a Gay and Lesbian Alliance--it did not say anything about "Bisexual." In response, Walter said that the group did include bisexual people; thus, he proposed to changed the name of the group from GALA to GABLA--Gays, Lesbians, and Bisexual Alliance. After consulting with his three comrades, they decided to make the name change, and the administration approved it right away.

But when these students returned to the next organizational meeting of GALA, they found that many members were upset by their action because they had not asked the consensus of the group. Yosef was particularly unhappy about the change, because he was one of the co-chairs and he felt that he had been left out of a very important decision. The issues of leadership, decision-making, and representation of the group became heated themes in that meeting. The meeting ended up with the consensus that one co-chair and at least five other members of the group--any members, could represent the group and make important decisions in "crisis" situations. But when the emergency is over, the people involved should bring back discussion to the group and seek majority consensus or approval.

Another major impact of this event was that it caused many members to leave the group. Some members within the conservative wing of the group thought that GALA made a major tactical mistake in engaging in a feud with the administration. Those

people in general had been opposed to taking an aggressive stand in GALA's activity, and this incident implied that GALA was moving in a more "radical" direction. The situation was further compounded by the fact that GALA, then, had not established a strong group identity. Many things that the group did at that time were "less firmed and credible"--according to some informants. Consequently, the incident discouraged those members and further accelerated their dropping out. At the end of 1990, membership of GALA had declined to between ten and twenty.

GALA's experience presents a valuable lesson in understanding the progressive student groups at Catholic institutions--especially in their initial (or formative) stages. Though faced with subtle opposition, student activists were able to overcome various obstacles and establish a group. The nature of the group is also very important because the oppression of homosexuals is different from other forms of oppression. Some informants told me that it "is an identity crisis in being gay."

The nature of oppression on homosexuals

When I asked the nature of homosexuals' oppression, Kafka replied:

> I view gay and lesbian and contemporary American culture
> just as any minority group in one sense that they are just
> like blacks, Asians, Indians, Hispanics, etc. but I don't
> think a great deal of society treats them that way. I think
> even a lot of those groups don't want to be associated with
> gays and lesbians, and I see that as a big problem.
> (interview with Kafka, 10/17/90)

It is true that even many oppressed groups don't want to be associated with homosexuals. Part of the reason is because the recognition of sexuality cuts across

cultural lines. Asian people, for example, are particularly homophobic due to the strong cultural demand for conformity and tradition. Indeed, homosexuals are viewed as more deviant by heterosexual Asian people than any other race. Further, the difficulty which lesbians and gays face have two dimensions, as Kafka continues:

> But there is also a personal side of the struggle which is a kind of weird psychological thing that I think of, but I almost think, in one way make this harder issue for people to deal with. I think it's very difficult for gays and lesbians in our society because it's nothing that you really are told flat-out by anyone. People make assertions to you if you fit in a stereotype, people will label you but it's nothing that when you look into the mirror and say "Oh, checked, I have that!" and it's also something that it's a nebulous definition so you can, so you have the opportunity to set up a fight against that. So you can say in your mind: "Oh, people are making these allegations," even the individual is making such allegations that I maybe a homosexual but the human condition can challenge that and then put the person in conflict within themselves, so I see it as...maybe the struggle is intensified inside the person's own psychology. And I see that as even a more crucial situation to address, I see that as a very dangerous issue for gay and lesbian as healthy individuals to deal with. Basically, the major point I want to make is that, I think, the gay and lesbian struggle is a very special one, that doesn't fit into any easy category. (ibid)

And because of the different nature of the oppression homosexuals face in society, the solutions are also very difficult, because they involve both the elimination of "prejudice" and "discrimination" (see chapter three). Further, there are many reasons why the problems of being gay and lesbian need to be addressed:

> There are so many negative, so much negative words, and just the semiotic of it [homosexual] implies bad feeling, it's such a shame that I see the gay community today still struggling for justification. I don't think the gay

> community, as a whole, has accepted itself a hundred
> percent. It's a very scary thing, somewhat pessimistic.
> There is a basic identity devaluation, basically there are a
> lot of things that still treat homosexuals as second class
> citizens and, not that I've done the extensive research, but
> I feel comfortable enough with my personal experience and
> knowledge, to be assured that homosexuals have rights as
> any other citizens...Talking about discrimination, the U. S.
> military currently discriminates against homosexuals and
> can throw out a person just for their homosexual identity,
> and there have been several cases. It is those concerns that
> I feel the importance of sharing my resources and trying to
> affect change.
> (interview with Kafka, 10/17/90)

It seems that homosexual people are caught in a "double-bind" which is not only derived from conflict within the psyche, but also from the "oppression" of the heterosexual people. Efforts to pursue homosexual rights, therefore, have to focus on two dimensions--personal and societal. On the personal level, efforts should be directed first at recognizing the equality of all human beings--homosexuals included. To acknowledge the fact that most people fall in love with members of the opposite sex, but that for gay and lesbians it's different, sounds very simple; but it is very difficult for heterosexual people to comprehend. The religious community in general, and the Roman Catholic church in particular, is extremely hostile to homosexuality. Efforts to educate the heterosexual society and thus to change their perceptions about homosexuality are of paramount importance.

On the societal level emphasis should be put on striving for basic human rights. In this regard, the whole society has not become a friendly environment for homosexuals, because even as late as 1986, homosexuality remained illegal in twenty-four states and Washington, D. C. (Greenberg, 1988: 455, and note 3, 4, 5) In Greenberg's analysis

(p. 475), bureaucracies and the social pressure faced by the lower-middle-class are the two most crucial factors in the long-term persistence of anti-homosexual prejudice; and Greenberg somewhat pessimistic in concluding that "These are not likely to change very much in the short run."

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CONCLUSION

Since GALA is a new organization on Loyola's campus, it has some obvious shortcomings in inter-organizational relations. To initiate effective social change, cooperation between different student organizations on campus is very important. In this respect, GALA did very little other than to engage in occasional discussion. From my personal observation, very few members of GALA ever participated in the activities of other progressive campus student organizations. Even at the height of the Gulf War, only one member from GALA occasionally participated in the U. S. Out of the Gulf Committee meetings and activities. There has been no participation from the group in the Women's Center (WC), Peace, Bread, and Justice (PBJ), Amnesty International, Loyola Chapter (AILU), the College Socialist Organization (CSO), or the Black Cultural Center (BCC) activities.

Even though GALA claims to be a multi-issue student organization, it seems, from the performances of the group, that the group is mainly concerned with gay rights. Gay and Lesbian Alliance has a distinct feature as a student organization because of its varied membership that includes students, faculty, and staff; women and men; and both

undergraduate and graduate students. This is unique in the sense that most other progressive campus student organizations have no faculty and staff members, almost no graduate students, and are composed mostly of women.

In studying the backgrounds of its membership, I found that GALA is very white, very middle-class, and very male- oriented.[11] There was one African-American, one Asian-American (who would show up at the activities only occasionally, and three women who would participate in activities consistently--one of as co-chair of the group. Perhaps it is too early to assess the achievements of GALA because the group has been in existence for only a year. But the story of GALA at Loyola presents an interesting case study of student political activism at a Catholic university. That the other two schools in this study, Marquette and Rosary, do not have a legitimate homosexual rights student group is also worth noting.

Beginning in the spring semester of 1991, several gay students at Marquette University started to call people's attention to homosexual rights issues. Those students' actions were supported by the Campus Ministry when two priests helped active students

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[11] Most members of GALA were from the suburbs, with both parents in professional jobs or self-employed. Membership of the organization is ninety percent white and eighty percent male. Like my observation on the black students at Loyola (see chapter 3, note 6), similar impressions existed in this organization. These factors, plus the significant lack of participation in radical activities, made me reach the conclusion. The reason why I say the Gay and Lesbian Alliance is male-oriented is because my communication with other "progressive men" at Loyola revealed the heightened feminist consciousness; very few men would use male pronouns on a consistent basis--words of "her/his," "chairperson," "first-year students" (instead of "freshMEN"), and "spokeperson"-- were commonly used by progressive men. The situation was quite different in GALA. I will have more discussion on the growing feminist consciousness on Catholic campuses in chapter seven.

to organize bi-weekly seminars focused on addressing homophobia issues. It is interesting to note that while gay a rights group at Loyola University resisted operating within the confines of the Campus Ministry, (pp.115) such a group at Marquette was started with the help of the Campus Ministry. According to one activist with whom I talked at Marquette, the concerns of homosexual students are similar to those of lesbian and gay students of Loyola.[12]

The story of GALA represents a growing trend in college student politics--especially for religious institutions. Owing to the contradictory moral beliefs about sexuality in the context of religious institutions, it will be fruitful to study its future development. For the administrations among Catholic higher educational system, the pursuit of lesbian rights symbolizes a radical ideology even though the student activists themselves are being cautious about their activities. Among the progressives, gay rights organization and environmental groups actually represent the conservative wing of activism--I will discuss this in more detail in chapter seven. GALA's experience, however, sheds light on our understanding of the process and the formative stages of radical student organizations at a Catholic university.

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[12] Since there was no official homosexual rights student group at Marquette, I was not able to study the active students. Although I had a chance to talk, very briefly, with one student; for some reason that student refused my later attempts of interviewing.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOLUTIONS TO A "NEW WORLD ORDER":
PEACE MOVEMENT

The peace movement has always been one of the most important components of

the student movement. Throughout the 1960s, the anti-war protest remained as one of

the most conspicuous movements within the New Left. After a two-decade period of

inaction, anti-war mobilization was again sparked in late 1990. This chapter starts with

a historical review of the peace movement in the United States after World War Two.

Following the discussion regarding the types of peace movement, I will shift the focus

to the recent student uprisings against the Persian Gulf War (1990-1991). By analyzing

the organization and activities of two student anti-war groups--Rosary College's Rosary

Campus Coalition For Peace (RCCFP) and the U. S. Out of the Gulf Committee at

Loyola University (USOGC)--the nature of student anti-war campaign can be more fully

understood. While RCCFP illustrates the impact of war on a rather small, homogeneous

Catholic campus, the Loyola case illustrates that, unlike any previous student protests,

this time in some of the prominent student anti-war organizations, the peace movement

was fueled and was aided by student activists in a religious institution. The conclusion

of the chapter will emphasize the likely implications of the recent anti-war mobilizations

for the whole peace movement.

The origins of peace movement

The Second World War drastically changed the perceptions of the American people toward foreign relations, and the American government toward foreign policy-making. The defeat of the Nazis and the Axis powers was seen by most Americans as an example of a "just war," in which the force of good (democracy) destroyed that of evil (fascism). The U. S. victory brewed, for a overwhelming majority of Americans, a virulent nationalism and a feeling of moral superiority. This moral superiority was "taken to be a permanent quality which not only explains past victories, but also justifies the national claim to be the lawgiver and arbiter of mankind." (Curti, 1964: 730-1) Such mentality--"the America Supremacy Thesis"--as I call it,[1] is so powerful and pervasive that it has been dominating the foreign policy makers and international relations of this country since 1945. A case in point is the Korean War, which not only legitimized government pronouncements of an absolute need for military superiority, and paved the way for America's overt interventions in other countries, but, above all, directly produced "communist phobia" among the American people, and resulted in the bloody

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[1] As indicated by Lloyd C. Gardner: "The Korean War...like the Chinese Revolution of 1949, was interpreted...as an extension of Soviet power across the Eurasian landmass. Americans were predisposed to see in both events the Kremlin's dark hand, stretching out to take into the Soviet domain not only the Chinese but, beyond those vast borders, the industrial workshops of Asia, Japan, and the raw-materials areas of former European colonies. The interventionist impulse, as it developed in the 1950s and 1960s, also worked from the premise of 'nation-building.' U. S. leaders, from the end of World War II to the fall of Saigon in 1975, justified intervention in the Third World as defense against communist expansion...after all, the world system...had originated in the first successful example of revolutionary nationalism: the American Revolution of 1776." (1989: 27-8) And this "interventionist impulse" is intimately related to the mentality of the "manifest destiny." (Weinberg, 1935)

communist hunt and red-baiting of McCarthyism. During this period, the government appealed to the paranoia of the American people and claimed that, to counter the Soviet threat, military superiority was necessary.

Types of the "peace movement"

Ironically, "the American Supremacy Thesis" is also the source of the peace movement in this country since W. W. II. In general, peace movement in America falls into three categories: anti-nuclear weapons, anti-U. S. intervention, and anti-war.[2] Conventional peace study usually focuses either on the anti-war movement,[3] anti nuclear weapon campaign,[4] or various combinations of the two. (e.g., Strickland, 1968; Wittner, 1978). Research on student anti-U. S. intervention activism, however, is usually done in conjunction with, and treated as a part of, the student movement.[5]

Although theoretically these three parts within the peace movement are interconnected, they should be treated separately, because they each originated from different causes, emerged in different times, and went through different historical paths.

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[2] Other scholars may treat "war" as a form of "intervention." Schraeder, for one, stated: "intervention is...the purposeful and calculated use of political, economic, and military instruments by one country to influence the domestic politics or the foreign policy of another country...[intervention] entails a wide choice of instruments ranging from the extension of economic and military aid to economic sanctions, covert action, paramilitary interference, and finally, direct application of military force. (1989: 2) This research, however, makes a distinction between war and other forms of intervention.

[3] For example, Allen, 1930; Baskir and Strauss, 1978; and Wittner, 1984.

[4] The work of Blackett, 1949; Barnet, 1960; Lifton and Falk, 1982; and McCrea and Markle, 1989 belong to this category.

[5] Rudd, 1968; Unger, 1974: 106-16; and Vellela, 1988: 59-70.

For instance, the anti-nuclear weapon protest only surfaced after the invention of the nuclear bomb, but antiwar campaigns started much earlier. Also, manifested mobilizations of anti-U. S. intervention activism emerged only after the Vietnam War, mainly in response to the CIA's efforts to overthrow foreign countries. Both the anti-nuclear weapon and anti-intervention movements derived from the peace effort, but to treat them all as though there is "a" movement is likely to cause confusion and deficient analysis. This study concentrates only on the anti-war efforts, mainly because neither the nuclear freeze nor the anti-U. S. intervention movements have ever mobilized large-scale, significant opposition on Catholic campuses.[6]

Anti-nuclear weapon campaign

Even though the peace movement goes back to as early as the mid-1910s, when many people (mostly women) voiced their opposition to the World War One, it was only after the invention of the atomic bomb that the peace movement entered into a brand new epoch. For more than four decades, the peace movement ebbed and flowed with different emphases in various historical periods. The anti-nuclear weapons movement actually began with the scientists who built the bombs, and who sought to bring those weapons under international control in the late forties. It surfaced again publicly in the

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[6] Scattered protests were staged in some Catholic universities in the mid-1980s to protest U. S. involvement in Central and South America. The invasion of Grenada (1983), the Iran-Contra affair (1987), the invasion of Panama (1988), and the killing of six Jesuit priests and the rape of four nuns in El Salvador (1989) all triggered student protests. However, as compared to the anti- Persian Gulf War, these protests seem eventful and much less influential.

late 1950s and early 1960s, with the controversy over radioactive fallout from the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. "Again there was brief protest in the 1970s against the proposed antiballistic missile system, but this was overshadowed by the massive protest against the war in Vietnam," according to McCrea and Markle, "These movements faded when they seemed to obtain limited objectives." (1989: 15-6) Throughout its course, the anti-nuclear weapons movement (or Freeze) attracted people from all walks of life to protest the massive build-up of nuclear weaponry.

In 1982, the anti-nuclear weapons movement gained its greatest momentum when a million people gathered in New York City to demand an immediate halt to the arm race. The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign called for an immediate, mutual, verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and development of nuclear weapons between the two super powers. (McCrea and Markle, 1989: 15) Despite the strong public opinion, President Reagan--throughout both of his terms--consistently and increasingly put forth resources for the military build-up in both the conventional military forces and the nuclear weaponry of the United States. Also, in his early term, President Reagan announced the creation of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or Star Wars program, and thus led the country into another massive military build-up.

The Star War project enraged many famous scientists, many of whom teach in prestigious universities and conduct research in various laboratories. One organization, in particular, United Campus to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM), in particular, aimed at

mobilizing university communities against nuclear weaponry.[7] Founded in 1982, UCAM

is a conglomeration of students, faculty, and staff. Because of its mixed membership,

UCAM is effective in petitioning engineers and scientists to stop cooperating with the U.

S. government. Using research showing that SDI was unworkable, many scientists

signed pledges refusing to work on the project.[8] Meanwhile, students on many

campuses were protesting their school for contracting with the Pentagon; thus the anti-

Star Wars campaign appears to be a united front of students and teachers. The freeze

movement has been on the wane since 1990 with the seeming end of the Cold War, and

both the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to reduce nuclear weaponry.

Anti-U. S. intervention

The sentiment against U. S. intervention in foreign countries' affairs has always

existed in American society. From Isolationism to the protest of the Monroe doctrine,

there have always been some American people against the American government's

interference with other countries. After the Second World War, however, the cold war

consensus dominated the U. S., and many American people began to shift to a pro-

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[7] From a 1986 UCAM pamphlet: "The Arms Race will continue until enough informed citizens decide it must stop; where better to begin than on our campuses." Personal file.

[8] For example, a December, 1986 newsletter of UCAM reported a survey of 663 physical scientists, engineering and mathematicians members of the National Academy of Sciences; of the 71 percent who responded, more than three-fourths believed that the prospects were "poor" or "extremely poor" that SDI could be made "survivable and cost effective at the margin" in the next twenty-five years; ninety-eight percent estimated that SDI would not be capable of destroying a sufficient number of Soviet missiles to make it an "effective defense of the U. S. civilian population."

intervention view in support of the governmental policy of "containing" the expansion of communism. It was only during the Vietnam War that manifested anti-U. S. intervention mobilization gradually became a political force to be reckoned with. A case in point is when, in April 1966, <u>Ramparts</u> magazine revealed that Michigan State University had provided support and cover for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in south Vietnam from 1955 to 1959, in connection with a program to train police and public officers. To date, the CIA remains one of the prime targets of the anti-U. S. intervention movement.[9]

In foreign affairs, the CIA uses secret operations which encompass social, political, economic, psychological, and paramilitary warfare, which aim at the overthrow of foreign governments, and which have caused the deaths of millions of innocent people. Since the agency relies heavily on competent people in every field--especially students with advanced degrees--recruits from college campuses have become the necessary means of survival for the CIA. For the students' part, campus recruitment implies the complicity of the schools; and the most effective way to protest U. S. intervention is to stop the CIA from recruiting students on college campuses. It seems logical that the most important anti-U. S. intervention strategy manifests itself in the protest of the CIA's recruitment on campus.

Throughout the Vietnam War, the CIA's involvement in Southeast Asia drew

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[9] Founded in September of 1947 under the National Security Act, the Central Intelligence Agency was the post W. W. II response to critics who felt intelligence and security information should be coordinated. See Ranelagh (1986) and Vellela (1988: 59-70) about the history and activities of the CIA.

constant protests from college campuses. Protests by the American students started out small, scattered, and isolated, and grew into a massive protest which included many segments of the American population. Since the CIA does very little recruitment from Catholic institutions,[10] there was no protest of the CIA on Catholic campuses before 1985. After the Iran-Contra affair, however, U. S. involvement in Central America became a major issue on college campuses, and a series of protests was launched against the U. S. government. But students in Catholic universities were mainly against government military aid to the local regimes. For example, the killing of six Jesuit priests in 1989 immediately aroused protest from several student groups of Loyola University, but the students demands were mainly to pressure the government to withdraw military aid from El Salvador, and there was no mention of the role that the CIA played in that country. This is very different from other schools, because, unlike most universities, it seems that students at Catholic institutions do not specifically target the CIA.

