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# THE POWER OF "ESTUDENTPROTEST:"

# A STUDY OF ELECTRONICALLY-ENHANCED STUDENT ACTIVISM

by

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A DISSERTATION

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

EDUCATION

August, 2006

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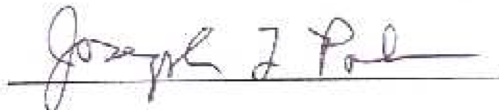

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# ABSTRACT

Both student activism and Internet use by students are among the fastest growing variables in national reports of student engagement (Astin, 2004; Levine & Cureton, 1998b). This study introduces the term estudentprotest to describe how contemporary student activists use information and communication technologies (ICTs) for protest.

A sequential mixed methods design (Creswell, 2003) was utilized. This approach involved obtaining statistical information from a sample for descriptive and outcome analyses, using the results to suggest nodes for an investigation of social networks, and finally interviewing individuals to explore those results in more depth.

This study found that today's student protests begin electronically well before the "real life" action takes place. The capabilities afforded by electronically-enhanced tactics allow students to rapidly and effectively plan, coordinate, mobilize, and execute actions. Perhaps most notably, the Internet and cell phones also allow students to extensively share tactics and assistance before, during, and after a significant action. Additional unique findings of this study concern the role of non-campus organizations in student protests, the use of email to strategize and supplement meetings, and student reliance on technological immediacy.

Recommendations for student affairs administrators are also provided. Following Astin's (1999) call for administrators to educate students on democratic ideals; this study relates student activism and online capabilities to student engagement. Practical recommendations for administrators working with today's technologically-savvy students are also discussed.

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There are many people I wish to thank for getting me here. Foremost, I'd like to thank my wife, Erika, for her love, patience, understanding, and unfaltering support. This achievement is so much better because I get to share it with her.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ACORN | Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now |
| AFL-CIO | American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations |
| CLWP | Campus Living Wage Protests Dataset |
| CORE | Congress of Racial Equality |
| FSM | Free Speech Movement |
| HUAC | House Un-American Activities Committee |
| ICT | Information and Communication Technology |
| ISS | Intercollegiate Socialist Society |
| LID | League for Industrial Democracy |
| NCES | National Center for Educational Statistics |
| NSA | National Study Association |
| PIRG | Public Interest Research Group |
| PSLM | Progressive Student Labor Movement |
| QUAL | Qualitative Analysis |
| QUANT | Quantitative Analysis |
| SANE | National Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy |
| SASU | Student Association of the State University |
| SDS | Students for a Democratic Society |
| SLAP | Student Labor Action Project |
| SNA | Social Network Analysis |
| SNCC | Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee |
| SPU | Student Peace Union |
| TLD | Top Level Domain |
| USAS | United States Student Association |
| USSA | United Students Against Sweatshops |
| WRC | Workers Rights Consortium |
| YAF | Young Americans for Freedom |

# GLOSSARY

Collective Behavior Theory

A social movement theory suggesting that individuals "seek goals, mobilize resources, and employ strategies," merely as a reaction to the "stresses and strain of social society" (Gamson, 1990, p. 130). Collective behavior theory maintains that protest participants do not exhibit rational thought when engaging in action.

Cyberactivism

Political activism using the Internet (McCaughey & Ayres, 2003).

Electronically-Enhanced

The use of electronic technologies to enhance action.

Estudentprotest

An electronically-enhanced expression of student activism, or concisely, the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to aid in student protest.

Hyperlink Analysis

A means of assessing the structure of communication on the World Wide Web using hyperlinks between Web pages (Jackson, 1997).

Information and Communication Technology (ICT)

A comprehensive term used to describe electronic technologies, such as computers and cell phones, which manage, transmit, and receive information.

Online Activism

Forms of activism using the Internet (Vegh, 2003a).

Political Process Theory

A social movement theory related to resource mobilization that emphasizes three main concepts: 1) the importance of mobilizing structures, 2) the existence of political opportunities, and 3) the concept of cultural framing.

Research Mobilization

A social movement theory that emphasizes the interaction between resource availability, preexisting organizations, and attempts to meet demands (McCarthy & Mayer, 1977). Resource mobilization maintains that protest participants exhibit rational thought when engaging in action.

GLOSSARY, CONT.