The anti-war movement

The anti-war protest is the most significant element in the peace movement, because it encompasses the goals of both the anti-nuclear weapons and the anti-U. S. intervention movement. Furthermore, it espouses the idea of eliminating war. In this sense, the peace movement can also be termed as anti-militaric. People oppose war for different

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[10] This information is from some student activists. According to those who familiar with the operations of the CIA, the agency almost does no recruitment from religious institutions.

reasons. For college students, these reasons include a mixture of personal interests--fear of being drafted, or the fear of actually participating in a war and returning maimed or in a bag; altruism--the fear the loss of siblings, friends, or love ones; the conviction that war is unnecessary--the realization that committing a great amount of resources in a foreign country which does not relate to domestic problems; discontent--the knowledge that resources are being used for destruction instead of for people's well-being; and, perhaps most importantly, is that--for idealistic college students--war is deemed as inhumane, unjust, and immoral.

At first the work of organizing against militarism remained that of small peace groups, aligned at times with religious-linked organizations. It was not until the intensifying of the Vietnam War that large, popular support for anti-war efforts surfaced. The anti-Vietnam War Movement contributed significantly to the end of that war. However, despite many small scale wars which were fought by the U. S. before 1989, the anti-war movement of the period got smaller and more obscure, and it almost seemed to disappear.[11] In fact, the peace movement throughout the eighties was concentrated on the freeze and anti-U. S. intervention. But on August 2, 1990, when Iraq President Saddam Hussein ordered his troops to move into Kuwait, a new page was turned. It is no exaggeration to claim that even world history--about the nineties, about America, and about international relations--was also changed dramatically as a result of President

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[11] There is no denying that many peace groups such as Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), War Resisters League (WRL), Fellowship For Reconciliation (FOR) were still active after the end of the Vietnam War. However, the levels of activities of these groups were much lower in the 1980s--as compared to their performances in the 60s.

Hussein's action and the United States's subsequent reactions.

ANALYSIS

Rosary Campus Coalition For Peace

In the spring semester of 1991, Rosary College had its first ever teach-in week (January 8-15, 1991). This historical event was a direct result of the (then potential) Persian Gulf War. Rosary Campus Coalition For Peace (RCCFP) was a rare progressive student organization yet to be recognized. A group of eleven students, inspired by a faculty member of the Sociology Department, Dr. Martinson, decided in December of 1990 to form a group and to protest the war. Such an effort was extremely difficult, because the general "atmosphere" at Rosary was "apathetic." (interview with Fred, 1/18/91) There were only two seemingly progressive student organizations at Rosary prior to 1990. The Black Student Association (BSA), which changed its name to African-American Student Association (AASA) in 1990, had dealt with a racial incident in 1989. Through a long struggle, the AASA had achieved some improvement in alleviating the racism at Rosary. (see chapter three)

Another progressive student organization, the Sociology Collective (SC), was established by Dr. Martinson in 1980. The main activity of the SC is to participate in the annual Third World Conference. SC also sponsors other educational events at Rosary, such as speakers, discussions, forums, and informal gatherings. All members of RCCFP were from SC, and most of them were juniors and seniors. As indicated by

its name, RCCFP was a peace group focused on the anti-war movement. At the end of 1990, RCCFP participated in December 8th's downtown rally in Chicago, held two meetings, and had some informal discussion among its members.

When 1991 began, members of RCCFP decided to organize some activities to protest President Bush's January 15 deadline for President Hussein. Also, because of the apathetic atmosphere of the campus, the group wanted to conduct some educational activities and raise the awareness of the student body. Since January 15 is also the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, the group decided to conduct a week-long teach-in to commemorate Dr. King's birthday, and to raise some discussion on the impeding war.

The 11 active students worked diligently for the teach-in. They designed flyers and made hundreds of copies to be distributed to the students. They provided names and phone numbers for the Rosary community to contact if they were against the war. They invited speakers, reserved rooms, wrote letters to the administration, and prepared materials for the teach-in. Literature tables were also set up to hand out information. They put up flyers to inform students about the teach-in. In all, what had happened in the first week of the spring semester of 1991 at Rosary was the historic first-ever massive student mobilization on campus.

The actual teach-in began in the early afternoon of January 8, with a speaker talking about the background of the Middle East. Specifically, the talk focused on the international relations between Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Israel. The imperialist impact of the England, France, and Germany was also addressed, in order to show the participants what had led American troops to the region. The topics

for the second day were the Palestinian issue, the role which Israel played in the whole situation, the history and economy of Kuwait, and special attention to the linkage between Kuwait and Israel.

Racism was the topic of the January 10's session. In this session, the speakers explained that African-Americans and Latinos were disproportionately represented in the armed forces and that they would suffer heavier causalities from the war. Essentially, there was a "poverty draft" in which minorities of the U. S. were forced to join the military because they had no other options. Further, minority soldiers were involuntarily engaged in a racist war which would not be beneficial to themselves. The final session of this series of teach-in was about the draft. The speaker analyzed the possibility of the reinstatement of the draft, and its potential consequences. Emphasis was also placed on how people, especially college students, should prepare themselves if the draft was reinstated.

The four sessions of the teach-in attracted a daily average of about 50 participants, with the third session drawing the biggest crowd--about 80. The final day of the week was January 15, when a procession and a rally were held on the Rosary campus. The procession was a commemorative event to celebrate Martin Luther King's birthday. It drew about 90 people, and started at 11 in the morning. All participants wore white arm bands and held candles silently while walking through two buildings; and the crowd ended at the rear door of the library. A rally followed the procession, and it attracted an additional ten people including students, teachers, campus ministry, and staff. Participants listened while speakers were delivering their speech and they also

prayed, chanted, and sang songs at the rally.

After the teach-in, RCCFP also organized a group of students to participate in the January 26 rally at Washington, D. C. Fred was actively seeking information from the local peace groups, and attempted to connect RCCFP to the regional antiwar organizations. However, RCCFP's activity proved to be a one-time-deal at the Rosary campus. With the tremendous hostility from campus and the waning of the war, the group dissolved in early March.

Implications of RCCFP on Rosary College

Virtually all members of RCCFP were from the Sociology Collective (SC). Dr. Martinson told me that it was mainly a strategic concern that prompted the students to form a group with a different name. Because of its conservative nature, the Rosary community was very hostile towards radicalism and its representation--SC. To avoid further antagonism, and at Dr. Martinson's advice, the student activists decided to form another anti-war group instead of using the existing SC. Still, RCCFP met with an incredible amount of hostility. This antagonism was manifested fully in the final day of the teach-in week at the rally. When participants gathered at the rear door of the library, there were some students shouting from the windows upstairs with "War not Peace!" "If You Are Not A Patriotic, You Are A Scud!" and "Support The Troops!"

Members of RCCFP were also consistently harassed by reactionary students. The most usual charges were: "forcing other to listen to an illegitimate opinion," and being "noisy," "unAmerican," and "biased." It seems that the pro-war students were

particularly hostile to peace demonstrators at Rosary College. Like other campuses, the reactionary students at Rosary were confined to yelling, screaming, and heckling the activists, but seemed unable to present a rational, logical argument about the issues. And, most importantly, they were unwilling or unable to mobilize legitimately to engage in politics. From this event, we are able to see the varying political "atmosphere" in different schools.

Many students in RCCFP were active for the first time in their lives, and most of them were frightened by the result of the teach-in. Their experiences showed that to be radical in a conservative environment requires a great deal of courage. Diane was a junior majoring in sociology; she was extremely active in both SC and RCCFP, and her comments about the frustration was quite extraordinary:

> I just didn't expect that this thing would take such toll on me, I knew that this is a conservative campus, I knew that we would meet opposition but this is just beyond me. After this week, I really feel that I am still not psychologically prepared, it's just too unbearable.
> (interview with Diane, 1/21/91)

The teach-in at Rosary College is special because it was the one and the only "radical" thing that had ever happened on Rosary's campus. Like many progressive activities on Catholic campuses, the teach-in polarized students at the Rosary campus, and the conflict that emerged from the event was indeed quite impressive. According to Fred, who was the leader of the group, the reactionary students verbally attacked him throughout the whole week. Other student activists reported similar stories. It seems that the opposition force to progressive student activism stems from both the administration and follow students.

Fred had been charged with being unpatriotic, noisy, unsupportive to the troops, and one-sided. According to Fred, the purpose of the teach-in was to "educate the students." Because students at Rosary in general were so ignorant and apathetic, it was only by staging a radical event that their consciousness could be awakened. When I was doing my field work at Rosary, I had the opportunities to have casual conversations with students who were not active. To my great surprise, many of them did not know about Tian An Men, the unification of Germany, or the (then) most recent Latvia uprising.[12] It is interesting to note that student activists at Marquette and Loyola did not even think of a teach-in as being "radical." This reflects the different mentality and levels of activism in three schools.

<div align="center">

The emergence of a student anti-war group:
U. S. Out of the Gulf Committee at Loyola

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Like peace activists in public schools, some students in Catholic universities have always been concerned with peace issues. Many informants in this study reported their activism in high school: proposing disarmament; protesting against nuclear testing; protesting at nuclear sites; and demonstrating against U. S. involvement in Central America. The Gulf crisis almost immediately aroused anti-war mobilizations at some Catholic and many secular universities. Peace activists on college campuses formed various groups to protest against the occupation by the Iraqi troops, and also to protest

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[12] During my interviews and informal conversations it appeared that inactive students at Loyola and Marquette were much more informed about current events than those students at Rosary.

President Bush's reaction of deploying hundreds of thousands of troops into the Middle East.

In early September of 1990, a group of about fifteen progressive students at Loyola University of Chicago formed an organization called the U. S. Out of the Gulf Coalition (USOGC). The bulk of the initial members of USOGC came from the College Socialist Organization (CSO); the rest were representatives from various progressive campus groups such as the Women's Center (WC), Peace, Bread, and Justice (PBJ), Amnesty International, Loyola Chapter (AILU), the Marxist Humanist Forum (MHF), the Peace Days Committee (PDC), and American Muslim Students (AMS).

Several active members of the CSO first came up with the idea of establishing an anti-war group; after several discussions within the CSO and communication with other student groups, USOGC was recognized as an official student organization in early December of 1990. It took less than two months for the group to be registered. This is very unusual in the sense that most student groups Loyola need about a year to go through the recognition process. It seems that the school was happy to see this kind of student organization on campus.[13]

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[13] Of all the student organizations in this study, only two were established within a two-month period. Besides the U. S. Out of the Gulf Committee, Students For the Environment of Loyola was also rapidly recognized in 1989. The administrators that I interviewed unanimously agreed that groups in peace, environment, and social justice are more in alignment with "the Catholic teachings," and therefore the school is more willing to render support for their establishment. For the SFE, see chapter six.

<u>Membership</u>

U. S. Out of the Gulf Coalition adopted the name of "coalition" in an attempt to attract a wide range of student activists, and the original idea for this "coalition" was to have a couple of representatives from all of the progressive student organizations on Loyola's campus. After efforts for several months, however, it became clear that only a certain handful people from other organizations were enthusiastic enough to put constant energy into the group; such energy was manifested by attending meetings, sharing responsibilities, advocating ideas, and recruiting new members. So the group changed its name from "coalition" to "committee" in late January of 1991.

Aside from the representatives from other student groups, USOGC did attract a few independent, non-affiliated student activists--many of them active for the first time-- so there was a wide range of political ideas and beliefs within the group itself. How to resolve political differences, forge a unified student body, and fight for a peaceful solution, thus became the first priorities of the organization in late November of 1990.

USOGC stabilized at the end of the fall semester of 1990: membership was kept constant at about twenty.[14] On some occasions where activities involved the co-sponsorship of other campus student organizations, participation swelled into the seventies or more. The group was made up of a conglomeration of a couple of a few ethnic students and a white majority. Since the ultimate goal of the anti-Gulf war activism was to build a massive oppositional movement, recruitment was always a crucial

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[14] This student organization usually attracted big crowds at its meetings. However, participants fitting into the definition of "membership" were only about twenty; see chapter two, note one on the definition of "membership."

issue on the agenda, and the organization was very active in attracting new members. Still, though dramatic events would draw many interested students, there remained twenty persistently active members.

Activity of the USOGC

USOGC organized three protests in September and October of 1990, held weekly meetings to discuss the Persian Gulf situation, put literature tables on campus to educate students, attempted to recruit sympathizers, invited speakers, and sponsored several forums for concerned students to discuss issues about the Middle East. During the winter break, activists of the USOGC were still organizing and planning work, and at the beginning of the spring semester of 1991, USOGC co-sponsored, with the Peace Days Committee, a day including a teach-in and a rally on February 1. The teach-in drew about one hundred students. After the teach-in the group gathered at the south steps of Centennial Forum--where most of the rallies and demonstrations at Loyola University take place--and had a speak-out. It turned out to be a fierce verbal fight between the pro-war and the anti-war students.

USOGC also co-sponsored a session about racism with the Black Cultural Center (BCC) during the Black History Month, and that also attracted about sixty participants. The session started with the movie "Do the Right Thing," followed by intensive discussion. Participation included all kinds of students: African-American, Arab, Asian, Hispanic, and white. It was very encouraging, because it is a very rare occasion when Loyola students from all different ethnic backgrounds could come together and openly

discuss racial attitudes. The session lasted from eight in the evening through well past midnight. Issues discussed included the nature of racism, hostility between minorities, racism towards Arab-Americans as a result of the war, how to fight ethnic stereotyping, education, mobilization, and action in challenging racism. I talked to many different students after the session; most of them admitted that they had learned a lot from the event.[15]

USOGC worked with the American Muslim Students (AMS) and the BCC in organizing a forum entitled "Racism, War, and Religion," on February 20 with about eighty in attendance. Like the previous event, many students were educated tremendously through the activity. In all, the USOGC conducted many activities to raise the consciousness on Loyola campus about peace, justice, racism, and many other issues; those activities had a very profound impact on political activism for some students.

Chicago and the national scene

What was happening at Loyola represented an emerging trend in the national scene. In September, there were several scattered demonstrations all over the States, but by October it had spread to many cities. On October 20, 1990, the first nationwide anti-war protest burst in many places simultaneously: about 15,000 people marched in New York City, 6,000 in Atlanta, 3,000 in San Francisco, and many more in Cincinnati,

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[15] I interviewed several students after the event, and all of them gave me very positive responses about the program. Some of them (white) admitted that it was a rare opportunity for them to confront their deep-seated feelings about "minorities." More importantly, those white students told me the forum significantly reduced their ethnic stereotyping and prejudice.

Houston, Los Angeles; Chicago thus started the national anti-war movement.

On Saturday, December 8, 1990, a group of 8,000 people from all over the Chicago area gathered at the downtown Federal Plaza (FP) to protest the emerging war in the Persian Gulf--probably the first big gathering in the City of Chicago since the 1968 National Democratic Convention. More than ninety-five percent of the participants were students, representing almost every college and university in the city. Members of the USOGC were there, too. By joining the regional activities, the group got connected with many local, regional, and national campus anti-war organizations. One such organization, the Emergency Coalition for Peace in the Middle East (ECPME), planned, over the Christmas break, a "pre-war" demonstration at the Federal Plaza.

In the early morning of January 14, 1991, a crowd of 6,000 people (mostly students) converged on the FP with hand-painted signs, posters, slogans, and banners. Civil Disobedience (CD), which was organized by the Pledge Of Resistance (POR), was also used to "shut down" the FP, resulting in several dozens of arrests. After police cleared the blockade of the building, demonstrators took over the streets; they marched through the Loop to the Amoco building. The next day, in mid afternoon, people started gathering at the building again, and this time there were more students--even students from various high schools who came directly from walkouts around the city. Demonstrations in Chicago lasted for four days, with the biggest turn out occurring on January 17, when about ten thousand people showed up to listen to speakers, shout slogans, march through the Loop, and take to the streets. True, at this time there appeared to be widespread public support for U. S. involvement in the war; however,

as noted before (p. 9), reform movement characteristically begin with small numbers of people. We are interested more in the profound impact that these groups have in social change.

The split of the national anti-war organizations

After the initial aerial bombardment of Iraq on January 16, the time was ripe for a national anti-war demonstration in Washington, D. C. The purpose of conducting a major protest in the capital is clear: to force the administration to reconsider the war. But at that time, peace organizations in America experienced a painful split between their strongest forces.[16] As a result, there were two national demonstrations in Washington only one week's time apart. The January 19 demonstration was mobilized by the New York-based Coalition to Stop U. S. Intervention in the Middle East (CSUSIME), with the bulk of its membership drawn from minorities. With largely a white membership, the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East (NCPME) called for a national demonstration in Washington on January 26.

Both organizations enjoyed a nation-wide membership, were prestigious, and were endorsed by many anti-war groups (especially student groups) across the country. However, there were some minor political differences. The NCPME usually charged that the CSUSIME was an undemocratic front for the Workers World Party (WWP) and that the latter was only espousing a separatist peace movement. The CSUSIME, on the

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[16] At this time, the Coalition to Stop U. S. Intervention in the Middle East and the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East were the two anti-war organizations with the biggest student membership and campus student group affiliations.

other hand, charged that NCPME was virtually an all-white organization, and that it focused on condemning Iraq and sanctions rather than getting the troops out. Interestingly, the demands of the two groups were almost the same. Battle-cries of the CSUSIME were: "Bring the troops home! Money for jobs, health care, housing, education, and AIDS." The NCPME's demands were: "No to war in the Middle East, bring the troops home now, money for human needs, not for war." A group of independent activists tried to resolve the differences between NCPME and CSUSIME and build a unified, national antiwar movement, so they held a meeting on December 30, in New York City. As it turned out, neither of the two groups was interested in making the necessary concessions for a unified movement; therefore, even before the war started, the resources of the peace movement were diverted into two forces.

The impact of the national trend to USOGC

The spilt of the peace movement at the national level alienated some student activists. A handful of devoted activists in USOGC were closely affiliated with the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which endorsed the NCPME. Even though the USOGC endorsed both NCPME and CSUSIME, orientations of the group were relatively aligned with the NCPME. Still, USOGC tried to attract more non-white membership, encourage minorities to participate in leadership roles, and work with other campus student groups. The most important thing USOGC did, however, was to contribute to building a network of national student anti-war movements.

The rationale of the USOGC to engage in such an endeavor was: with its student

base, such movement could be broadened to a massive insurrection with diversified participants, and through its incorporation with other non-student groups, the aims of stopping the war and pulling the troops out of the Gulf could be successfully achieved. It was with this consideration that the USOGC initiated a series of efforts to build the Chicago Campus Against the War (CCAW) and the National Network of Campus Against the War (NNCAW). This development is a very distinctive part of the anti-war movement in 1990-1991, because, unlike many previous student mobilizations, this time it was the student activists at a Catholic university who took the initiative and attempted to forge a national student peace movement.

<div align="center">Issues in the USOGC:
racism and peace</div>

The split of the peace movement at the national level was but one of the many issues discussed at USOGC meetings. From its inception, the group had been facing many vexing issues that it had to deal with. To begin with, racism entered into the picture in the earliest stages. One spokeperson of the group, Kris, told me that the initial motivation of sending the American troops to the Middle East was based on the white supremacy thesis of defending "the American Way of Life."[17]

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[17] This is clearly related to the "reasons" for war. Many people think that "oil interests" were the prime motivation for Mr. Bush and this is undisputable, because earlier in the conflict, while the President was yachting in Maine, said, "I won't be holding hostage by oil." There are other reasons, however: the United States government has long pursued a military base in the Middle East, with no success; the fear of a strong state in the region and pan-Arabism (or Arab Nationalism); despise of the Arab culture (see chapter three); and the decline of American imperialism after the ending of the Cold War. Of all these, it seems that racism towards the Muslims is the

Then the issue of the "poverty draft" quickly crept in: the simple fact that one-third of the troops in the Persian Gulf were African-Americans and other "minorities" clearly exemplified the racist nature of the War. People of colored are forced to opt to join the military to find a "job," receive a college education, stay out of jails, or simply to keep alive--because there are no other options for them in American society. And those minorities were risking their lives in an exotic land with other colored people for, not their own benefit, but the status quo. Further, the deterioration of the treatment of minority people in the United States needed urgent attention, while, instead, the white ruling class were spending resources for oil interests. There are other racist manifestations of this war: many Arab people were harassed verbally, and sometimes physically, in America during the conflict. The mass media, for their part, contributed to the re-awakening and reinforcing of racial prejudices and ethnic stereotyping of Muslims. Governmental agencies such as the FBI and CIA also relentlessly intimidated and harassed Middle-Easterners. Some members of the USOGC seriously and constantly addressed these issues.

Media and peace movement

Shortly after the war broke out, the Bush Administration, with the help of the main stream mass media, launched an all-out war at home to the American people,

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basis for all. If we follow the newspaper, we see President Bush first said, "of course it's for oil," then "we are there to defend democracy," (but then people reminded him that Kuwait, as well as the Saudi Arabia, were monarchies) and finally, "to defend the American Way of Life."

aiming to paint a picture that "at least 90% of the Americans support the war." Just as the media was in the Vietnam War, the news of the Persian Gulf War was a process of careful orchestrating by the power that be. The media, by military scheme and Secretary of State Baker's endorsement, were limited in direct access to combat action through a pool system of reporting. And that means news reporters were saying exactly what the Pentagon wanted them to say. This was a bold attempt through the collaboration of the government and mass media to control and censor information to the general populace. This tactic proved to have damaging effects to anti-war movement.[18]

Not only did the media block out much crucial information about the War, the media also used other strategies to divert the attention of anti-war activists, and created misleading terms in an attempt to shift the focus and connotation of people's conversations about the war. To give a general idea about the control of information during the Gulf War, I will briefly sketch out some of the rhetoric that the mass media used in news reporting to the America public. It was during this time that "carpet bombing" and "saturate bombing" became "surgical strike;" "civilian casualties" became "collateral damage;" and "body bags" became "human remains pouches." A casual study of the use of these words reveals that the government was afraid of opposing public opinion. The extensive bombing of Iraq, in fact, caused tens of thousands of civilian

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[18] It is not the intention of this research to conduct a thorough study about the relationship between social movement and mass media--rather, the author just wants to briefly describe the problems that one student anti-war organization faced at a Catholic university in their mobilization process. Certainly some aspects of the discussion will be relevant in broader society. For a general discussion about this particular relation, see Molotch (1979: 71-93) and Gitlin (1980, 1987: 220-1, 316-8, 377).

causalities. By using the term "surgical strike," the negative connotation of excessive use of violence (i.e., bombing) could be removed somewhat. Similarly, "collateral damage" seemingly implies the destruction of "property", not human flesh. And corpses (body bags) become "remained humans." It seems that the act of creating confusing semiotic and using pseudo-ideological neutral terms in reporting news during the Persian Gulf War only made the media more guilty of self-censorship and the violation of professional ethics. Also, in the same period of time, yellow ribbons were tied up all over the country, and suddenly people were seriously discussing how "patriotic" one was. These strategies severely damaged the anti-war efforts and, indeed, provided valuable lessons for peace activists. I will have more discussion about the media in my comparison of the Vietnam and Gulf War; suffice now to say that the media seemed to play a vital role in the frustration of the peace movement in 1990-1991.

The building of a national student anti-war organization

One of the biggest successes of the U. S. Out of the Gulf Committee was to organize two national conferences (January 19-20, and March 1-3, 1991), in which about two hundred student peace activists from all over America, Canada, and Britain convened at Loyola University of Chicago, and established the National Network of Campus Against the War (NNCAW). The major accomplishments of this national convention-- besides forming NNCAW--included the forging of a five-points-of-unity: 1) U. S. and allied troops out of the Gulf; 2) No U. S. intervention; 3) Money funds human needs and education, not war; 4) No poverty draft, no economic draft; and 5) No to racism at home

and abroad. This was done through numerous discussions, and the points of unity of the organization were very similar with the NCPME's.

Essentially, this convention was a big plenary meeting in preparation for the upcoming of January 26 march in Washington; a pre-planning of a intermittent meeting to be held on January 27--one day after the Washington march; an organization of future activities; an outlining of the agenda for the next national conference; and a discussion of various programming for local campus anti-war student organizations. The conference consisted of five plenary meetings and eight workshops including: Environmental protection and the environmentalists; the role of Israel in the crisis, the Palestinian question, Arab nationalism; How to build a national student anti-war movement; on imperialism and "the New World Order."

Following the first national convention of the NNCAW, USOGC faced a period of confusion and frustration, because it seemed that the anti-war efforts were under serious attack from the American government. We have witnessed the tragic collapse of the national convention on January 27 at Washington. In the meantime, because of the rather successful war that the American mass media was waging on the American public, the anti-war movement reached its flow. As a result, USOGC--just like every peace organization in the country--was forced to take on a defensive position in debating with pro-war students about "patriotism."

Interestingly, the USOGC reached it zenith when in March 1--two days after the cease-fire announcement was made--five hundred students from all over north America converged at Loyola University for the second meeting of the NNCAW. Besides four

plenary meetings, the convention was comprised of some forty session ranging from energy conservation, to gay and lesbian rights, to Zionism. It lasted for three days, and ended up with high-spirited student activists going back to their campuses and continuing the peace movement.

Two weeks after the second convention, USOGC resumed its meetings, and many post-war issues were addressed. The prime question was "where do we go from now?" since the consensus of the group was to keep on working on peace issues--especially since U. S. troops are still in the Gulf--and the U. S. out of the Gulf remains a relevant slogan. Secondly, after long discussions, the group changed its name to Loyola Community Against U. S. Intervention. This name change reflects that student activists are still concerned about U. S. foreign policy, and that their attitude is oppositional towards U. S. government involvement in foreign countries. Thirdly, the group performed a critical evaluation on the seeming failure of the anti-war movement. Strategies evolved included how to fight the media's "blackout" in news reporting, how to debunk the idea of "patriotism," and how to conduct a more effective consciousness-raising method to approach other people. Finally, the group discussed how to channel the enthusiasm of the anti-war activists into other issues and into more effective mobilization to achieve change when the next time around. Even though some activists were demoralized by the actions of the government and dropped out before the war ended, USOGC remained active on Loyola's campus with literature tables, forums, speakers, and discussions. Members of the USOGC participated regularly in the meetings of the regional organization Chicago Campus Against the War (CCAW), held

teach-in and rallies, participated in programming with BCC and AMS in many forums,

and held weekly meetings.

Achievements of the student anti-war movement

Much like gender equality, student activists participated in anti-war mobilizations

drastically changed their consciousness. Conversations with informants led me to believe

that there were some students being "radicalized" by this war. This notion had been

echoed by a very active student leader; according to Sid: "this is the first time since 15,

16, let's make it 17 years that many students are thinking and getting into politics

because of this war. Some of them will drop out but at least some will stay and remain

active." (interview with Sid, 3/27/91) The polarization of the opinion will only help the

process. For instance, after the February 1 rally one informant told me:

> I think this is wonderful because when students pass by
> here and see so many people arguing about this war, even
> though they (the pro-war students) are heckling us--this can
> only make us look good because we can make sound
> arguments and all they can do is yelling and
> screaming...anyway, in a scene like this, it's not humanly
> possible to walk away without thinking about the issue, not
> necessarily who is right.
> (interview with Betty, 2/1/91)

Other issues also got exposed by the discussions about the war. In too many

rallies speakers asked: "Why do we spend billions of dollars in a war while there are

hungry children in the ghettos?" "Bush can put a deadline on Iraq, why doesn't he put

a deadline on poverty, homelessness, and unemployment?" "They say fight for freedom

and democracy, but Kuwait and even Saudi Arabia are monarchies with ugly records in

human rights, are they democratic?" And, come to think about it, those questions can't be more real. In all, the Persian Gulf War raised the issue of racism, poverty, homelessness, health, housing, welfare--a host of social problems which are quite difficult to solve.

It is also true that many college students started getting involved in politics as a result of the Gulf War. For the younger side of the generation within this sample, many informants told me that: "you know, this is my first rally,"[19] "I've never been in such a thing before," or "I was really excited about being arrested the first time; it was a little scary but it was fun." Some people may think that being arrested is NOT fun, but the fact is that this war did mobilize a significant number of college students (and even high school students) and some of them do intend to keep on with their activism. The biggest achievement of the anti-Persian Gulf War, therefore, is the "radicalization" of many young adolescents, and their desire to keep politically active. This is a good sign for student political activism--especially on Catholic campuses because many previous research indicated that it was college students from Catholic campuses who were the most often counter-picketers of peace demonstrations.

Vietnam and Iraq

The Persian Gulf War shares some similarities with the Vietnam War, but displays some significant differences; this is also true of the movements that opposed them. Even though both the decision-makers of the government and peace activists learned from past

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[19] All quotes in this paragraph are anonymous.

experience, the ruling class, unfortunately, still seemed to have the edge over ordinary people--at least in the short run. In this section, I will compare the two major wars that American soldiers have fought in the past three decades. Then I will contrast the oppositional movements against them; finally, I will emphasize the likely consequences of this latest war to peace movement.

It is clear that the Persian Gulf War (PGW) was based, in large part, on economic interests. It was not a joke at all when one American diplomat said, "if Kuwait exported carrots, we wouldn't be there." The second similarity is the idea of "American Hegemony," which I explained as "The American Supremacy Thesis" in the beginning of the chapter. Clearly, North Vietnam was seen by the Johnson administration as a potential threat to "the American Way of Life," and so was Saddam Hussein to President Bush. The third similarity is that both wars arouse oppositional movement from the American people. Anti-war activists were, admittedly, a rather small group of people, but peace activists were successful in pressing the government to eventually stop the war in Vietnam. Fourth, both wars were costly to the American people.[20] For example, PGW had a price tag of 45 billion--a high price to pay for everyone. The Vietnam war was also a heavy financial burden for many Americans. And finally, both wars polarized the American people, even though the PGW did it in a much shorter period of time.[21]

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[20] Some people rationalized the war as an attempt by the policy makers of the United States to boost the American economy. Facing the incoming recession of 1990, some theorized that a short war would help the economy.

[21] Some of my colleagues argued that the U. S.-Iraq War actually united, not polarized, the American people. This might be true for most American people; however, for people who had been "awakened" by the War and decided to continue their political activism, the polarization effect of the War is obvious--for me at least.

This leads to our discussion of their differences.

First of all, the VW and the PGW were fought under different social conditions, the former in the sixties and the latter in the nineties. The two wars were also fought on different battlefields. VW was fought in a tropical jungle with guerrilla forces, while the PGW was fought in the desert. With advantageous technologies and a conducive battlefield, a quick victory was insured for the American side in the Gulf War. Second, the duration of the two wars varies significantly. Vietnam dragged on for many years and the human tolls were incredible (about 53,000 Americans died and over 275,000 Americans injured). The Iraq War lasted for only six weeks, and the casualties for the Americans were less than 150. Third, media played a stronger role in the PGW. And here is the biggest difference: during the Vietnam War the American people could hear, occasionally, some truths about the war, while during the PGW, the Americans were bombarded and was blind by the mass media, and never were able to learn, throughout the war, what really was happening.[22]

Third, the two wars were fought with different weapons. With the advancement of U. S. technology after the Vietnam War, Iraqi troops were more vulnerable in facing

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[22] An activist in the peace movement, the Rev. Bob Bossie, described his personal experience with distorted media reports. During the second day of the bombing, the American media claimed that the Air Force had destroyed a plant producing chemical weapons. The alleged factory was just cross the street from Fr. Bossie's hotel, and so he decided to take a look. The Rev. Bossie showed us what he founded in the factory: a ten-pound-bag of milk powder, and he also told us that was the only milk powder factory in downtown Baghdad. Fr. Bossie was with a peace corp in Kuwait and Iraq from January 10 to February 1; he went back and made many appearances to debunk the lies that the American media spread during the War. See February 6's Chicago Tribune, section 2, p. 6 about his story. My information is from personal conversation, 2/14/91, at Rosary College)

their adversary. Fourth, the PGW was the first time that the anti-war movement mobilized and protested before a war actually took place. It took many years during the Vietnam War for most Americans to organize and to voice their opposition. Peace activists spent a long time to "radicalize" people, and the change of the ethos of the American society was accomplished by a very gradual process. The anti-Vietnam War movement was successful in ending the war, but the anti-Gulf war movement was a seeming failure (in terms of bringing pressure upon the government to halt the war), even though peace activists were mobilized much earlier than their anti-VW counterparts.

Two reasons explain this: First, the short duration of the war made it difficult for a large number of people to go through the anti-war process and fully understand the logic about war; therefore, some people got interested for a while, but quickly dropped out because the war had ended. Second, and more seriously, the government waged a rather successful propaganda war to confuse people. The chant "No Blood for Oil" was a powerful slogan and had the most potential to stop the Persian Gulf War. Unfortunately, the ruling class presented a counter-slogan, "Support the Troops," which was even stronger, stronger in the sense that it was easier for many American people to accept. Vietnam remains a deep national trauma for the American people because the United States was defeated there; furthermore, it was through relentless efforts of the peace activists that the American government ended the war. This is one of the true meanings of the "Vietnam Syndrome" that the American ruling class so frequently mentioned and wished to recover from.

The second meaning of the "Vietnam Syndrome" is that the government wished

that the Americans would learn to tolerate and accept the death and destruction of war. If the general public cannot see any coverage of military and civilian casualties, or if they could see but remain carefree, then the Americans could recover from the "Vietnam Syndrome." It was "Support OUR Troops" that effectively killed the anti-Gulf War movement. Certainly, the short duration of the War also contributed to the wane of peace mobilization.

The success of the war drive by President Bush was reflected both on the national scene and on Catholic campuses. At the national level, pro-war sentiment became a very strong public opinion, and, combined with the issue of "patriotism," pushed the peace movement into a defensive position. On college campuses, the slogan of "Support Our Troops" fiercely polarized peace activists and pro-war students and seemed to be to the latter's advantage. This was evidenced in the fact that after the first week of bombing, the situation was so bad that for a while it looked like the anti-war movement was gone. All the demonstrations in February were much smaller than the previous ones, and many of them were cancelled.

CONCLUSION

The anti-war efforts of the 1960s successfully brought a halt to the Vietnam War, and from the endeavors of the peace activists many aspects of the American life were changed. Facing a long, dragging war, peace activists were able to combine their struggles with other movements in the society and forge a strong force that eventually

ended the Vietnam War. Though much shorter in duration, the anti-war movement of 1990-1991 contributed significantly to student political activism. When I was nearly at the end of this research in December of 1990, I asked my informants the question: "which issues do you think have the potential of mobilizing many students on your campus to protest?" the overwhelming answer was the Gulf Crisis. Many students hoped that this conflict would awaken people's consciousness, draw their attention to the domestic problems of this country, and encourage people to make real changes. A relevant example is that peace activists emerged at Rosary College, is a conspicuous event on an otherwise stagnant campus. Further, the fact that many students were mobilized for the first time in political activity is particularly encouraging. The Persian Gulf War awakened the consciousness of many previously inactive college students. And, students who remain active after the War will likely be the activists of the 1990s. This is perhaps the only positive impact of the Persian Gulf War.

There are two traditions within Catholic theory concerning war: non-violence and the just-war theory.[23] Non-violence has a long tradition and is widely used with great success. Famous examples include Jesus, Gandhi in India, and Martin Luther King. The concept of non-violence and direct action developed in the sixties from the Civil Rights Movement. In all student organizations of this study, activists see non-violence as the moral principle, and direct action as the main tool in effecting social change. Because

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[23] Research on war and religion flourished during and after the Second World War in the United States. A sample of studies: Hugo, 1943; Bowman, 1944; Abrams, 1948; Latourette, 1948; Rutenber, 1950; Raven, 1951; MacGregor, 1954; Carter, 1956; Bainton, 1960.

of the compatibility of non-violence and social justice with Catholicism, administrators in Catholic universities are usually supportive to anti-war student activists. The most crucial finding of this chapter is that anti-war forces are growing on Catholic campuses. Activists of this decade appear to have strong roots in the anti-war movement.

CHAPTER SIX

SAVE THE PLANET:
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION MOVEMENT

Mobilization around ecological and environmental issues mainly originated from the countercultural movement of the sixties. With the growing concern about the earth, environmentalists increasingly have become a conspicuous component of social movement. Paying specific attention to the environmental protection campaign, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is a general account of the history, issues, and approaches of the environmental protection movement in American society. An analysis of the student environmental organizations at Marquette and Loyola, in terms of history, membership, ideology, group structure, and issues is the main content of the second section. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the performance of environmentalists on Catholic campuses, the political implications of ecological consciousness, and the futures of the movement in the nineties.

History of the environmentalist

The first recent wave of environmental consciousness in the United States stemmed from the controversy surrounding radioactive fallout in the early sixties. Though heatedly debated, the issue of radioactive fallout had never been able to mobilize massive action before the Three Mile Island episode of 1979. In April 1970, people all over America mobilized to celebrate Earth Day and to raise the consciousness of

Americans concerning the possible destruction of our earth, thus giving birth to the so-called "ecological consciousness" mobilization. Since then, Earth Day has become a significant event in the environmental protection movement.

The environmental protection movement covers a wide range of goals: from anti-pollution (of any kind), to energy conservation, to recycling, to the natural foods movement. In the early eighties, the focus of ecological consciousness shifted to the nuclear freeze efforts, then to the tragic consequences of the Bhapol and Chernobyl. Beginning in the last two years of the eighties, the environmental protection movement gained its biggest momentum ever, and appeared as the most trendy political activity of the nineties. In these two years, environment issues consistently appeared in every major magazine; big corporations such as McDonald began to advertise on the use of "recyclable" paper products instead of styrofoam; health food became a lucrative business; books and papers about ecological awareness, and environmental conventions, became the in-thing. It seems that environmental protection will become the movement of the nineties.

Branches of the environmentalists

Maybe it is inappropriate to think there is "an" environmental movement. As pointed out by Anderson (1989: 52-3), the environmentalist is divided into at least four forces with different organizations, political positions, ideologies, strategies, and life-styles. According to Anderson, the "politicos" are the most visible wing of the environmentalist; they see the cause chiefly in terms of public policy, and are made up

of lawyers, lobbyists, and other specialists in environmental policy. The "greens" may or may not be associated with some kind of a Green political party, but they are highly suspicious of establishment politics. Consequently, the greens are very critical of the politicos. Greens want to change society deeply, drastically, and immediately, through protest and massive shifts in lifestyles.