Social Network Theory

A structural theory suggesting that individuals are connected to groups in which relationships are formed for communication and resource sharing (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Student Activism

Student discontent intended to create or affect change (Altbach, 1993).

Student Protest

An expression of discontent directed toward an institution (local, regional, national, or global) by a student or group of students for the purpose of increasing visibility or creating, effecting, or influencing change (Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti, 1975).

Tactical Innovation Framework

A framework for examining the tactical interplay, or pace, of protest movements (McAdam, 1983). The pace of an insurgency is critically influenced by both the resourcefulness of insurgents devising new tactical forms (tactical innovation) and the ability of the opponent to devise effective counters (tactical adaptation).

*In each year since [Berkeley], the character of protest has changed in some way.*
*– Foster, 1969, p. 28*

*Increased access to networks, interactive exchange of information and ideas, specialized disks and quick links to others connected to the same issue all spark political creativity among students and compliment other strategies a group may devise.*
*– Vellela, 1988, p. 13*

*Researcher: Take cell phones and electronic communication (Internet, email, IM, etc.) away from student activism, what happens?*
*Tom: Ack! The mimeograph! We call ourselves "SDS" and start issuing typewritten communiqués.*
*– Tom, USAS Staff Member*

# *CHAPTER ONE*

# STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

## Coming of Age

Student protest in the United States has changed with each successive generation of college students. Historically, student actions have ranged from passive to aggressive, non-violent to violent and, at times, have been exacerbated by the media attention they command. The issues have been local, regional, national, and global. Students have borrowed tactics from preceding movements, improvised when needed, and built upon these techniques to discover successful means of expressing their cause. Given the importance of computers and electronic communication in the lives of today's college students, it is no surprise that the latest tactical innovation in student protest involves electronic technologies.

In the late Eighties, a former student at the University of Pennsylvania introduced and distributed a computer disk to like-minded activists lobbying for institutional divestment from South African apartheid regimes (Vellela, 1988). The "Divestment Disk," as it was labeled, contained programs for creating and maintaining communication structures among activists on different campuses. Most importantly, however, Harbaugh reported institutional and individual South African investments and created a database of this information for students. Enhanced by this technology, student protestors were able to support their position through easily accessible, critical facts. The creation and

dissemination of the Divestment Disk marked the first documented student use of technology to aid in activism, an early form of estudentprotest.

Since then, student activism has advanced to a new era of technology use, marshaled by the dominant information, communication, and mobilization technology of the new millennium – the Internet. The evolving potential of this technology has ensured that tech-savvy students will continue to discover innovative and effective uses to aid in their protest activities. The realized capabilities of the Internet already permit the enhancement of protest tactics on an unprecedented scale. Boren (2001) found that students have begun to "communicate internationally through the Internet, sharing tactics, legal advice, encouragement, and slogans," and predicting that, "the Web's full potential as a power source has only begun to be tapped" (p. 248). Yet, researchers have devoted limited attention to the capability of this technology to organize, express, and foment student dissent.

Student use of the Internet to aid in protest was first described in 1995, when the *New York Times* reported that student activists had discovered an inventive use for the relatively new technology on campus.

> Communicating by electronic mail from dormitories, libraries and campus centers across the country, college students have been sending one another a blizzard of messages during the last several weeks, discussing political platforms, possible protest dates and ideas for slogans and petitions. (Herszenhorn, 1995, ¶2)

Six years later, referencing a sit-in by Harvard University students to win better wages and benefits for its janitors, the *New York Times* reported that cell phones and the Internet had "revolutionized the revolution."

> Organizers now coordinate activities through email and Web sites; the Harvard protestors spent much of their time on cell phones, blitzing the media and urging celebrities to come to the daily noontime rallies outside the window. (Wilgoren, 2001, ¶11)

Activism in general using electronic communication technologies can be difficult to uncover, due largely to the non-visible nature of online action (Vegh, 2003a). Student activism, enhanced by Information and Communications Technology (ICT) is no exception. This study seeks to identify and define student uses of ICTs for activism by exploring proven applications and utilized capabilities – the power of estudentprotest.