The "grassroots" activists are not interested in ideology, spirituality, or Washington politics--they just want to keep their local communities from being destroyed by development and pollution. Even though this camp used to be associated with the well-to-do, recently a far-reaching and broad based grassroots movement is emerging on the horizon, with a broader goal of fighting pollution. Finally, the "global" are people whose concerns cover the entire planet. Ozone depletion, global warming, species extinction, and deforestation are the main concerns of the global. Marked by its scientific study and emphasis on development, this school stresses "sustainable development"--especially in the Third World. (ibid)

The environmental protection campaign on college campuses is closely aligned with the greens and global ideologically. Many college students in the environmentalist organization adopt the concepts of direct action, protest, and the change of consciousness to accomplish their goals. Also, the issues concerning ecological awareness are broad in scope, and usually manifested in the global context. Relatively speaking, the general features of the environmental organizations represent the conservative wing within the "progressive spectrum" on the college campus (see chapter seven). Still, college environmentalists are perceived as "radical" by students who do not engage in politics

at all.

As ecological consciousness saturates the society, people from all walks of life have started taking up environmental issues. It is probably not so incorrect to say that "Practically everybody today is some kind of an environmentalist." (Anderson, 1989) One alternative publication, the Utne Reader, sponsored "Early Warnings," billed as the "first gathering of the global alternative press" for "an international conference on media and the environment." This conference drew more than four hundred journalists and activists to Minneapolis' Hyatt Hotel during May 17 to 20, 1990. The participants of this conference ranged from the alternative and mainstream press, to representatives of the left and the new age, to Earth First! activists and EPA bureaucratics, to interactive computer evangelists and technology-shy Neo-Luddites. (Utne Reader, 1990, Sept/Oct: 41)

Another convention, the national convention of the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC), which took place at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, attracted more than 7,000 students from all over North America for its October 5-7, 1990 meeting. I think that the SEAC convention represented the first national student mobilization in America since the end of Vietnam War. And in this regard, it is theoretically important to study its impact. However, this chapter will only address the influence it exerted upon Loyola and Marquette Universities. This national convention partly reflected the growing awareness of students toward the environment; it also signified the reawakening of student political activism on America's campuses.

ANALYSIS

Student Environmental Action League (SEAC)

Similar to the humble beginnings of many earlier movement organizations in the 1960, the original idea of SEAC was conceptualized in the spring of '87 with a little over a dozen students. After two years, in October of 1989, some 1,700 students from all over the United States converged at Raleigh, North Carolina for the Threshold Conference, and a brand new organization was born. At the Threshold Conference, participants discovered that their concerns and actions towards the environment were not isolated, but rather represented a larger part of the emerging student culture. Consequently, by joining together and coordinating, they formed the Student Environmental Action Coalition and decided to wage a war on the destruction of the earth. Their efforts and commitment materialized one year later in the national convention.

At the top of the SEAC national conference registration form it reads: "The Cold War is Over. Now, Stop the War Against the Earth." The aim of the SEAC is "a call to action...to launch a strong, unified student environmental movement."[1] About one hundred workshop were planned at the conference, along with two plenary sessions, three panels, a rally, a benefit concert, and a session on regional meetings. This conference invited many celebrities as its speakers for some sessions. The welcoming address was delivered by actor Robert Redford; other speakers included Helen Caldicott (the

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[1] Personal file.

founding President of Physicians for Social Responsibility), Ralph Nader, Cesar Chavez, Denis Hayes, Gaylord Nelson, Winona LaDuke, and Jesse Jackson.

In all, the 1990 SEAC conference brought about some dramatic changes on American college campuses. There were many activities planned and implemented by the participants after the closing of the conference. To date, SEAC is probably the strongest student group in American universities, with over two hundred chapters. State, local, and regional SEAC also initiated a variety of programs on environmental protection. As for the student participants that I talked with during the convention, all of them regarded it as a successful meeting, and felt that they had learned many things; they were ready to be more active in environmental issues. In the next section, I will discuss the activities of Students for Environmentally Active Campus (SEAC) at Marquette University, and the Students For Environment (SFE) at Loyola University. Though both organizations started in the fall of 1989, SFE and SEAC appear to be two very different student groups.

Students for Environmentally Active Campus

A group of three ecologically concerned students at Marquette University, Todd, Beth, and Olivia, met in the fall of 1989 and discussed the possibility of forming a environmental group on campus. They had previously known one another, and were all aware of the growing importance of environmental protection; it was soon decided that they would go through the application process and form Students for Environmentally Active Campus (SEAC). Even though all three students were active in many activities--

Todd was very involved in children's rights, hunger clean-up, and homelessness; Beth was a nursing major and was working extensively in hospitals and shelters; Olivia volunteered in a soup kitchen, worked for women's rights, and belonged to Social Justice Network (a student group at Marquette focused on justice issues)--none of the students was aware of the existence of the national Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC).

SEAC at Marquette was very loosely organized; Beth was the nominal president, and all the other officers existed only on paper. From the time of its inauguration, SEAC was active in nothing but recycling. The group attracted ten participants to its first meeting and then membership dwindled to half. One year later, a very active student, Carmen, joined the group and Todd took over the presidency. When he took over the leader's role, Todd tried to connect the Marquette SEAC with local environmental groups such as the Great Lakes Federation and Citizens for a Better Environment, but with no effect because the small size of the group. In the end, Todd could only go outside school for information.

Carmen heard about the national conference of SEAC through a friend, and decided to attend the meeting. Doug, however, could not go because of a conflict in schedule. Olivia and Beth did not go to Champaign, either, because of other responsibilities. At the national conference, Carmen met with two other women students from Marquette, and learned many things about organizing on campus. Upon returning, Carmen had numerous conversations with Todd about the expansion of SEAC, but to no avail, because SEAC's membership at Marquette had never exceeded twelve. Only a

handful of students showed consistently for activities.

In the spring semester of 1991, the membership of SEAC grew to about 15. This was mainly because one of the professors in the philosophy department taught a course in which he required his students to take on some of the social justice issues and actually do something. Half of the students in that particular class decided to work on environmental issues and, after attending some of the SEAC meetings, those students decided to join SEAC. As a result, SEAC began to have more activities: three speakers were invited to give talks, a weekly "recycle push" program was installed on campus and carried out, a monthly newsletter was published, and organizational meetings were more publicized.

Todd graduated in May of 1991, and Carmen inherited his place as the new president of SEAC. When I talked to Carmen and asked what she would do as the president of SEAC, she replied:

> There are so many problems in this organization: Todd is very relaxed in terms of activity--even to the point of passive, he is a nice guy and we are good friends but he did NO recruiting, so the first thing that I will do is to get more people involved in this group. I will also increase our publicity; many students don't even know we are on campus and we have to let more people know about us. (interview with Carmen, 4/10/90)

Carmen also talked about the need to diversify issues covered:

> I think we should do more than recycling, like an audit, but again this needs people--I just can't do it by myself, so we have to get more people, this leads back to my first point. I also want to work more with other student organizations like the Marquette Integrate Leadership Council (MILC), Social Justice Network (SJN), or even campus ministry. I also want to work more closely with the administration

because a lot of what we do depends on their cooperation.
(ibid)

In all, Carmen pointed out the main direction in which the Marquette SEAC has to go. Recruitment, publicity, leadership, programming with other student organizations, information, and interaction with the school are all important aspects of student political activism. I also asked her about her feelings on working with outside environmental organizations, and her answer was somewhat ambivalent: "I would love to work with other organizations, but that's like a long term goal, because right now we are such a small group and this campus is so isolated, that to work with outside organizations seems impractical. What I want to do now is to build a strong organization first; if we can get a lot of people, then working with other groups will seem more meaningful." (ibid)

It seems that SEAC at Marquette will move into a different path as Todd graduated. This reflects the importance which leaders can bring to a student group. It is probably due to a combination of many reasons that SEAC was an inactive student organization on Marquette's campus, but Todd's personality (his passivity towards recruiting) is certainly a contributing factor. Leadership also affects activism in other ways. For example, Todd had many "acquaintances" who were active in many other organizations, but Todd seldom attempted to draw them into SEAC. Similarly, he never interacted with the administration to seek possible options for improving the environment.

Students for the environment

Alan was a junior major in chemistry when he founded the Students For Environment in 1988. Like the SEAC at Marquette, there were three original members

for SFE. A student with an impressive GPA, Alan was in the national honor society, student government, the Young Republicans, and Student Activity Board (SAB). The process which the SFE went through was quite interesting:

> I noticed two lab classes that I took at the time that we were wasting an incredible amount of material, particularly glass. I spoke with somebody about why didn't someone do something about this and a teacher said, "you know, it would be so easy, all you have to do is to put boxes at the end of hall!" and I thought about it, I'd been invited to come to the ecology club but because I was an officer in SAB, I had no time for, the club seemed to have no members anyway, it wasn't going to do anything, so what had happened was, I'd first turned to Tri Beta which was the biology club and said, "why don't you get together with the chemistry club and try to do something on recycling?" and they felt kind of interest and said "gee, that might be interesting."
> (interview with Alan, 10/18/90)

Alan's comments reveal a crucial point in the origins of many social movements: that certain concerns always exist in various segments of the population. In other words, the explosion of mobilization does not happen just "out of the blue." Rather, the potential "pools" of resources such as psychological grievances, human power, enthusiasm, and energy are always there. It is only the question of how to organize, retrieve, and mobilize these materials into social actions. Alan continued:

> However, during that summer I'd run into the president of the ecology club who was the only member left and I said "how is the ecology club going?" and he said, "I'll tell you what, you want to be the president? it's yours!" and I thought about it, I thought what I had started wanting to see--recycling program on campus, I thought "okay, great, so I am in the ecology club now." It turned out that they needed some paper work finished; I changed the name to the Students For the Environment because I thought the ecology club sounds too...too dry. And I thought SFE

would attract more people.
(ibid)

Here we see a case in which a student organization was formed in a very casual way. It followed that the development of the SFE was even more a "random" process rather than an intentional endeavor. Alan continued his story by saying: "At that time I'd gotten together with a student who was also interested in the environment, and so, with me as the president--being the only member at the time--I declared him vice president. I also turned to another person with whom I originally had spoken a little bit in my lab class, and I turned him and said, 'hey, both of us as the only two members of the club, elect you as the treasurer.' And so the three of us formed the SFE." (ibid)

Surprisingly, twenty people (including two teachers) showed up for the first meeting of the SFE in the fall semester of 1989, and there were some serious discussions on environmental issues. The first advisor for the SFE was a professor in biology department. Though he was supportive of the SFE, but the group's meeting time was in conflict with his teaching schedule. Further, Alan did not develop a rapport with the advisor, for reasons that Alan wouldn't share with me. In Alan's words:

> At the time Dr. Hose was our advisor; he couldn't make
> our Monday meetings at the time, and, but he was a carry-
> over, he was, somebody that I was not very close to,
> somebody from the ecology club had picked because he is
> an ecologist. He was being supportive in a lot of ways,
> but I was not used to dealing with him. It really...uh...and
> so...pretty much I would tell him what we're already doing
> and he would say, "great, sounds good." (ibid)

Then, at the vice president's recommendation, the organization changed its advisor to another professor in the biology department--Dr. Weinberg. Since Dr. Weinberg was

also an ecologist and active in the Chicago area on environmental issues, Alan agreed with the change.

After the change of advisor, Alan, the vice president, and Dr. Weinberg had a meeting in which Alan expressed his intention of doing recycling. The group discussed the relevant issues and reached a consensus to push a campus-wide recycling program. In the year that followed, the SFE was not very active other than by putting boxes all over campus to collect empty pop cans. The group would have a couple of speakers each semester, the meetings were not publicized at all, membership dropped to about five, and even the officers did not participate in many meetings. Members did not participate in activities sponsored by other student organizations, and very few students even knew of the existence of the SFE.[2]

At the last meeting of the SFE in the 1989-1990 school year, one student attempted to run for president, and his attempt was known by Alan in advance. In reaction to this attempt, Alan announced that there would be no election, and that the organization would maintain its existing structure for the school year of 1990-1991. Alan's rationale was that the group was still very young, and that in their first term the officers had not yet familiarized with the group and had not fulfilled the duties of their terms. Besides, the organization itself was in a formative process, so the officers needed more time to do things.

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[2] The most ironic event was that, when the president of the United Farmer Workers, Cesar Chavez, came to Loyola University and spoke on environmental issues, he was sponsored by another progressive student organization, Peace, Bread, and Justice (PBJ), not by the Students For the Environment.

The last meeting of the SFE at the end of the spring semester of 1990 was attended by three students. According to another account, there were actually three attempts to run for the presidency of the SFE. Helen was a junior in anthropology, and she had been environmentally aware for some time; she told me that she herself was also interested in "taking over the organization and really doing something." (interview with Helen, 2/14/91) Since Helen was very environmentally aware and wanted to do something, she was discontented with the lack of activity of the SFE, and so she intended to run for the election and do the programming herself. At the announcement of the cancellation of the election, Helen drifted away from the group.

The national conference of SEAC in 1990 drew 30 students from Loyola University; and only two of them were from the SFE. Even before the October conference, the SFE at Loyola did practically nothing other than meetings. After returning from the conference, the SFE was still inactive on Loyola's campus. Even during the Peace Days of the spring semester in 1991, with a whole day's activities allocated to environmental issues, none of the participants was from the SFE. And in the school year of 1990-1991, SFE had invited only one speaker, with no activity other than weekly organizational meetings.

The usurpation of the SFE

In reaction to the ineffectiveness of the SFE, two students talked to Alan and made many suggestions as to how to expand the SFE, diversify programs, work with other student organizations, get connected with the national student environmental

groups, and implement more plans other than recycling. Those two students came from somewhat different backgrounds. Helen was an anthropology student, and had been involved in another college; she was a junior and was working exclusively on environmental issues. Ray, on the other hand, was a philosophy junior active in many issues: he had been heavily involved in the Amnesty International, Loyola Chapter (AILU), Peace,Bread, and Justice (PBJ), and the Women's Center. Besides, he was one of the main organizers on the Peace Days activities. However, Helen had been a member of the SFE, Ray had not. Both students had taken courses from Dr. Weinberg, and they had talked to the advisor of the SFE about the necessity of change in environmental protection activity at Loyola. When Ray and Helen had talked to Alan, the latter's attitude had always been polite, but never did he actualize any of the suggestions. Frustrated by the obvious apathy of Alan, Ray and Helen decided to form another environmental group on Loyola's campus.

In early March of 1991, the Environmental Justice Committee (EJC) was formed as a division within Peace, Bread, and Justice (PBJ). The constituents of the EJC came from a variety of progressive student organizations, including members of the Women's Center, SFE, PBJ, AILU, and a couple of students with no group affiliations. The main organizers were Helen--an old member of the SFE, Ray, and Eva--an active member of the Women's Center. In the first meeting of the EJC, participants also included student activists from many other campus groups.

The original idea about EJC was to establish a group independent of the SFE, since the SFE wasn't doing anything other than recycling. However, as the EJC grew,

some members felt that they might take over the SFE by participating in the latter's meetings and having students run for the SFE's offices. Helen then talked to the advisor of the SFE about the EJC's intention. Dr. Weinberg, the advisor of the SFE, was also somewhat disappointed at the ineffectiveness of the SFE; he was particularly unhappy about Alan's unwillingness to hold election at the April, 1990 meeting.

Both Helen and Ray have good relations with Dr. Weinberg. They had many discussions with him about the environmental movement at Loyola, and the latter showed strong support for their endeavors. In the end, the EJC decided to join the SFE collectively. Since the SFE existed with only a handful of members, the EJC could use their numerical advantage to elect their members to be the officers of the SFE, and thus "take over" the organization. In so doing, the EJC would save the time and energy necessary for going through the procedure of forming a new student group. Further, student activists felt that to form a separate environmental organization seemed redundant, and the university might reject it on the ground that there was already an environmental group (SFE) on campus.

Helen and Ray also planned a large scale camp-out on Loyola campus on Earth Day of 1991. Unfortunately, the camp-out attracted only a handful of participants. Furthermore, only three member of EJC attended the last meeting of SFE, and both Ray and Helen were absent from that meeting due to personal problems. It turned out that Alan "voluntarily" gave up the presidency to a member, Maggie, because the constant presence of the EJC made Alan realize that he had to give up the position--one way or

the other. And the future of SFE and EJC became very ambiguous[3] because of summer vacation.

<div align="center">Problems of SEAC at Marquette</div>

Both the SFE (Loyola) and SEAC (Marquette) are very inactive student groups on campus, but their inactiveness is based on different reasons. When the SEAC was first formed, it had only three members, and its leaders were doing many things besides the organizational activity of SEAC. Further, the group did not engage itself in any kind of recruiting, publicity, programming, or information-servicing efforts to the Marquette community. When the presidency changed hands a year later, the activity of SEAC ran even lower, because the new president was even more "laid-back" and "relaxed" (in one member's words) than the one that preceded him. The fact that few students at Marquette knew about SEAC is a clear evidence. The president would go outside of the school to seek information, connections, and programming, but he did almost nothing on campus.

The situation of SEAC at Marquette University represents a unique case in student political activism. In most campus student organizations, leaders will pay much attention to recruiting, promotion, inter-organizational activity, public relations, and education. On all these aspects, the performance of SEAC was very low. This is because the leader of SEAC took an individualistic approach to their group. The second-term president

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[3] I did not get a chance to interview Maggie. Although very active in the SFE, Maggie's ideology was in close align with Alan's. This information was provided by one of my colleague who had done a study in the SFE.

Todd, for instance, would go outside the school and to other local environmental organizations to look for information, but he seldom shared his information with other students. He is also care-free in terms of the continuity of the SEAC. The fact that student groups are transient and that campus organizations should put forth a great deal of their resources to attract new members does not seem to be an issue to Todd. I was very surprised to find out, when I talked to Todd in early April of 1991 about their recruiting efforts, that he had never thought of this as an organizational activity.

The members of the SEAC have to share some of the responsibilities, too. Admittedly, SEAC at Marquette is a small group, and most students at universities are very busy. Still, most members in SEAC seemed to emphasize aspects of their life other than environmental concerns. This seems paradoxical, because if members of SEAC were careless about the ecology, why bother to form a group in the beginning? When I put this question to some SEAC members, the replies were ambivalent: "Of course I am concerned about the environmental issues, but I just don't know how should I go about it." Or, "I want to do something, but with a group like this [very small] and a president like Todd [inactive], it's really hard to do anything." As a result, SEAC ended up being an obscure, small, and inactive student organization.

Problems of the SFE at Loyola

The SFE, on the other hand, has been almost a "one-man" organization throughout its existence. In my first interview with the president, Alan clearly told me his intention:

> I am interested mostly in recycling and I don't want to have any connection with other national organizations because they have their own concerns. By connecting with those organizations, the SFE will sometimes have to endorse their view and do their things. I want to do my own things so I made sure that--in my constitution--no such connection can be made.
> (interview with Alan, 10/18/90, his emphasis)

Alan's political view is also quite interesting:

> What's interesting, though, being, I guess, a bit more of Republican, more conservative, or something I have respect for the capitalist system, I'd said, did not, was not, willing to jump on the side of just activism, of just waving the flags. I did not, I felt there was a certain runway of going about it, seeing how like some were willing to go and protest a nuclear plant and yet when they go home, they turned on Tv. and watch themselves on Tv. protesting, pop something in the microwave oven--there are a lot of people willing to protest and yet not willing to offer an explanation. (ibid)

Though they sound cynical, Alan's words do have some measure of truth. But the point is that he made the SFE almost "his" own by alienating many people.

In the view of the people who had been in the SFE, Alan was described almost unanimously very negatively as "dominating," "self-righteous," etc. Alan's open rejection of other environmental groups--national or regional--was seen by the involved students as a sign of totalitarian control over the SFE. Some members of the SFE described Alan's reluctance to show members the constitution, even when he was asked specifically to do so. Alan's strange unwillingness to hold elections was also questioned by many members. Helen told me that she suspected a lot of the potential members of SFE were "turned off" by Alan's ways of running the organization; and the few people

who had been in the group were discouraged by Alan's philosophy.

Alan had extensive ties with the administration of Loyola. Since his first year, Alan had been working closely with the staff on student activities--he invited bands to the school's parties and he also helped with the organizing work of the Student Activity Board (SAB). A popular student, Alan also knew many students on campus. He attended a lot of the social gatherings of the national honor society, and made the acquaintance of many people in his years. Alan told me that many students when he had met socially during in his freshman year ended up in many campus organizations such as the student government, school newspaper, SAB, and some progressive groups.

The recycling program of the SFE received generous support from the administration. This is rather exceptional, because staff people of a school are usually not enthusiastic towards student activism. Alan explained: "The reaction [to the recycling program of SFE] from the administration has been very good; it has been very helpful, very willing to sit down and work out further--even to a step that we did not think that the administration would be willing to take it first." (interview with Alan, 10/18/90)

Since the beginning, Alan had taken the idea of recycling to the lower level of the administration, and met there with suspicion, because some of the low-level administrators thought that recycling would increase the school's budget and create some kind of problems; therefore, they were reluctant to give their approval. Nevertheless, some lower strata administrators responded favorably to the program. For instance, the secretaries of many departments, who had to do a great deal of the paperwork, actually

support the recycling efforts because they have first-hand experience in the waste use of some materials. Many people who were involved in the laboratory (especially in biology and chemistry) are also empathetic to the program, because they understand the situation. Still, there were some lower-level administrators who initially showed oppositional attitudes to recycling.

By finding out the chain of command, Alan took the plan to a higher administrator--a vice president. Here we see a different picture:

> Then we found out about his supervisor who could make decisions on this, then we went to his boss, and particularly having Dr. Weinberg's support, very strong support, and being able to, much more easily contact someone like a vice president of facility and asked him to come to our meeting, so we had him come to our meeting, and he sat down and said, "well, let's change the contract for our clean-up group to, instead of emptying our waste paper basket, they will empty a paper-recycling basket," and his willingness to commit even, you know, "well, we'll just write into their contract." So that gave us an idea like as far as administration goes how, when you get up towards the higher levels in the administration, you come up more of a planners, and people that are less of your grunts that are...Generally speaking, we have the body of the administrators on our side. (ibid)

After the popularization of the recycling program, many middle-level administrators also support the program. As one director told me:

> It is the highest form of acceptable, main-stream political activism because it's okay to be pro-environment. It's very acceptable in almost any political circle: there are few people that will come out and say that they have problems with environmental protection. It's a safe, generic thing. (interview with Bo, 6/10/90)

As a result of the cooperation from the administration, the SFE was awarded the best

performance student organization by Loyola University in June, 1991.

A comparison of the SFE and SEAC

It seems that the environmental protection student organizations at Loyola and Marquette share many similarities. Both groups are small in size and inactive on campus, because neither put forth efforts in recruiting, publicity, and inter-organizational activity. In the first two years of their existence, SFE and SEAC were both concentrated exclusively on recycling. Beginning in the fall semester of 1991, both SEAC and SFE will face a crucial turning point in terms of organizational structure and activity, leadership, and ideology.

It is also interesting to note that both SFE and SEAC are likely to be taken over by women student activists who share very similar ideas. Carmen and Helen both told me in their interviews that they intended to enlarge the group by attracting more members; that they intended to be more active in publicity and public relations; that they plan to broaden the program to other activities than recycling. Moreover, the two women activists feel that a good way to start the change of their groups would be an "energy audit" of each school. Since energy audits need a great deal of resources (e.g., people, time, reading material, information, etc.), it would seem appropriate if enough concerned students were involved.

Carmen at Marquette and Helen at Loyola are also concerned about coalition building. Dissatisfied with the passivity of the predecessor (Carmen) and the hegemony of the former leader (Helen), both students emphasized that they would work harder to

get their organizations connected with other student groups around the country, and with other national organizations. Besides coalition building, both groups are also enthusiastically trying to recruit more members from minority students, because Carmen and Helen were very concerned about the lack of non-white students' participation in their organizations. As pointed out by Helen: "sometimes I feel funny in doing this because we are fighting for the minorities--a lot of the toxic dumping is in the poor, disadvantaged neighborhoods; still we don't see any non-whites in our group." A fair representation of the "minorities" in an environmentalist group could avoid the charge of a "white, middle-class, men" orientation in student activism. The above intention is certainly noble (but difficult); however, presently it is difficult to tell what will happen to these two organizations.

CONCLUSION

It is ironic that, while a growing environmental concern appears to be prevalent in this country, the scene at religious institutions, at least in this study, is different from the national scene. From the previous sections, we know that student activists on two Catholic campuses devote relatively little energy to the environmental protection movement. The inactivity and the ineffectiveness of the Students for Environmentally Active Campus at Marquette and Students For the Environment at Loyola testify to this point. Further, one school in this research, Rosary College, does not even have an environmentalist group. This seems contradictory when we look at the heightened

ecological consciousness in general on a societal level. However, I noticed that there are concerned students on all campuses who are engaged in some scattered and individual efforts for environmental protection. Many student activists, though not officially affiliated with any environmental group, are fervently active in the Coors and grape boycotts, recycling, vegetarianism, and other forms of ecological activism. Therefore, if one can establish a conspicuous, active, and large environmental student organization on campus--any campus--the mission of the environmentalist will likely be easier to achieve.

According to the informants of this research, Catholic universities seem to be quite sympathetic and supportive to environmental protection campaigns. Even though ecological concerns cut across race, gender, and class lines, this movement manifests a lack of minorities' participation. This deficiency is particularly acute in the Catholic setting, when we analyze the two student environmentalist organizations. Even though the isolation and ineffectiveness of SEAC and the SFE are based on quite different reasons, the need to expand and diversify the organizations in terms of number and composition of membership, agenda, and activity remains the same. With the changes in leadership, structure, and activity, the future of environmental campaigns will seem hopeful.

In addition to the efforts by student activists on college campuses, many entrepreneurs and corporations are also engaged in the "trendy" environmental protection movement. Huge companies such as Exxon, DuPont, McDonald's, and Arby's, among others, are eagerly portraying themselves as being "responsible businesses" concerned

about pollution and other environmental issues. It is ironic, since these big corporations were responsible for much of the major pollution on earth in the first place--especially the petroleum and chemical companies--that they now turn their foci on more humanitarian issues. I suspect that the so-called "corporate accountability" eventually boils down to another promotional and marketing strategy aimed at "maximum profit." Unless it faces forceful and irresistible opposition from the environmentalists, corporate accountability will remain mere rhetoric. In this respect, student activists can play a determining role in the movement, both by boycotting abusive companies and by pressuring legislators to develop stricter regulations for corporate accountability.

Among the agenda of the environmentalists, the following are the most pressing issues: global warming (the greenhouse effect), ozone depletion and CFC emission, acid rain, habitat preservation, toxic substances (including nuclear and chemical waste), the loss of coast line, deforestation, and recycling. Those issues are intimately related to the whole planet Earth and the human species. It is unfortunate that student activists on Catholic college campuses are concentrating only on recycling, because all aims of the environmentalists need a global perspective, and the solutions of these problems require international cooperation. Still, the success of student activists' efforts in ecology at colleges are essential for the environmental protection program.

In conclusion, then, it looks like the effective methods in the ecological campaign are to pressure the government to install more effective legislation and policy concerning the environment; to urge the big corporations to take more initiatives in solving pollution and other epidemics; to propose further research on alternative energy and conservation;

to intensify recycling; and to address the much ignored pollution of rural and disadvantaged communities. All these goals can be more easily achieved if student environmentalists can incorporate these concerns into their agendas and activities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BOOM-BUST? CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDENT MOVEMENT
IN THE CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In this chapter I want to discuss the general characteristics of student activists, campus student organizations, and the "atmosphere" in the Catholic higher educational system.[1] Political activism is a process of interaction. As such, it involves actors, institutions, and social actions. The interplay between different actors in the institutional (and societal) context is the bedrock of social movement. Therefore, these three elements are indispensable to the study of student political activism, because, as indicated in the beginning of this report, social movement is a process involving both the transformation of individual consciousness and institutional evolution.

Catholicism has been changed a lot since Vatican II--particularly in the American context. The declining significance of religion in American society partly manifests itself in the diminishing differences between secular and religious institutions. To this day, student politics at Catholic universities is constrained by the religious character of such institutions. In the mean time, however, such constraints also serve as the impetus for mobilization. By comparing the differences between this research and previous studies

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[1] The importance of the activists and organizations to campus activism are self-explanatory, as we witness in the vast literature. "School atmosphere," however, appears to be a less studied item. The few available reports conclude unanimously that "Ph. D. granting," "four-year," and "prestigious" universities are conducive grounds for brewing student activism. See, for example, Heist, 1965: 61-9; Peterson, 1966; and Hodgkinson, 1970: 537-55.

on student movements, understanding the nature of college student uprisings can be better achieved. In conclusion, a model of boom-bust will be presented to explain the ebb and flow of student politics at Catholic universities.

Characteristics of student activist

From the previous chapters, we find some distinct characteristics of the students who were politically active at Catholic universities. Efforts will be made in this section to analyze the general social background of the students who actively participate in politics--admittedly a small fraction of the student body.[2] A comparison of the common psychological features of these student activists will then be made with the similar studies from the sixties. Student activists in this study have the following features: 1) more women than men;[3] 2) more juniors and seniors than freshmen and sophomores; 3) activists heavily concentrated in the humanities and social sciences;[4] 4) most did not

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[2] Both Marquette and Loyola University are schools with some 14,000 students, but there were fewer than 100 activists (as defined in this study) in each school. Rosary College has a student body of 1,500, with around a dozen student activists. I did not venture into the realm of academic performance because of resource constraints. It seems that participation in student activism has not change much since the 1960s; see Peterson, 1966; and Trent and Craise, 1967: 34.

[3] The sex ratio of this research is 9:5 (female:male). This is perhaps the most striking finding of the study, because very few previous researches in student movement discussed the sex ratio and its impact upon various movements. A couple of exceptions which did study the sex ratio indicated predominant male participation. Soloman and Fishman's study (1964: 57) on peace demonstrators, and Smith, Haan, and Block's study in UC and SF State (1970: 269, Table 3, item "Activists" and "Dissents" combine) both have a sex ratio of 2:3.

[4] This item is probably the most widely-reported characteristic about student activists, and my finding is consistent with the literature. (Soloman and Fishman, 1964: 57; Flacks, 1967: 52-75; Keniston, 1968: 307; Smith, Haan, and Block; 1970: 261-88;

have any religious beliefs;[5] 5) overwhelmingly white; 6) fifty-eight out of seventy were

aged twenty-one or older (83%); 7) political ideology in close alignment with mother and

usually in contradiction to father; 8) good mother-daughter or mother-son relations; 9)

more than two-thirds were active in high school; 10) all showed concerns in more than

one issue; and 11) almost all feminists were in the women's studies program. The

following five sections analyze these characteristics.

Mom's legacy

I discussed very briefly, in the second chapter, "latent" and "manifested"

activism. (pp. 35-6) I believe that latent activism in high school is a necessary and

sufficient pre-condition for political activism in college years.   Further, the

encouragement of unusual political thinking and activities is crucial for the development

of latent activism.   In this regard, a mother's influence towards an active student is

explicitly strong in this research.   For instance, one of the leaders of the Women's

Center of Loyola University, Molly, talked about how her mother's view on abortion

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Lipset, 1972; Braungart and Braungart; 1974: 219-48)

[5] It is noteworthy that some of the informants in this category told me that they came from very religious families. It was only after intense involvement in politics that they changed their perceptions upon religion. One student said: "The best way to change your religious belief is to go through a Catholic university. For me, it is...after I saw what had happened here that I really got sick and tired about hearing all these 'Catholic teachings.'" This women's former religious belief was not included in any Western religious denomination, which is quite interesting. Her comments represents a quite typical response of other student activists in their conversion from some denomination to "atheist."   Also interestingly, some would elaborate on the differences between "atheistic" and "agnostic," and insisted that they were atheists. See, also, Soloman and Fishman, 1964: 58.

influenced her political activism. (p. 35) Likewise, Liz's mother provided important

inspirations:

> My mother is real supportive, she thinks it's [feminism]
> great. She doesn't have time to do a lot but she is very
> pro-choice. I would write letters and send 'em to her and
> she would sign 'em and mail to the legislatures, she would
> do that. She also gave money to pro-choice organizations.
> (interview with Liz, 10/1/90)

Sandra Westmoreland--the victim of a racial incident (chapter three)-- stressed in the

interview the support she got from her mother during her personal struggle. Another

student in the peace and social justice movement said:

> My mom, she is very helpful, she would answer my
> questions [about activism] and constantly remind me to let
> her know where I was. Like she would say: "let me know
> where the demonstration is and call me, if you got arrested,
> so I can get you out of there."
> (interview with Jane, 10/24/90)

A gay student active in the homosexual rights movement, Kafka, said to me:

"Right now I don't have the courage to tell my parents about my sexuality and the things

I do, but if I had the nerve to tell 'em, I think it would be easier for my mother to accept

it." (interview with Kafka, 10/17/90) Jesse, a student activist in the anti-apartheid and

hunger clean-up movements, echoed the point: "We don't really talk much about what

I do in school, but when they [parents] start complaining, when we have an argument and

then it [activism] would come out--that's when we sit down and discuss it. It was usually

mom being more understanding and receptive. (interview with Jesse, 4/19/90)

In all, student activists seem to have a, non-contradictory and even compatible

political ideology with their mothers, and can receive moral and other support from

them. Fathers, on the other hand, play a very different role. Though they generally do

not directly oppose a child's political activity, some of them rather helplessly accept it

as a compromise. For instance, Melissa is involved in radical politics; she described her

father's attitude as:

> I mentioned it [activism] to him and he told me to be
> careful, to stay out of the streets, and to study hard.
> That's pretty much it. He understands it that, after figured
> out, I will do whatever regardless [of his opinion]; he sort
> of accepts it, he's definitely not encouraging it, but he is in
> Houston, so he can't make a difference.
> (interview with Melissa, 2/2/91)

And Liz claimed that: "My father and I are politically opposite on just about every issue

in this planet. He belongs to the National Rifle Association and he is a Republican, you

know. We don't agree on anything but, I think, we respect each other's opinion"

(interview with Liz, 10/1/90) The most dramatic conflict, however, was expressed by

Sid--a die-hard socialist working on almost every radical issue:

> After I got out of the army there was an increasing conflict
> between me and my father over what should I do with my
> life, you know, fathers and sons...I was also working part
> time, sometimes full time at a gas station--pumping gas,
> and I had spent a summer working in construction work for
> very low wages. And so I was becoming very aware of
> my personal class position even though I came out of the
> middle-class...And so my father was becoming more and
> more a symbol of what I didn't like about society.
> (interview with Sid, 12/14/90)

Overall, fathers generally play a negative role in student political activism, while

mothers' influence appears to be a conducive factor.

<u>Activism</u> <u>in</u> <u>high</u> <u>school</u>

It appears to be a common phenomenon for student activists to have had previous political experience. Other than academic, social, and avocational activities, most informants in this study reported, in consciousness or in real action, to have been engaged in some "political activities" in their high schools. After a careful analysis of those activities, I found that they fall into the following categories: volunteer work, peace, public interests research group, conventional politics, and student newspapers.

Volunteer work is probably the most popular extra-curricular activity for high school activists. Informants reported their experiences in hospitals, nursing homes, shelters for the homeless and battered women and abused children, and with the handicapped. Some of these programs are co-sponsored by the campus ministry--as in the case of Catholic high schools--or are related to the local church. Church work also appears to be a major item for Catholic students. In this regard, campus ministry in Catholic universities plays a decisive role on student political activism. An elaborated analysis of campus ministry is in the next section. Activity of this kind sometimes also involves various retreats and community organizing. Several Catholic students described their work in the Deep South, devastated neighborhoods, and in Appalachia.

Peace mobilization constitutes the next important agenda. Activities in this category includes petitions, rallies, vigils, demonstrations, and letter writing. One active feminist, Eva, described her experience in a peace group as:

> There was a STOP [Student and Teacher Oppose to Proliferation] chapter in my high school...They are in opposition to war and they focused on the prevention of nuclear war. We rally around different issues like the

comprehensive test ban treaty, SDI, and stuff like that...We
have study groups to research and address these issues.
We also worked with other organizations such as PSR
[Politicians for Social Responsibility] and SANE
[Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy]; we organized and
participated in some local and national demonstrations.
(interview with Eva, 10/18/90)

Other students had participated in protesting in nuclear sites, organizing to ban the

transportation of nuclear material on their local highways, writing letters to condemn the

invasion of Libya, voicing their opposition of U. S. involvement in Latin America, and

other campaigns.

Public Interests Research Group (PIRG) is another aspect of high school activism.

This "umbrella" organization contains a cluster of very diversified activities, from

consumer's rights to the anti-war movement. The "mainstream" of the PIRG, however,

includes clean water study, anti-noise pollution, toxic waste dumps, the grape boycott--

mainly environmentally related issues. Unlike the peace fighters who usually conduct

their activities in confrontations, student activists of this group usually are engaged in

information gathering, researching, and lobbying.

Some high school students also were involved in conventional politics. Informants

recounted their roles in student government and various councils and committees within

the school. A rather interesting example is that two students were in a school where

there was a "mini-United Nations." By being elected an "ambassador" to the mini-UN,

they had the chance to study and exercise the operation of the real UN. Occasionally,

active students could canvass, organize meetings, prepare information, and visit local

residents for political candidates. A handful of this group belong to the Young

Democratics, Amnesty International, Students Against Drunk Driving, and other national political organizations.

Many student activists were also engaged in their high school's student newspaper. Of those who had experience with the student newspaper in high school, all ended up in three majors: journalism, communications, or political science. It is noteworthy that this group of students were also to be found in the speech teams, debate clubs, and other oratory activities. In all, well over two-thirds of the student activists in this research had previous political experience while in high school. Other than the traditional extra-curricula activities such as sports, dance, drama, music, poetry and literature, movies, and outings, student activists were found in various political campaigns. Even though the students themselves felt that what they did in high school was by no means "radical" (or even political), as some pointed out, the activities of those students were different from those of their non-active counterparts.

In all, the purpose of the last two sections has been to attempt to analyze the effects of parental influence,[6] and previous (i.e., high school) political experience upon the student activists of Catholic universities.[7] Theories of political socialization generally acknowledge that high school is the time when important political ideology is

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[6] This idea is compatible with Dunlap's study that "parental political socialization, and not generational conflict, is a more important factor in producing student activism." (1970: 171) See, also, Westby and Braungart, 1970: 476-89.

[7] Zeitlin's study found that the politically relevant experiences of the "formative years" (18-25) were decisive in forming political orientation, and activity echoed this point. (1966: 493-508)

formed prior to adulthood.[8]   Even though some studies stress the importance of peer

influence, this study analyzes the impact of parents--in the context of religious

institutions.   "Latent activism" is, as such, mainly a product of parental--maternal, in

particular--influence on student activists at Catholic universities.   While still subject to

modification and change, "manifested activism" goes through a distinctive phase in the

college years for student activists.   Later, we will have more discussion on the concrete

result of this distinctive phase.