*Potential*

Consider the following possible scenarios. At the click of a button, a student could rally thousands to his or her cause. At the click of a button, a student could send messages to the local, national, or world media to ensure coverage of the event. At the click of a button, a student could send his or her demands to the institution that, if met, could end the action. At the click of a button, a student could upload audio and images of the activity in progress, or broadcast the action in real-time digital video for the world. At the click of a button, a student could send instant messages to his or her friends, family, and supporters, with up-to-the-second updates of the event.

At the click of a button, a student could initiate software that could crash the online marketing, recruiting, and informational infrastructure of his or her institution by flooding it with innumerable requests. At the click of a button, a student could launch a program that could cripple the entire cyber-infrastructure of accounting, admissions, and student records of the institution. At the click of a button, a student could send a virus to the president's email account with instructions to transmit messages from the distribution list that could infect all institutional constituents.

Finally, at the click of a button, a student could update a Web site with a manual of dos and don'ts for future students attempting the same action. Consider that, with the speed of the Internet, a student could accomplish a great deal of this in less than a minute.

Perhaps Herszenhorn (1995) was correct in his assessment that student activism was undergoing a change. Though seemingly vague, the fact that he left his opening statement interpretable is emblematic of the unforeseen capabilities of the technology at that time. Nonetheless, student activism seems to have indeed undergone a tactical change, defined by its reliance on electronic Internet capabilities, the "estudentprotest." Herszenhorn (1995) wrote, "gone are the phone chains that mobilized antiwar efforts in the 1960s. Campus activism has launched into cyberspace (¶1)"

### *The Development of Estudentprotest Tactics*

Each era of student activism has been characterized by the tactics utilized by students. Clark Kerr, former chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, (1969) recalled that student activists in the 1960s used different techniques to show their disfavor than those of previous generations:

> Students of earlier generations have used the petition, the picket line, and the strike to call public attention to their views. The new student generation has added new weapons: the sit-in, the teach-in, the mill-in, the mass demonstration or march covered by the press and TV. (p. 8)

Following an analysis of the less visible activism of the 1970s, Arthur Levine and Keith Wilson (1979) reported that "as student character and mood change, so do the forms of activism that students employ" (pp. 639-640). In the 1980s, however, researchers found that vocal protests of the previous generations had given way to silent demonstrations leading into a decade (the 1990s) of increased volunteerism and identity commitment (Levine & Cureton, 1998a; Levine & Hirsch, 1990). So, how does one

characterize protests of the 2000s, with their varied issues surrounding identity politics (Rhoads, 1997, 1998a, 1998b), labor rights, and the war in Iraq? The second half of Kerr (1969) continued with a foreshadowing of the unifying factor of the modern protest,

> Students can communicate with each other quickly across the nation. They can travel readily. They can develop and use a loose network of friendships and contacts. Thus they can concentrate their talents and their attention at selected pressure points. The methods are all aimed at quick results or quick impact. (p. 8)

Since the widespread use of the Internet by college students in the mid-1990s (National Telecommunications and Information Administration, 1998), students have been able to accomplish what Kerr (1969) observed as their greatest achievement – speed, mobilization, and real-time, up-to-the-minute information from other campuses and supporters to create a potentially global community of like-minded activists. Sociologist Seymour Lipset (1972) similarly wrote in *Rebellion in the University* that, "the student population is the most volatile and most easily mobilizable [sic] of all social strata" (p. 195). The technological capability to facilitate this potential has arrived, but what is its impact? Aside from the hypothetical, what can students really accomplish with the Internet? Two college presidents, who in the early 2000s faced Internet-enhanced protests, observed that,

> The Internet has vastly expanded communications capabilities. It is now much easier for far-flung student groups to provide one another moral support, to share strategic and tactical ideas, and to assemble information – or propaganda, depending on one's point of view – to bolster their case. In the new environment, ideas move fast, and issues become urgent almost overnight.
> (McPherson & Schapiro, 2001, ¶9)

Certainly the Internet has changed many things. For college students, the Internet is a tool to help study, hold group meetings, stay in contact with friends and family, download music, watch movies, or play games. In each case, the Internet, for good or ill,

has modified the way things are done. So, it comes as no surprise that the Internet has had, and will continue to have, an impact on activism. Noting that activists were quick to embrace the technology, McCaughey and Ayers (2003b) observed that, "activists have not only incorporated the Internet into their repertoire but also. . .have changed substantially what counts as activism, what counts as community, collective identity, democratic space, and political strategy" (pp. 1-2).

## Statement of the Problem

### *A Tactical Deficiency*

An immense body of research has been dedicated to the study of student protest in higher education, particularly during the 1960s (Keniston, 1973). Though notable recent exceptions are acknowledged (Chambers & Phelps, 1993; Hamrick, 1998), to date, much of the research has focused primarily on five questions:

1. Who is protesting? (an attempt to identify demographic characteristics)
2. What do they protest? (an attempt to identify the issues or potential issues)
3. When do they protest? (an attempt to identify antecedents to protest activity)
4. What are the outcomes of campus protests? (an attempt to identify effects), and
5. What do we do when they protest here? (an attempt at proactive advice)

An important omission to much of the research are studies concerning *how* students protest. The tactics that students use are generally left to media sensationalizing, or are browsed in case study analyses. In fact, with notable exceptions (Gamson, 1975; McAdam, 1983; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; Morris, 1981, 1993; Tilly, 1978), protest tactics have rarely been empirically examined (Morris, 1993). The tactics of student protest, comparably, have only generated limited analyses (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Soule, 1997).

*Students, Technology, and Activism*

Both student activism and Internet use by students are among the fastest growing variables in national reports of student engagement (Astin, 2004; Levine & Cureton, 1998b). It is evident that students rely on computers and the Internet for a variety of social and intellectual activities related to college participation, inviting the question, are students also using the Internet for political activism?

Altbach and Cohen (1990), describing the tactical differences between apartheid protestors in the 1980s and traditional protestors of the 1960s, reported that the students had "made good use of the computer revolution" by setting up a multi-campus network to share the latest news about their protests (p. 41). However, few studies have since identified or assessed student use of personal computers for activism. Levine and Cureton (1998b) reported that in a 1997 survey of college administrators, sixteen percent indicated that email was used as a protest tactic. This measure is expected to be further augmented in the next update to the research, as Internet use among students was relatively new at the time of the study (J. Cureton, personal communication, March 16, 2005). This study will examine student use of the Internet and other electronic technologies for student protest.

## Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to identify and define the electronic and electronically-enhanced tactics utilized by contemporary student protestors. More specifically, this study focuses on student uses of the Internet and other electronic technologies that support, aid, and accomplish protest actions. Furthermore, it will define and describe the tactics of estudentprotest.

## Research Question and Objectives

A central research question directed this study:

How do students use information and communications technologies (ICTs) to aid in student protest?

The specific objectives of this study included:

1. To identify the issues and tactics of contemporary student protest.
2. To define and describe the Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) utilized by college students for protest.
3. To determine the impact and significance of the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in college student protest.

A mixed methods approach, structured to complement the objectives of this study, is utilized to address these questions. Additional guiding research questions, accommodating the strengths of this research design, are posed in each methodological sequence of this investigation, as related to the central question of this study.

## Delimitations

This study is limited to an examination of the living wage campaign, a division of the more general student labor rights movement. Further, it is limited to actions planned by, conducted by, and involving mostly college students. Data sources are limited to events reported in electronic versions of national, regional, and campus newspapers from the earliest reported date until December 2005. This is supplemented by information gathered from a Web page search of student protest organization Web sites and individual interviews. Network data included are limited to educational (.edu) and non-profit (.org) Web domains for social network analysis. Finally, interviews in the last phase are delimited to four institutions, with one to two participants selected at each.

## Definition of Terms

A comprehensive review of historical and contemporary literature suggests no commonly agreeable definition for student activism. Generally, an explanation of student activism is unstated, as though implicit in context. That is, the definition has been kept comprehensive enough to encompass a broad range of student actions. A tangible designation, therefore, would be pressed to cover the many forms of dissent that an openly-defined terminology accomplishes. However, there has been some question as to how researchers should distinguish between the different synonyms for student activism, as provided in this example from The President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970):

> One of the major barriers to rational discussion of the subject of campus unrest is that the term means many things to many people. Indeed, the term has become so general that it now embraces not only the intellectual ferment which should exist in the university but also all forms of protest, both peaceful and otherwise. (Introduction)