Campus ministry and student politics

Campus ministry plays a crucial role in student political activism at Catholic

institutions.   Many students in this study told me they were first drawn to politics

through their activities in the campus ministry, even though the programs of the campus

ministry are by no means radical.   The programs are, rather, charity-, volunteer-,

reform-, and welfare- oriented.   Participation in these programs has a very dramatic

impact on certain students, however.   All three schools in this study have programs for

student participation in hospital work, soup kitchens, community organizing, retreats,

shelters, foster homes, and so forth.

I have talked to people in the campus ministry at each school, and it seemed that

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[8] In a study on the congruence of political attitudes of radical and conservative parents with their college-aged children, Thomas found that "liberal students who had taken part in student radical activities were closer to their parents on three levels of attitudes: political interests and participation; party preference; and political and social attitudes. (1968, chapter four)   Also, Jennings and Niemi stressed that family was an important source for political attitude and behavior for high school students. (1974)

the people with whom I had conversations were somewhat "different" from the usual clergy people in the Catholic church. Generally speaking, Catholic churches are pro-life, anti-homosexual, prohibit the use of contraceptives, and are against the ordination of women as priests. My informants, however, provided a contrast. They were overwhelmingly in favor of ordaining women as priests. Though ambiguous on the "choice" issue, many campus ministry people were in favor of the use of contraceptives. Interestingly, the people whom I talked to also seemed to somewhat ambiguous about homosexuality. In fact, a couple of the people in one school even helped to form a discussion group which focused on the issue of homophobia.

Over half of the student activists at Marquette had been heavily involved in the campus ministry throughout their college careers. The figure was only about one fourth in the Rosary sub-sample, and roughly only ten percent of the student activists at Loyola were involved in the activities of campus ministry. Activists at Loyola and Rosary tend to be involved only in their first and second year, however. It is worth noting that, of students who claimed Catholicism as their religious belief (about 1/3 of the entire sample), most had been involved with the campus ministry at one point or another. For those Catholics who had their high school education in a Catholic institution, almost all had been involved in campus ministry after high school.[9]

Volunteer work, such as a retreat in Appalachia, a soup kitchen on the street

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[9] I should caution the reader that about one half of the student activists claimed to be atheists when I interview them. Many students changed their religious orientation from Catholic to atheist during their college years. Therefore, percentages of Catholics in this study would be much higher if we shift the sample of this study to high school.

corner, a night at a homeless shelter, a spring break in a poor neighborhood in the Deep South, a chance to help people in a devastated community, a shift in a half-way house for battered wives or abused children--these are the programs sponsored by campus ministry. Basically, students interested in those kinds of programs are more prone to political activism. Through a regular involvement with those activities, students gradually develop a different perception of "reality." This transformation of perception leads to some serious questioning. Why are there so many poor people that need help? Why do apparently sober and willing men (and women) hang around in the streets without jobs having nothing to eat? Why does an unfortunate wife with bruises all over her body keep going back to her husband? These are logical questions when students have participated, for a while, in the campus ministry's programs. As their involvement progresses, so do their questions. Consequently, active students deepen their commitments, and channel their enthusiasm to other activities that aim to make fundamental changes. What happens is that students, through their engagement with the programs of campus ministry, gradually change their perceptions, attitudes, ideas, and values towards people, society, and the relation between the two. This is a process of "radicalization," or, as feminists like to call it, "consciousness raising."

<u>Personal</u> <u>is</u> <u>political</u>:
<u>the</u> <u>interrelatedness</u> <u>of</u> <u>issues</u>

The famous slogan "personal is political" originated from the early feminist movement. It means that, what at first appeared to be the problems of individuals, did, in fact, have their roots in the society. Therefore, personal problems have political

solutions, and can only be resolved by political actions. A direct consequence of "consciousness raising"--in which small groups of women (three to 12 people) come together sharing personal emotions, feelings, and experiences by engaging in casual conversations--"personal is political" became an important concept in women's emancipation. Here, I want to apply this concept to the student movement at Catholic universities. In so doing, efforts are made not so much on the process of CR, but rather the consequences.

Mother-child relations and high school politics, (i.e, "latent activism") can be seen as the "bridging" of frames--to use Snow et. al.'s schema, activism in college belongs to the "amplification," "extension," and "transformation" of frames, i.e., manifested activism. At the end of college activism, a rather distinctive frame is formed which is characterized by the showing of concern for many issues. This multi-issue concern manifests itself in the cross-fertilization of student activism on campus. For instance, the "Free Speech Movement" of the Women's Center in chapter two inspired all progressive student organizations on Loyola's campus to become mobilized into a joint battle with the administration.[10] This unprecedent example was repeated one year later by the Black Cultural Center (BCC) and the Loyola University African-American Student Association (LUASA) in their fight over the Sandra Westmoreland incident. We learn from these two examples that progressive students at Catholic universities have the potential to be mobilized for any issue about social injustice. Indeed, these cases testify

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[10] Throughout the history of Women's Center of Loyola University, I think this is one of the biggest successes, the other being the establishment of the women's studies program; see the next section.

that student activists have high consciousness about gender inequality and racial inequity.

Student activists in this research told me that they are concerned about many issues. Molly, a main leader in the Women's Center of Loyola University, illustrates the point: "Last year when the Missouri Case happened, it really, really politically activated me, because it really affected me. I realized that something really had to be done about that." (interview with Molly, 9/30/90) And Ida, another feminist, is even more relevant and explicit:

> I have a lot of other [besides feminism] concerns, like the impending war...Well, we have over a quarter of a million's troops over there, that's half of what we had in Vietnam--the whole time; I just don't think that we can get out of the Middle East without a war. That's really a scary thought; it could change my whole life 'cause my boy friend could be drafted. This is what I mean personal is political...I'm also concerned about racism, about the fact that seventy-percent of the U. S. population is living under the recession condition. I'm concerned for black Americans living under depression conditions for the last ten years under the Republicans' policies. I'm also concerned about the fact we slaughter millions of people and in various parts of the world like El Salvador, Nicaragua, like Cuba, you name it, we got our hands in, you know.
> (interview with Ida, 10/17/90)

In all, student activists in Catholic institutions are concerned about many issues, and they realize that these issues are interconnected. Even though schoolwork and other personal responsibilities prevent them from being active in as many fields as they would like,[11]

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[11] In the same interview that I had with Ida, I raised the question of why, since she was concerned about so many issues, she worked almost exclusively in the Women's Center; she replied: "Right now that's what I'm doing because that's all I have time for." (ibid) Ida's answer represents a typical response from other activists to the same question.

student activists participate in many of their concerns. Further, by participating in different mobilizations, they strengthen their will, and understanding, to challenge injustice.

As indicated in the beginning (pp. 15-7), this research attempts to study the process of "consciousness change" of student activists at Catholic universities. Using parts of the political process model and frame alignment, six factors are being studied: political leverage available to students; levels of student organization; and the bridging, amplification, extension, and transformation of frames. In the last three sections we discussed these elements. To summarize: a mother's influence is a positive factor in encouraging activism and the forming of a political frame before high school; political activities in high school and awareness are essential for college activism; levels of organization--which were discussed in chapters 2-6; and through college activism a distinctive consciousness is established which manifests in concern for many issues. Above all, the change of consciousness comes through college years with participation in real actions.

<u>Feminism and campus activism</u>

Women's studies programs became popular academic disciplines during the early eighties. These programs are examples of institutionalized changes that feminists accomplished in their struggle for gender equality. By nature an interdisciplinary

program,[12] women's studies contributes immensely to the growing feminist awareness on college campuses. What women's studies has accomplished is to provide training for students in a thorough understanding of feminist issues, to make information and resources available for feminist activists, to facilitate and direct political mobilizations, and most importantly, to produce a heightened consciousness for students who go through the process.

Women's studies has set up an example in fighting social injustice, for other student organizations on Catholic campus because a crucial ingredient in any political activity is education. If the goal of education can be successfully accomplished, it is much easier to initiate personal and social change. It is noteworthy that every student in this study mentioned "education." For the student activists, education implies a goal, a means, and a process. Many activities of student organizations on college campuses are educational, whether they be speakers, films, discussions, forums, or what have you. Education is also a means, because by conversation, pamphlet, and the information on the literature tables, college students will learn more about different issues. Prejudice and discrimination are rooted in ignorance, and the most effective way to change ignorance is by education. The women's studies program is very successful in this regard.

The women's studies program is the most concrete evidence of the achievement of the feminist movement at Catholic universities. It completely refutes the myth that

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[12] A glimpse on the program reveals that courses include sociology, philosophy, theology, history, psychology, social work, political science, art and literature, and communications.

student movements can not result institutional change.[13] The fact that virtually all members of the women's rights organization in this study have either a major or a minor in the women's studies clearly exemplifies the fruit of consciousness raising. Furthermore, even many women students in other campus organizations have a minor in women's studies. In fact, feminist consciousness is so persuasive among progressive students, that male chauvinism becomes less and less visible.

Student organizations at Catholic schools
A different left?

The research design of this project is to study the "radical" segment of student activists in the setting of the Catholic institution.[14] After a period of investigation, however, it became clear that students in radical politics are not a monothilic population with similar ideologies regarding many issues. For example, progressive students generally admit the existence of racism and sexism in American society; yet the recognition of origins, contributing factors, historical developments, and above all, the solutions to these two inequalities vary from student to student, and, sometimes, even within the same student organization. Since these differences are partially reflected in each organization's activity, this section analyzes various dimensions of the differences.

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[13] One faculty member that I had a talk with told me unequivocally: "The students did not stop the Vietnam War--they only prolonged it; it was the media that stopped the war. The problem with student movement is that they make things worse--the American people don't like to be shouted at. Besides, the student movement has no impact upon policy making, it's not possible for them to institutionalize reform." (conversation with a professor about the anti U. S.-Iraq War movement, name withheld, 6/18/91) I cite this example not to endorse this view but to debunk it.

[14] See Chapter One, note 7.

Women's rights groups and homosexual alliances are controversial or potentially controversial groups at Catholic universities.[15] This is because the demands of the feminists, lesbian and gay students, are "contrary to the Catholic teachings." The administrations of Catholic universities also see minority student groups as, at least potentially problematic, because, many of the ethnic students' uprisings appear in "crisis" situations.

Active students in socialist and women's rights groups comprehend the conflicting nature between their groups and the university. Also, student activists in these groups usually had to go through a prolonged period of tension, struggle, and negotiation with the school official recognition of the existence of their groups. As a result, feminist and gay rights organizations are almost "born" to be "radical," "unconventional," and "contradictory"--in the eyes of the administrators of Catholic universities.

The insurgence of race-based student group is probably the most radical form--in both ideology and activity--of all student activism of Catholic schools. Such mobilizations are the direct response to overt racism of white people and institutions. Also, because of the rarity of this type of uprising, the "radicalness" of race-based student groups are magnified even in the usual rally, protest, and demonstration situations. What we see in the manifestations of racism in our daily life is but the tip of an iceberg. And the explosion of ethnic student unrest, though it seems extraordinary, acts to expose the whole iceberg. To awaken the consciousness about racial inequality

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[15] Interviews with several administrators who had direct contact with student activists and organizations in the three schools of this study confirmed this.

in this society, activists in the race-based organizations are forced to take an ultra-radical stand (and sometimes to dramatize the event) to achieve their goals.

"Radical" has a very different meaning when we discuss lesbian and gay rights groups. Homosexuality is in contradiction with Catholic doctrine, and because gay men and lesbians are also perceived rather negatively in the society at large, lesbian rights advocates are only "ideologically" radical--particularly in Catholic universities. In the realm of action and strategy, however, homosexual rights groups are, in fact, somewhat conservative. At this point it is worthwhile to reiterate a couple of examples. At a discussion about a same-sex dance party, one main organizer of Gay and Lesbian Alliance (GALA), Zebra, told me:

> The administration was afraid that this time, this newly formed group that would be the type of activity that might cause other groups to oppose GALA become possibly violent or more active, and so that was their concern. I agree that you [the university] have an interest on the safety of the group--that's legitimate, that I do agree--from my personal standpoint that there are certain things that would probably not to be in the best interest of the group to do, at this beginning stages, that we still have to step quietly.
> (interview with Zebra, 12/3/90, italics mine)

Another example is the negotiation on the "prudence" issue, which the group compromised on, and agreed to abide by "good judgement." (pp. 117-20) In all, homosexual rights organizations are radical in only their perceptions of sexuality--and only in the eyes of the straight society--while the group itself is very cautious in their actions and activities.

Another seemingly conservative student association on the Catholic campuses is

the environmentalist cause. The two student organizations of this study in the environmental protection movement both show willingness to reform and cooperate with the authorities (i.e., the university) to the point of almost totally excluding the use of confrontation. The leader of the Students For the Environment, Alan, for example, explained the ideology and strategy of the organization:

> I am interested mostly in recycling and I don't want to have any connection with any other national organizations because they have their own concerns...I have respect for the capitalist system. I was not willing to jump on the side of just activism, just weaving flags. I felt there was a certain runway of going about it...The reaction from the administration has been very good, helpful, very willing to sit down and work out further--the recycling, and even were willing to take it to a step that we did not think that the administration would be willing to take it first...Generally speaking, we have the body of the administrators on our side.
> (interview with Alan, 10/18/90)

The fact that Loyola University bestowed the SFE with the best student organization award in June of 1991 further validates the point that the school is very receptive and supportive toward the environmental group, partly because of their non-confrontational activity.

In summary, student organizations at Catholic universities exist in a varying "spectrum" of political ideologies. Feminist, socialist, and race-based student groups represent the radical end, while environmentalist and homosexual rights organizations lean towards the conservative pole of the spectrum.[16] Between these two extremes there

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[16] This is strictly from the students' perspective, and also in terms of tactics and activities. The administrators, on the other hand, may have different perceptions.

is the category of "others," which include various social justice and human rights groups (Peace Bread, and Justice--PBJ; Amnesty International--AI; Social Justice Network--SJN; etc.) more or less in alignment with the conservative wing; and various peace and anti-racism groups (U. S. Out of the Gulf committee--USOGC; Rosary Campus Coalition For Peace--RCCFP; Ad Hoc Committee for the People in El Salvador; Marquette University Student Taking Action by Coming Together--MUST ACT; etc.) somewhat closer to the radical wing. Taken as a whole, these groups represent the radical student politics in the Catholic higher educational system.

Problems of radical student groups at Catholic schools: leadership and structure

Leadership and structure are both crucial for organizations. Generally, progressive student groups on Catholic campuses devalue the importance of leaders and formal structure. This is because most progressive student activists prefer a democratic and participatory way in conducting their activities. As indicated in previous chapters, feminist, socialist, peace, and social justice- oriented student groups adopted a non-authoritarian, non-hierarchical, and informal (i.e., "flat") organization style. Race-based and environmental protection groups in this study, on the contrary, had a rigid, structured, and formal organization. Leaders in these two types of organizations are necessarily different. In the flat organizations, leaders are being perceived as facilitator and coordinators, while in the formal organizations leaders are recognized as policy makers and persons who give orders.

I discussed the shortcomings of authoritarian leadership in chapter three (pp. 81-

3); now I want to discuss the potential merits of such leadership. First, a strong (charismatic and competent) leader can provide a positive image of the group, and make it very attractive to join that group (at least for some students). This will make the problem of recruitment less difficult for the organization. Many informants explained to me that one of the reasons for the flourishing student activism on Loyola's campus from 1988-1990 was because many left-wing student organizations had very strong leaders simultaneously.

Second, and related to the first point, strong leaders in many organizations can initiate more effective inter-organizational activities, which are beneficial for all involved student groups. Third, competent leadership can also develop and install diversified programs and activities. This will help the growth of the student organization, and trigger real changes in the school community. Finally, talented and authoritarian leaders can also run the group more effectively. Through the support of members, strong leaders of student groups can wield enough pressure on the school to achieve concessions--particularly in "crisis" situations.

Structure is intimately related to leadership and members. The advantages and disadvantages of loosely structured organization were laid out in chapter two (pp. 47-50). To briefly summarize: formal structure is more effective in making policy changes, appears more legitimate (to outsiders), and is more competent in dealing with the outside environment and the solution of internal conflict. Organizationally "flat" groups, on the other hand, emphasize personal change, are spontaneous and flexible, but are ineffective in intra-organizational conflict resolution. In conclusion, both leadership and structure

are double-edged swords: student organizations have to choose between two vying strategies. Seldom can one group get the benefits of both models without problems.

How to build a "unified" student movement?

The ultimate goal of student political activism is to challenge and eliminate social inequality. In this regard, however, many problems emerge through the process of mobilization. For any progressive student group, the greatest challenge is the question of how to build a unified student movement. Though many student groups would occasionally be involved in "joint actions" to battle the administration, such endeavors appeared to be temporary and, at times, problematic. This is because most of the student organizations on college campuses are not free from the divisions of gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, and class. Of all these divisions, age and class are probably the least problematic, because, generally speaking, students at Catholic universities are relatively homogeneous. This is to say that most students at Catholic colleges come from similar SES family backgrounds and belong to the same age cohort. Thus, the divisions of gender, race, and sexual orientation become serious barriers yet to be overcome.

It is crucial to know that the opposition to radical student politics in the Catholic higher educational system is not totally from the administration. Some students are even more hostile towards radical activism than the school officials. For example, one informant stated that some students, who opposed the ideas and activities of the Women's

Center, charged members of the organization with being "a bunch of radical lesbians."[17]

Similarly, some students claimed that the African-American student organizations were

"a group of black separatists--all they talked about was black power and Farrakhan

stuff."[18] Furthermore, the tensions of sexism and racism also exist within the student

activists themselves. Several members of the Women's Center told me blatantly whom

they thought to be sexist. And within the group itself, I heard people complain about

racism.[19]

Other stereotypes about certain groups, or groups of people, are also common

among students. For instance, the College Socialist Organization (CSO) was accused,

by some active students and many other students, of being "Aimless radicals--they will

jump on the band wagon on just about any issue in the name of socialism." The

environmentalists, as well, were accused of being: "those white, male, middle-class

students just want to do some liberal things to make their resume look good, so that they

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[17] Interview with Molly, 9/30/90.

[18] It is important to note that several informants said this. From my personal observations, student who expressed this view, in fact, did not participate in any activity, and had very limited knowledge about the black students' organizations. The main source of this misconception of those students, I think, comes from hearing the radical rhetoric of the leader in the black students' groups.

[19] "In one of the meetings, we were discussing some important issues and one black women stood up and said: 'we should address the problems of the poor participation of minority women and the racism in this group,' but one white woman immediately responded with 'this is for the women of color committee, this is not our agenda today.' Things like this really scared me, and I really don't like it." (interview with Ida, 10/17/90) There were also Arab students who complained to me that the black student organization was very "racist."

can find a better job when they graduate."[20] It is also interesting to note that prejudice against and harassment of anti-war groups is particularly strong at Catholic universities. During the Gulf War, members of the peace groups at both Rosary College and Loyola University were charged with being "unpatriotic," "unAmerican," and "unsupportive to OUR troops." (chapter five) Even some progressive students--who were not involved in the anti-war protest--told me their feelings of the anti war efforts were "ambivalent."

The goals of the homosexual rights group are among the few issues that most progressive students agreed upon. It seems that most active students in this research had a special attitude of sympathy, and were supportive of homosexual liberation. I do not know why this is but the fact that many informants had close lesbian and gay friends perhaps partially explains the puzzle. It is quite possible that progressive students have a better understanding about the nature of sexual oppression than other straight people. And this understanding leads to a more receptive and supportive attitude.

In all, progressive student organizations are facing many of the same problems on campus as common people are facing in broader society. It is somewhat ironic that, in attempting to eliminate the disease of inequality, student organizations are not immune from the same disease. Racism and sexism appear to be the most epidemic viruses; to a lesser extent ageism, classism, and heterosexism are also problems. Through political activism, active students themselves learn the source of inequality, and this changes their consciousness. If all prejudices and stereotypes could be eliminated, a unified, broad-based, and massive student movement could be forged to fight social inequality on all of

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[20] Quotes in this paragraph are anonymous.

its fronts.

Do you need a weatherwoman?
the "atmosphere" of the Catholic institutions

Administration: "A counter-revolutionary force"
in students eyes

What kind of view does the administration of a Catholic university have concerning student activism? How do they react to student uprisings? These two questions are of vital importance to student politics, because, if the majority of school officials were as radical as progressive students, political activism would play out in a totally different way on college campuses. This section addresses answers to the above questions. By using students' comments about the actions of the school's administration, at least some aspects of the university environment can be understood--from the students' viewpoint. Other opinions (e.g., faculty and staff) on student politics are discussed in the next section.

The administration of Catholic universities plays a somewhat contradictory role in the American higher educational system. Unlike its counterparts--the public institutions and the private, secular schools--administration at the religious universities bear the extra burden of doctrines and dogmas. It is rather prevalent, and perhaps even necessary, that most religious educational institutions receive some public funding as a

part of their financial resource;[21] this also makes the administration liable to have difficulty in dealing with student unrest, because federal financial supports make Catholic universities liable for the constitutional rights of the students, even though "the Catholic teachings" clearly oppose the ideas of abortion, contraceptives, and homosexuality.

The administrations at Catholic universities are caught between two powerful forces. On the one hand, the school officials have to face the idealistic, rebellious, and curious students who are relentlessly pursuing "education"--intellectual maturity, social justice, humanity, independent thinking, and the will for action based on one's beliefs. On the other hand, the administrators in Catholic colleges must follow the guidelines, fiats, orders, and policies of the Catholic church, which are often oppressive, dogmatic, and authoritarian. Therefore, administrators in religious institutions are locked into a paradoxical structural position between the oppressed (students) and the powers that be (the church).

According to student activists, the administrators at Catholic universities belong to three categories. The lower strata of the administration include various directors, clerks, departmental secretaries, counselors, and part-time administrative employees. The middle layers of the administration are smaller in numbers. This category includes deans of various kinds, departmental chairs, and the directors of professional schools. The highest levels of the administration consist of about a dozen people, such as vice presidents, trustees, regents, and the president of the university.

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[21] Student activists in all three schools of this study told me that their school receive state and federal funding--in monetary or other forms.

In the active students' perception, the lower level administrators are "sympathetic" and "supportive"[22] of student activism. This group of personnel also has the most frequent contact with student organizations and active students. Some student activists rationalized that such favorable response was mainly due to the relative powerlessness of the administrators--because they are the occupants of the bottom rungs of the bureaucracy. Since they have to take orders from their immediate supervisors, and some of those orders are in opposition to what the student activists do, the bottom administrators can only show their support in a private, "off the record" way. In answering my inquiry about the attitude and reaction of the administration, most student activists replied that the lower administration was "supportive, sympathetic, and very helpful." Especially for those students who had close contact with the administration, the description was almost unanimous "...they would help with the application process, mention their support in private conversations, reveal outside channel information, return calls, and provide useful information."

The middle administrators, in general, have less contact with the students and organizations. As a result, their attitudes and reactions are more ambiguous. Students' comments regarding this category ranged from "I have no idea," to "apathetic, may be?" to "little support, some hostility." Besides fewer contacts with the student activists, the middle level administrators enjoy greater degrees of freedom in expressing their viewpoints concerning student politics--as compared to the lower levels; still they have to take orders from the very top of the university. Middle administrators also have

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[22] All quotes in this section are anonymous.

considerable decision-making power; if a situation is not too serious, it usually gets resolved at this level. Overall, the conflicts between active students and the administrations of Catholic universities are serious matters, and so the reactions of the top administrators are crucial to student activism.

According to my informants, the higher-ups of the administrations at Catholic universities are, with rare exceptions, almost all apathetic or even out-right hostile towards radical student politics. This group of people is almost invisible to students--few of the informants in this study have ever seen one vice president in their entire college years, not to mention members of the board of trustees, or the president himself.[23] Reactions from the top administrators are exemplified in the following stories. Story one deals with the killing of six Jesuit priests by an El Salvadoran death squad on November 16, 1989. After the incident, many progressive student groups at Loyola University organized to protest the killings; active students also demanded that the university make a public statement to condemn such a crime, the administration refused. Molly, a main organizer of the protest, told me:

> when the priests were killed many groups immediately
> jumped on that and...we had this huge petition that was put
> on the Chicago Tribune with all these names and saying
> "U. S. Out Of El Salvador."...And then there was a
> honorary mass for the victims. Every Jesuit was there

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[23] Of all the students that I interviewed, only two regarded the top administrators' reaction as being "friendly and supportive." One student said: "---- showed great interest in our group and he was very helpful in the process [of establishing that student organization], and I can almost bet you that he is gay." Another student reported receiving a favorably response from a vice president in a student group's recycling efforts. It is noteworthy that the only two cases of support for radical student politics from the top administrators dealt with homosexual rights and environmental issues.

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except the president of the university. Father Baumhart
didn't even show up and he personally knew the man, I
mean, there's like a video tape of him handing this award
to this guy,[24] it was like his colleague, and he didn't even
go, and that really pissed a lot of people off.

Molly goes on to add that later her roommate interviewed the president, who explicitly

expressed the attitude of the higher-up administrators in Catholic institutions.

Concerning his attitude about student political activism, Molly said:

My roommate Jane was the news editor last year, she got
an interview with him, and she asked him about that, and
it was really ironic because these things were going on
parallel because he said: "the Catholic churches do not get
involved in politics." And that's why Loyola is a huge,
powerful institution would have some impact if they issue
a couple of statements condemning this but they wouldn't
because the Catholic churches do not involve in politics
which at the same time they were trying to keep us from
forming a group, you know, they don't get involved in
politics for saying that we can't campaign to keep Roe vs.
Wade legal.

Another story took place when the Sandra Westmoreland incident was boiling, and the

administration held many meetings with her. Of all the meetings, the president appeared

only once, and in that only appearance all he did was: "he came in with a sheet of paper

and he went on: 'basically I am the president of the university and I am only responsible

for fund raising. I never hear, I have no knowledge of what was going on and that's

that, and I will leave my staff to deal with it,' folded up the letter and left." After

angrily describing the event, the student activist cynically continued:

That was it, and I said, "what kind of president of a

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[24] One of the killed Jesuit had received a honorary doctoral degree from Loyola
University.

university is?"--he will let his own staff burn, you know, it's like: "Well, ---- and ----, this is your problem and you deal with it!" you know, and he is ready to say: "Hey, all I do is raise money, that's all I do." And I said: "I would like to have his job. I can stand up at the corner with a cup and say: 'I am the president of Loyola University, please donate money,' you know." I can go to Lord & Taylor and get a lot of dough--if that was it.

In all, the administration as a whole is a vexing reality that the student activists have to face. In the process of student activism, many crucial questions arise from the interaction of the two parties; still, some groups receive relatively better treatment from the administration. These treatment largely depend on the group's identity, ideology, and activity. Generally speaking, organizations close to the left extreme experience more tension and conflict, while groups leaning towards the right receive more sympathy and support from the administration. Therefore, progressive student organizations go through different mechanisms at Catholic universities.

Who is to blame?
a distorted reality

The above analysis is strictly from the perspective of the student activists. In fact, the students' perception, though it is by no means without bias, is distorted by many factors. The actions and view of faculty and administrators are also crucial in the process of student political activism. The anatomy of the students' vision illustrates the "distortion" of politics, because, as we will soon see, faculty and administrators also have their views on student activism, and their understandings are somewhat "different" from that of the students.

According to several faculty members with whom I spoke,[25] the lower-level administrators represent, as one social science professor states:

> the most conservative, most reactionary force towards student political activism. They reveal a seemingly supportive and sympathetic attitude towards students because they [the lower levels administration] want to eliminate troubles for themselves, and coopt student activists into the 'normal' channel of doing politics.

Some faculty, in fact, played the dual role of teacher-administrator;[26] more importantly, most of the faculty that I interviewed were former student activists themselves in the sixties. Therefore, it seems plausible that the behaviors of the lower administrators are aimed at avoiding the potential "troubles" of certain student groups, because in my interviews with the lower administrators, many did reveal their reluctance in facilitating student political activism for fear of the religious character of their schools. For example, one lower administrator said: "I didn't think they [the school] would register such a group [gay and lesbian], so I was kind of just following the book. But one of the vice presidents was very supportive to this idea and when they finally recognized the group, I was really surprised. It dragged for a year, though." Another person, when describing the recognition process of the Women's Center, told me, "I thought it would be problematic, because their demands were flying directly into the face of 'the Catholic teachings.' I really didn't think that the higher administrators would accept such a group." In both cases, my informants revealed at least the anticipation of a reaction from

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[25] All names in this session withheld.

[26] All teachers that I talked to--if also doing administrative work--are at least in the middle rungs of the administration.

the top administration. Based on the anticipation that it would be difficult, they were

pessimistic about the fate of the groups, and might have been unwilling to facilitate the

process. The issue of cooptation is rather difficult to validate.

The administrators are the third major players in the game of student political

activism. Those administrators who have frequent contact with student activists told me

that they were serving as "facilitator" between the university and the student

organizations. These persons stressed their roles in a matter-of-fact, objective, and

professional ways. One woman said:

> I am an employee of the university, and it is my job to deal
> with the student organizations. I see myself as being a
> negotiator of the two parties...The school has its rules and
> regulations for the activities of all student organizations--as
> long as the students are willing to follow the rules, I
> facilitate their activities...my personal beliefs never enter
> into the process.

Another administrator echoed this point, by claiming that his personal beliefs were

"irrelevant" to his job.

It is also interesting to note that people at this level have a subtle hostility

towards faculty members. When I asked them about the teachers' influence on the active

students, one said, "they [the teachers] enjoy completely the 'academic freedom'--though

I'm not totally sure what that term means; but they can do or say whatever they want in

the classroom, and if they encourage their students to do radical things, these teachers

are free from the consequences; but I have to deal with those troubles." Another women

concurred:

> ...being a teacher is much safer than being an
> administrator, because of this 'academic freedom' thing.

> Basically, if you don't like radical student politics, you just keep your mouth shut and nobody will bother you. But if you are sympathetic to these radical students and show support, you will be treated like an idol; either way you don't lose. My position is very different because, regardless of my personal beliefs, I have to deal with those students.

In all, the views of students, teachers, and administrators are each distinctive in their own right, and each contains some measure of truth as well as bias. The difficulty here is that we cannot make generalizations about any of these groups because of the individual and group variance. Student political activism, therefore, manifests itself in a complicated and interesting manner at Catholic universities.

Boom-Bust:
A model in student unrest

By now it should be clear that student politics at Catholic universities are conducted in a distinctive way. In chapters two and three we found that mobilizations concerning gender and racial equality went through an ebb and flow--for very different reasons. The re-awakening of the feminist consciousness at Loyola University was triggered by the issue of abortion (i.e., the Missouri Case), while the Women's Place of Marquette University remains an obscure entity focusing on personal changes. The two racist incidents at Rosary and Loyola prompted uprisings of African-American students. These examples explain the importance of societal events to student activism. A corollary of this point is that both societal events and individual experience[27] can be the

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[27] Another example of "personal is political."

motivation for student unrest.

Student political activism in Catholic educational institutions demonstrates a distinctive pattern--boom and bust. Political activity reached its zenith in certain years, and then declined, but definitely with a tendency to re-surface. Several factors operate in this cycle: social psychological characteristics of certain students; dramatic societal events; chance (contingency); and the changing school environment. For instance, if a group of active high school students went into a Catholic university at the same time, and if these student had personal friends and networks previously established, then they would be likely to develop a high level of student activism. When I interviewed several already graduated students, they all mentioned the fact that it was in 1988--when a group of about ten very active, very competent, very charismatic students appeared simultaneously on Loyola's campus--that the groundwork was laid for later activism. These students were the leaders (and initiators) of Peace, Bread, and Justice; Amnesty International, Loyola Chapter; the College Socialist Organization; the Marxist Humanist Forum; and the Feminists. It was they who made the above progressive organizations active in recruiting, programming, promoting, and educating. When these students graduated from 1990 on, student activism gradually died out.

Dramatic societal events also play a catalytic role. The Missouri Case "opened" the door for the manifested feminism of the Women's Center, which I described in detail in chapter two. One semester later, a racial incident triggered the uprising of the African-American students--the subject matter of the third chapter. Similarly, the Persian Gulf War inspired the massive mobilization of the anti-war activists on Loyola's campus.

And the divestment campaign (chapter two) also encouraged students into oppositional movement. In all these instances, happenings in broader society had a direct impact upon student activists in their political activities.

The high levels of radical political activity also have various effects on student organizations. The most important effect is "the chain reaction." When, in 1988, the College Socialist Organization applied for recognition, it went through a year of struggle.[28] And because of its non-discrimination clause concerning sexual orientation, the organization had to negotiate with the administration and promise "not to embarrass the university." (pp. 109) A year later, the Women's Center went through an even more difficult struggle for recognition. By drawing the university into a legal battle (free speech), the Women's Center was able to defeat the opposition and gain recognition. More importantly, joint action--as set up by the Women's Center--served as a model for later actions. In fact, just one semester later, the Black Cultural Center and the Loyola University African-American Student Association followed this model to mobilize other student organizations to fight the administration and thus gained concessions. Further, this model became a powerful psychological weapon in the application process of the Gay And Lesbian Alliance. Here, it is worthwhile to repeat a quote from page 117:

> I think that the university should have, by now, if they have the intelligence, if they have learned their lesson with the Women's Center controversy last year. It would just seem so ludicrous for them to attempt to censor the organization in any way at this point especially considering

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[28] This was because: 1) socialists are a controversial group on Catholic campuses-- according to the administration; and 2) this student organization espoused homosexual rights--this was "contrary to the Catholic teachings."

> this organization hasn't done anything to incite, you know,
> to embroil the university in a controversy. We have been
> very sober, we have been very mild-mannered about
> everything, and if they don't accept us in the near future,
> we may become another controversy.
> (interview with Kafka, 10/17/90, my emphasis)

This line of reasoning was not only clear to the student activists, but also to the administration. Consequently, groups after the CSO, and especially after the Women's Center, would have a easier fight. This process is what I call the "chain reaction of student activism at Catholic universities."

Factors in change mentioned earlier may come into play simultaneously, but it is not necessary for all factors to be present. Contingency (chance) like many factors can make student uprisings much more powerful, strong, and effective. I am sure that the Sandra Westmoreland incident would have mobilized a massive oppositional movement on the Loyola campus even without the Women's Center struggle. But with the model set up by the Women's Center, the BCC and LUASA would have a better fight, and would be more effective and much more successful. Without strong activists left on campus and without dramatic events, however, student political activism at a Catholic university can only concentrate on the coalition building, organization strengthening, and education and consciousness-raising which are also crucial for student politics. This ebb and flow of student political activism characterizes its boom and bust in the Catholic setting.

The chain reaction of student activism can also be understood in the context of "contested accommodation." Political mobilizations of active students in Catholic universities are a series of efforts to eliminate injustice and inequality. In this process,

certain religious doctrines become barriers to the movements' goals as perceived by the student activists. On the other hand, religious doctrines are viewed by those opposed to progressive students as the protection of the institution (and the students) from the secular world. This difference in the perception of religion manifests itself through student unrest and thus becomes the source of tension and conflict between the university and student activists. Further, the intensification of conflicts induces compromise and negotiation. Gradually through the process, the consciousness of the individual students and the characteristics of the school are both transformed. On the level of individual consciousness, participation in one student movement often increases students' awareness of and sensitivity to other student movements; thus we see a "chain reaction" at overall increased activism. This parallels the "chain reaction" that progressive student organizations go through, as I mentioned earlier. With the increased student activism and its resultant demands for change (reform), the university administration is then forced to recognize activist groups and, in doing so, to become more progressive (or liberal). This is the process of "contested accommodation."

Finally, I want to point out a crucial implication of this model. When "bust" is mentioned, it only means the lack of "overt," "visible," and "confrontational" student activities. But student activism is not limited, at least in this report, to vigils, demonstrations, pickets, and rallies. Throughout the chapters, I refer many times to the differences between "ordinary times" and "in 'crisis' situations." This shows my intention of treating student political activism in all different contexts. Many people customarily conceptualize student political activities, or student "activism," as the open

clash of students with the administration. Such a distorted notion seriously undermines the efforts and impact of student activism. Below the peaceful surface of inactivity, there is always a core group of students involved in radical politics. Concerning all the subjects that we have treated before--sexism, racial equality, lesbian rights, peace efforts, environmental concerns, and the struggle for justice and welfare--active students are always attempting (through speakers, teach-ins, films, discussions, petition drives, and other efforts) to influence the administration on a number of levels. Activities of the "ordinary times," are, in fact, the most important, because they serve the function of "education." Dramatic or not in their actions, student activists strive for justice and equality--this is the explanation and essence of "student political activism."

CHAPTER EIGHT

REBEL WITH A CAUSE:STUDENT POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN
CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

I want to accomplish three tasks in this final chapter. First, the role of teachers
in student activism will be discussed. A major difference between past and present
student political activism is that the latter has received significant faculty support. This
is mainly because some of the student activists of the 1960s are currently serving as
administrators, researchers, and teachers in various colleges, universities, and
institutions. These ex-activists--especially the teachers--exert crucial influences on those
students engaging in radical politics. Second, the experience of going through political
activism in one's college years has, presumably, a long lasting impact--even after
graduation. This impact is addressed in the second section. Third, Catholic schools are
drastically different than they were in the sixties. The changing societal situation affects
religious schools in an unique way. This impact of the macro-environment, in turn, is
creating change within the Catholic university. Consequently, student activism in the
Catholic institutional context is constrained--and at the same time is initiated by the
change of the character of the school. Such process of tension, conflict, confrontation,
negotiation, and change is described in the third part. In conclusion, we will assess the
new trends of student activism in the Catholic higher educational institutions of the

nineties, and the impact of such trends on society as a whole.

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Vanguard? old guard?
sympathetic teachers[1] and student activism

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In the realm of student political activism, four elements are essential: actor, action, group, and situation. "Actor" includes student activists and other students, teachers, and staff of the school. Tactics, activities, and the political consciousness of the students; counter-strategies, rules, and the ideology of the administrators; and the action of the teachers belong to the category of "action." "Group" not only includes various student organizations, it also implies the administrative structure of the university. The micro-environment within the school and the macro-environment of the whole society constitute different "situations" for the manifestation of student politics. After this introduction, we understand that previous chapters covered most of the ground except for the action of teachers, and the situation of broader society. We will begin by studying the role of teachers in student political activism at Catholic universities.

Several studies in student politics of the sixties indicated that the major student activists were clustered in the humanities and social sciences.[2] Further, studies also showed that those students were mostly interested in teaching, researching, social work, public health, community organizing, and public services, while planning their future careers. It seems that the "sixties generation," most of them anyway, kept their promises, because many of them did end up as teachers in various universities and

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[1] The emphasis here is on teachers who are supportive of student political activism.