Another contributor to the lack of a rigid definition for student activism is the context in which the vast majority of research studies were conducted. Student activism during "the era of unrest" (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975) was hardly an esoteric subject. Simply put, there seems to have been no need to define a concept that one could not pick up a paper, read a journal, or look out a classroom window and see – particularly from 1964 to 1972. A definition, therefore, would have been a posteriori. A degree of confusion, however, was recorded in the Commission's (1970) introductory remarks on student activism

> Throughout this report we stress that campus unrest is in fact a complex phenomenon that is manifest in many kinds of protest activity. Most protests, even today, are entirely peaceful and orderly manifestations of dissent, such as holding meetings, picketing, vigils, demonstrations, and marches – all of which are protected by the First Amendment. (Introduction)

For the purposes of this study, student activism and student protest are distinctly defined. Protest tactics, following a review of broader literature on social movements, is also identified. Estudentprotest, a new term, is identified and further defined by the study results. It can be said that estudentprotest is a tactic of student protest, which is in turn the expression of student activism.

*Student Activism*

While individual definitions of student activism vary, researchers generally agree that its purpose is to create or effect a change (Altbach 1989a, 1989b, 1993; Astin, Astin, Bayer & Bisconti, 1975; Chambers & Phelps, 1993; Hamrick, 1998; Keniston, 1967; Ropers-Huilman, Carwile, & Barnett, 2005). Actions can be directed at the institution, the community, the state, the nation, or the world. While actions are generally campus-grounded, the issues involved are often concerned with wider societal or political problems (Altbach, 1989a; Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Rhoads, 1998a).

Altbach (1993) has provided an extensive list of generalizable traits, observed during his 30 years of research on both United States and international student movements. He found summarily that:

1. Student activism has always been a minority phenomenon – starting with a small group of committed.
2. Student activism is almost always sporadic.
3. Student activism can create "significant social dislocation" quickly – they are easy to mobilize and there is always an undercurrent of political concern.
4. Student activists seem to always come from identifiable groups – from among students attending the most prestigious universities and from among those majoring in the social sciences.
5. With a few exceptions, student activism tends to be aimed at societal concerns and broad political concerns, not local campus issues.
6. Student activists sometimes align with political parties and gain more societal power.
7. Student activists hold leftist political views, but not always.
8. Third world activism has the most powerful tradition of political activity – industrialized countries have few successes with activism and their efforts usually don't lead to large-scale change.
9. The results of student activism vary widely.
10. Student activism can have a direct effect in social change, if not political change. (pp. 213-218)

*Student Protest*

Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) defined student protest as an organized activity that involves campus members for the purpose of expressing disapproval. This is similar to Rudolph's (1990) definition of student rebellion, in which expressing disapproval was the defining characteristic – a definition echoed by Banning and McKinley (1988). As previously stated, the authors of the President's Commission on Student Unrest (1970) broadly referred to this concept, as the title suggests, as campus unrest.

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1971) further defined unrest activity in terms of dissent versus disruption, where dissent is generally an expression of a grievance carried out within the boundaries of freedom of speech, while disruption interferes with the rights of others and is not protected by the First Amendment. Contemporarily, protest is described as demonstration by Rhoads (1998a), who defined

the concept as a “visible public protest” initiated to call attention to a topic or topics of concern.

### *Protest Tactics*

After an extensive literature review on the tactics of protest movements, Olzak and Uhrig (2001) defined tactics as,  “recognized patterns of activities that express the claims and demands of protestors” (p. 700). During social movements, activists selected tactics in response to organizational needs and the political and cultural context (Tilly, 1978, 1993). The assortment of tactics utilized by a group may be referred to as its tactical repertoire (Tilly, 1978). Meyer (1999) observed that little work explicitly considered particular tactics or their evolution.

### *Student Activism, Student Protest, Protest Tactics, and estudentprotest in this Study*

This study is concerned primarily with student activism and the actions of student protest. For the purposes of this analysis, student activism is contextually treated as the subject, while student protest is treated as the activity or action. For example, students could protest an institutional policy by demonstrating, striking, marching, or combining these and other tactics, as expressions of student activism.

Thus, for this study, student activism is defined as an issue expressed by a protest action or actions, broadly using Altbach’s (1993) characteristics. Furthermore, student activism is also referred to synonymously as student dissent or student unrest. Student protest is defined following Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti’s (1975) definition, as an expression of disapproval directed toward an institution (local, regional, national, or global) by a student or group of students for the purpose of increasing visibility or creating, effecting, or influencing change.