[2] See chapter eight, note 4.

community colleges.[3] Howard Zinn--a student activist of the sixties and a member of

the faculty at Boston University, said,

> Faculty are almost never initiators of [student] movements.
> But I think faculty support is important for the morale of
> students...and whenever I go around, I see on every
> campus a little group of young faculty who are right out of
> the sixties, and are teaching courses which reflect values
> that are important to students, and I think their presence
> encourages students, and support students in what they do.
> In the '60s, we didn't have that.[4]

But the faculty's support is not limited to the moral aspect of student political activities.

According to many informants of this research, teachers also had other important

contributions. Sympathetic teachers: would help students in establishing their groups;

make recommendations for policies; give suggestions to deal with troublesome situations;

participate in the activities of student organizations; grant special leeway for students

heavily involved in political activities; and help the students in their confrontations with

the administration.

It is noteworthy that teachers who are supportive to student activists are also a

"minority" among their peers[5] and that they also concentrate heavily in the social

sciences and the humanities--just like the student activists. Several teachers initiated

efforts to establish organizations. One philosophy professor at Loyola University

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[3] Conversations with several faculty in all three schools of this study.

[4] Quoted from New Voices: Student Political Activism in the '80s and '90s (Vellela, 1988: 16), italics mine. Many teachers that I talked to in this study also echoed the same point.

[5] When I asked students how many sympathetic teachers there were at their schools, the replies were: Rosary 2, Marquette 5, and Loyola 6. Now, remember, those were teachers who had made concrete contributions to student activists.

established an Ad Hoc Committee on El Salvador in reaction to the killing of six Jesuit priests and other victims of the U. S. intervention in that country. A faculty member of the sociology department at Rosary College formed the Sociology Collective and the Rosary Campus Coalition For Peace at Rosary College (RCCFP). And at Marquette University, teachers from the history department formed the Women's Place, and teachers from the political science department built the Social Justice Network. All these teachers were popular and active in many student organizations on their campus, as well as in local radical politics. Many other enthusiastic teachers were also involved in the forming of progressive student organizations.

Supportive professors would also give advice in the policy-making, activities, and tactics of student groups. One professor in theology department at Marquette coached the members of the Women's Place on how to debate about pro-choice issues and theories on legalized abortion. Another sociology professor at Rosary wrote the constitution and mobilized students in the RCCFP. She also instructed members on how to deal with verbal harassments from the pro-war students. And at Loyola, one faculty member gave constructive suggestions to the Gay and Lesbian Alliance in their application.

If active students took classes from progressive professors, the latter would also make "exceptions" in their class requirements for the activists in their activities. For instance, one student told me that:

> I was heavily involved in the teach-in that week, so I handed my report in a week later and, you know, this professor never accepts late papers. A week before, when I talked to him about my activity and I told him that I

might be late for my paper, he said "that's okay." It really
surprised me because, as far as I know, this never had
happened before.[6]

Other students gave examples on how they skipped classes for rallies, demonstrations,

and teach-ins, and the teachers okayed it--either before or after the fact. One student

even requested a delay of a week for her final in-class exam, and received permission

from her professor. Progressive professors would also grant permission for student

activists to make announcements and distribute flyers in their classes about the upcoming

political events.

Sympathetic faculty would help student activists in their confrontations with the

administration. The faculty advisor of the Women's Center at Loyola wrote numerous

memos to the offices of Student Life, the director of Residence Life, the Dean of Arts

and Science, among others, to represent the rights of the student group during their re-

activation process, and to suggest public reprimands for the students who had harassed

the Take Back the Night marchers. (p. 44) A political science teacher at Marquette

defended the activities of Marquette University Student Taking Action by Coming

Together (MUST ACT) in their Divestment Week "Sleep-Out." And a law professor at

Rosary represented the Black Student Association in their KKK incident. (pp. 70-3)

Of all the support from faculty, moral encouragement is probably the most

important item. There are many situations in which we can find the moral support of

radical teachers. According to the student activists, many professors would initiate

discussion on "radical" issues such as abortion, homosexuality, apartheid, U. S.

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[6] All quotes in this section are anonymous.

intervention in other countries, nationalized health care, among others, in their relevant classes. Indeed, the most obvious indication of a teacher's attitudes toward student activism is to be found in her/his classroom. Besides encouraging discussions, progressive teachers would participate in activities. I saw the concerned faces of teachers in many protests and rallies and those familiar faces were usually the ones which appeared in the organizational meetings of progressive students.

Most sympathetic faculty keep in close and frequent contact with the student activists. They would stop by the literature tables and strike conversations, answer questions when students came to them, offer help, and show, in their greetings, their concern about the students and their organizations.[7] In all, support from empathic teachers provides high moral, group solidarity, and very tangible contributions to the campus student organizations; and not only at the group level. Faculty support is a vital source of individual inspiration--according to the informants.

Radicalization: the personal consequence of going through political activism

It is perhaps difficult for inactive students to imagine the changes which result from political participation in the college years. But for the student activists, the personal changes of going through activism are substantial and quite impressive. The

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[7] A couple of the examples: some students told me that during the Free Speech Movement, faculty supporters would ask the members of the Women's Center about the progress they made, and offer help if the students needed. Also, during the Persian Gulf War, sympathetic professors would inquire into the activities of the U. S. Out of the Gulf Committee, and promised that if the group needed speakers, they would contact them.

most common and profound change is to become more knowledgeable. According to one

student:

> I've learned more about it [divestment and the situation in
> South Africa]. As far as other people's views, I learned to
> really listen more and reason, have reason the arguments,
> and to realize how important it is to be well-grounded in
> facts, that you can't just be emotional about it because
> people need facts, and you'll have to be able to talk to
> people on a factual basis.[8]

And this means knowledgeable not only in the sense of issues at hand, but, also--

according to such students--knowledgeable as to "how does the bureaucracy [or

administration] work," "what is a Catholic university," "the way that I look at things,"

"red-tape," "a much clear sense of who I am," "things that I can get done and how," "all

kinds of things about other people," and "the world around me." A concrete example:

> if someone said "we should intervene in Central America,
> AIDS is punishment from God, or we should help the
> South African government keeping apartheid going," I
> would completely freak out, now I would be much more
> calm, you know, bring up the facts and find articles and
> copy them and give to them and said, "you really should
> read this, you would know this after you read it."...When
> I was in high school I would get into arguments with
> people I didn't even know...well, I sort of know but I don't
> know anything specific, so I had to have this emotional
> reaction just because I didn't know. I knew apartheid was
> wrong, I knew something about it but not a lot, so I had to
> have this emotional reaction 'cause I didn't want it let go,
> you know.

The most immediate personal change is, therefore, that the general levels of knowledge

has go "way up."

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[8] All names are withheld in this section because there are too many.

Going through college politics will sensitize a person to be more aware of things.

One activist put it this way:

> I read something on the newspaper, four years ago I would've read it and may believe it. Now I read it I'll see all these loopholes: I'll see whom do they serving in this article, who is catering into, what interests are they holding up for this. Four years ago I would be oblivious to the hidden agenda. I am much more critical of what's going on, critical in the sense that I'm...finding how the power structure is hold up...I see that all the things that I am working on are intertwined--the reasons that women are being threatened losing control of their lives are the same reasons that we are bombing El Salvador.

Another women student paralleled the point in saying: "I am always looking around for flyers...I will notice the ads on the el and say, 'Oh, that's real sexist,' or something...the things that are normally kind of subtle but you can see through after these experiences."

Further:

> I think this emphasis on women's equality and women's issues make me a lot more aware of everyday, just kind of mundane sorts of things that women and men kind of take it for granted...I'm a lot more aware of and I acknowledge much more readily when something is said to me from a feminist perspective, and sometimes, perhaps I'm easily offended, you know, in gestures that are very commonplace. But I try to like, say, if a man opens a door for me, if there's a breeze way and there are two doors, he opens the first door and I'll open the second door just because I aware of it. It's the heighten of awareness, I guess.

Or, "now I'm better in knowing the situation and be able to analyze it," and "had I hadn't been involved, I wouldn't follow the news the way I do now. I think I would be so much more unaware of things." Also, "I become much more a critical thinker in terms of things, I don't take anything as given anymore. Somebody tells me something

I'll say 'Well, is it right?' if it is not right, how we gonna change it? and much more

change and reform oriented because I've seen it happened, seen it worked."

The experience of activism also makes a student much more self-confident and

assertive. Coupled with the previous two changes, it makes the students more eloquent

and daring to express their opinion. One student said:

> I've become a lot self-confident and a lot of it has to do
> with the fact that I know more now than I did
> before...when I first got involved, I knew I was pro-choice
> but I didn't know the facts, the theory, the history, now I
> know all of them and I will tell people about this when
> they disagree with me...I have more confidence with our
> group--I can't imagine that when I first got involved I
> wanted to ask help from NOW...I speak more and raise my
> hand more now in my class. I become much more
> confrontational to my teachers and to people I met.

An even more dramatic example:

> for being in these groups[9] I'm better informed and I'm
> more used to speaking about these issues, I guess I'm more
> in the practice of speaking out for my self and the things
> that I believed. Like if I am in a group of people, even if
> I don't really feel that comfortable and I hear them making
> real loud racist jokes, then I would normally would've the
> facts to contradict to what ever stereotype they are saying,
> if they are making jokes like about black men being rapists,
> I will tell them to shot up, especially if it is in my part, I'll
> get the hell out.

Other comments like:

> it has given me confidence that I never saw in myself. In
> my first two years if someone said to me "What are you
> doing? you know, you're disturbing the peace, this isn't

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[9] This women was active in the Women Center, Peace, Bread, and Justice, Environmental Justice Committee, and was concerned with human rights issues and homosexual liberation.

> good!" and whatever, I might have like to have take 'em
> back, and now I think I'll be more likely to assert what I
> believed in and why I think it's important for us try to
> make a difference.

Other examples include: "I will fight more for the things that I believed in," "I become

more and more firm, and convinced that I was pursuing something worthwhile, that's

gonna help people, and I can better express myself," and "I got more confident for

myself, for my abilities, I like talking to people, being less nervous about, speaking in

front of a group--I think I can do it a little better now." In all, the training from student

activism will make the students have stronger self-confidence, be more convinced in their

cause, and be more eloquent in expressing their opinions.

The strengthening of altruism and a growing intolerance towards the issues seem

to be another consequence of activism. Many student activists showed disdain for the

conventional goal of a comfortable life.[10] Intolerance towards views diametrically

opposed to one's activism is also worth noting. Feminists, for example, are much more

hostile to pro-life views and male chauvinism, while students who worked on racism and

apartheid were extremely sensitive to racist comments and jokes. Further, and related

to the intolerance towards opposite views, activism brews a tendency of more

"discrimination" in making friends. Many students told me that, after intense

involvement, they tended to be associated much more to like-minded people.

Interestingly, radical politics also have the effect of strengthening one's

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[10] Comments abound, they ranging from "I'm not here for my MBA or BMW," to
"it's just seemed so selfish that all they care about is a comfortable life," to "these
student are obsessed with finding a good job with higher pay, job security, career goals
and all that crock, well, I'm not!"

religiosity--for both the less and more religious students (here I consider atheism as a form of "religion"). For students who did not have any religious belief, activism "further disenchanted me from the myth of religion." As one radical said:

> To begin with, I don't give a damn. I did not have any religious belief. I care about religion to the extent that it affected my life--it does affect my life through this institution and it affects my life through the beliefs of others and how they respond to me. Some people say the belief in the proletariat is a religious belief; I don't think it is but, no, no Sir, I don't have any religious belief, and my political activity only reinforces it.

But for a religious person, political activism manifests a transcendent meaning, and it strengthens one's faith of God. Listen to this student:

> I think my faith has grown [as a result of participation] and my concept of what God might be calling me to...salvation...has grown, like beyond I can imagine...I consider my self a good Catholic and, although I don't necessarily agree with everything that the Catholic church says...I believe in the teaching of the Christ and when I do these political things I feel much more close to Him.

For very different students the effect of radical politics is the same--the intensifying of the religious (or should we say "moral") beliefs.

> Political activism will make students more radical and optimistic. For example:

> I have more faith in people now than I did then, before I was like: "Well, people can't do anything, they are stupid and apathetic." I don't think that anymore, now I think people have minds and you know, who is to change the world? it's not the rulers, it's the people. If you look at every points in history, it's always the masses of people that make the change, so I have a lot more faith in people.

And, "Yeah, we can do something about it, and before, I'd never thought in that way."

Or,

> Well, I've definitely been radicalized a lot. I sort of going
> into college, I had the roots of a lot of things that I'd built
> on but it was much more a "non-radical" way. I had this
> sort of vague conception and I moved from this maybe
> leftist position to this, you know, like RADICAL position.
> It really changed the whole way that I look at things, you
> know.

Perhaps the most exemplary statement is this next quote; it quite nicely summarizes the

whole change:

> I always believe that when a group of people get together
> with a common vision that they can demonstrate real power
> and that definitely happen when you get a group of people--
> even though they are come from a little bit different
> aspects, or different reasons, different motivations, they do
> have a common vision and when that happens incredible
> things happen. For me, I guess, it's giving me a lot of
> hope--hope that things can change or will change--and we
> can really do it if we put our minds into it. We can make
> a difference. We just come together with a common goal
> and a common vision. It was kind of an affirmation on
> that for me. It is a process for me, I guess it's all in the
> process and in the end it will definitely influence how I'm
> gonna live my life.

The changing Catholic educational institution
and student politics

More and more, the Catholic university is becoming a different field for the game

of student political activism. The changing of the institution itself partly comes from the

reform of the Second Vatican Council. Student politics further put constant pressure on

these schools into a more diversified transformation. At the same time, the Catholic

university is resisting some changes while encouraging others. For example, the massive

resignation of priests from the church from the seventies on contributed significantly to

the shortage of clergy and the changing orientations in Catholic universities.[11] In the mean time, prestigious Catholic institutions have to compete with secular schools for shrinking numbers of potential students and other resources.

Students from Catholic backgrounds constituted about three-fourths of the student body in all Catholic schools throughout the sixties while they represent barely two-fifths in the late eighties.[12] Besides the changing composition of their communities, Catholic colleges have changed tremendously in their core curricula; the sprouting of women's studies courses, African-American studies, peace studies, and other ethnic studies have transformed the ethos of the students (to some extent). Because most Catholic institutions receive public funding and therefore must play down religious elements in some areas of the university. There has been a gradual diminishing of differences between religious and secular universities. The process is categorized as a tension, conflict, confrontation, negotiation, and compromising interaction. All these can be termed as the "secularization"[13] of Catholic universities.

It is imaginable that student activism at Catholic universities in the nineties will be drastically different from the sixties. Let us consider a couple of examples. On October 19-21, 1990, the first annual meeting of the "Midwest Radical Scholars and Activists Conference" took place at Loyola University of Chicago. The participants of

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[11] See Schoenherr and Greeley, 1974; Greeley, 1977; Seidler, 1979.

[12] Information from personnel in the office of the registrar of all three schools (Rosary slightly higher), documentation not available.

[13] Greeley's study (1989), refutes the "secularization" thesis. Most trends in his study are broader societal trends, however, in the realm of Catholic educational system, secularization is obvious, as exemplified in this study.

this conference included all brands of leftists--from the Communist Party to the International Socialist Organization, and everything in between. It included students, teachers, organizers, workers, veterans, and sympathizers, all with left-of-the-center political ideologies. The fact that Loyola would sponsor this convention by providing meeting places, security, rooms, and other materials did surprise a lot of people, including a main organizer of the convention--a sociology professor at Loyola. Many people that I talked to about the convention confirmed that they were equally surprised that such a convention would take place in a Catholic university.

Just like the convention, the recognition of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance made many people look at Loyola with bewildered eyes. The most common answer, when I asked people's feelings about this recognition and the convention, was that it was "unbelievable; this wouldn't have happened even five, or three years ago."[14] Here is another example: the National Network of Campus Against the War (NNCAW) and part of the Chicago Campuses Against the War (CCAW) were both initiated at Loyola. The school also provided its space for the two national conventions of NNCAW. (see chapter five) All these examples clearly demonstrate that today some Catholic universities are just as likely to have impressive student political activities as any secular institutions.

It is worth noting that the three schools in this study manifest different levels of activism. Judging from levels of activity and tension, reported conflicts between student activists and administration, the diversity of the student body, curriculum structure, and

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[14] This answer was given by teachers, students, staff, and people not affiliated with Loyola University.

the numbers of progressive faculty, it appeared that Loyola is the most radical and Rosary the most conservative. However, Rosary College is much smaller then either Marquette or Loyola and less likely to generate the large numbers of student organizations--even if some students have radical political views. Both Marquette and Loyola are Jesuit--commonly considered to be the most "progressive" wing within the Catholic community--while Rosary is Dominican. Geographically, Rosary is located in a suburban (or "rural") community, even though it is only some twenty-odd miles from Loyola, which is in Chicago (the third largest city in America). Marquette is in Milwaukee, a smaller metropolitan area.

Rosary is a small community college with 1,500 students, while both Loyola and Marquette have close to 14,000. The student body at Loyola is the most diversified, in the sense that it has the highest percentage of non-white students; Rosary has the most homogeneous student population. In summary, we see that "secularization" has a different impact upon Catholic schools. Factors such as school size, religious denomination, core-curriculum, size of progressive faculties, and geographic location all contribute to the various manifestations of student activism.

There are two possibilities when we consider the growing activism at Catholic institutions: reform and repression. The first rationale is that: since Catholic universities in general have becoming more open to new ideas, reform makes room for stronger oppositional mobilization. The logic of the second theory, however, is that: religious institutions are more restrictive of radical politics. It was the repression that students face in Catholic universities which encouraged them to engage in more confrontational

politics. My finding in this study is that both mechanisms are working in this process. On the one hand, Catholic institutions are forced, by societal conditions, to adapt for survival, which leads to more reform. On the other hand, the administrations of Catholic universities attempt to preserve the old traditions and to resist change. This creates a sense of repression for the students, and, therefore, inspires insurgence. This dialectical process is similar to what Seidler and Meyer called "contested accommodation." Essentially, "contested accommodation" is the process of conflict resolution between the student activists and Catholic universities in which each envisions Catholicism in different ways, and in which each changes through interaction. The tolerance on campuses of feminism and gay rights groups--groups that were not allowed to function 20 years ago is a clear example of accommodation. In the case of the gay rights group, the administration at Marquette chose to use campus ministry as a place to accommodate the student activism. At Loyola, the administration was forced to accept the independent student gay rights group. The result of accommodations such as these has been to produce more progressive directed political environment on the campuses studied.

Concluding remarks

Maybe the most apparent finding of this study is that student movement is a never ending thing. Though it may sometimes manifest in dramatic scenes, student political activism always exists. And the efforts of the student activists do make changes--as we witness in the change of the Catholic educational institutions. More importantly, however, is that participation in radical politics will result in personal changes which are

of fundamental importance. That many faculty in these universities are ex-student activists testifies to the perseverance of campus radicalism.

Certainly some former activists, frustrated by the slow pace of the progress, give up their concerns and assimilate into the "mainstream." Of course there are "sell-outs" who shift their focus to a more comfortable life. Surely a portion of the ex- "old guard" becomes more conservative and pro-status-quo as they grow older. But the most important thing about student political activism is that some people just never give up. It is always true that there is a group of people (i.e., the "hard core") with altruism, social justice, equality, and humanitarianism, who are willing to work hard and who are willing to "change the world"--for the better.

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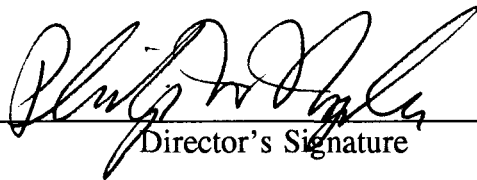> and Anthropology
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The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

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