Estudentprotest, a tactic or set of tactics for student protest, is introduced as an electronically-enhanced expression of student activism, or concisely, the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to aid in student protest. A more detailed discussion of student activism, student protest, and electronically-enhanced tactics is included in chapter three.

## Significance of the Study

Studies of student activism saturate the higher education literature. Researchers such as Philip Altbach (1968, 1973, 1989a, 1989b, 1991, 1993; Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Altbach & Kelly, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971), Alexander Astin (1966, 1968, 1977, 1984, 1993, 1999, 2004; Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Astin & Bisconti, 1971; Astin & Astin, 1996), Kenneth Keniston (1967, 1968, 1969, 1971, 1973), Seymour Lipset (1972; Lipset & Altbach, 1966) and more recently, Paul Loeb (1994, 2001) and Robert Rhoads (1997, 1998a, 1998b; Rhoads & Rhoades, 2005) have written extensively on the subject since the 1960s. However, few if any studies have been devoted to the tactics of student activists. This study explores that void by first presenting an historical overview of student protest tactics, then by focusing on contemporary student use of the Internet as a protest aid and tactic. The findings of this study have three important outcomes:

### *Overall*

First, overall, although many studies exist on student activism, few have specifically chronicled or explored tactics used by students. This study will add to the current research by analyzing contemporary protest tactics.

### *Practical*

Second, this study addresses a relatively new trend in activism, student use of the Internet in a variety of contexts. This powerful tool allows connections of activists, rapid mobilization of allies, effective information distribution, and even technical subversion on a scale unimagined. Knowledge of such uses will aid college and university administrators in understanding the unique expectations and challenges in responding to electronically-enhanced student actions.

### *Theoretical*

Third, the use of the Internet and other electronic technologies for protest is merely one way in which students are using technology in college. It is important for developmental theorists to better understand the implication of student uses of the Internet in this and other contexts, as related to student development and engagement. Specifically, as traditional forms of student/student and student/institution associations increasingly relocate online, what will be the implications for institutional involvement, student development, and civic engagement and the relationships among them? This study intends to provide some insight to these questions by illuminating the role of estudentprotest in contemporary student involvement.

## Overview of this Study

The first chapter provides an overview of student activism and student protest in a modern context. It introduces the estudentprotest concept, provides an overview of the methodological approach, delimits the study, and discusses its significance. Chapter two presents an historical overview of student activism in the United States, focused on the tactics students have utilized. Chapter three presents a review of related literature and

conceptual framework. Chapter four details the research methods used in this study: statistical measures, social networks analysis, and qualitative interviews. Data sources, data collection, data analyses, limitations, and substantiation are discussed.

Chapter five contains a quantitative analysis of newspaper reports to inform contemporary trends in student protest. Technological variables are introduced to the analysis, when available, from a directed Web site search. Chapter six contains a social network analysis of the living wage movement, as researched though a hyperlink analysis. Chapter seven includes the results of student activist interviews from institutions suggested in the preceding analysis, using a classification scheme to describe specific tactics. Chapter eight details a summary of the study, discussion, and limitations. Chapter nine considers the significance of the study, discusses implications for student affairs administrators, and presents suggestions for future research.

*I can't imagine anything without the Internet or cell phones. I guess it'd be more local and less quick.*
*– Wendy, student participant, Washington University*

# *CHAPTER TWO*

# AN HISTORICAL TACTICAL OVERVIEW (1636 – 2005)

## Introduction

Student protest and the tactics of student activism are deeply embedded in the history of higher education in the United States. Historical studies generally follow a prescribed pattern when introducing student unrest and its pervasive effects on the development of higher education. By custom, an historical overview of student protest begins with the first recorded student revolt over bad butter in the Harvard Commons in 1766 (Bevis, 1936; Brax, 1981; Brubacher & Rudy, 1997; Chambers & Phelps, 1993; Paterson, 1994), though Lipset (1972) and later Rudy (1996) point to earlier organized anti-British sentiments in the 1760s. In summary, Earnest (1953) found that, "the history of every college before the Civil War is filled with accounts of riot, violence and disorder" (p. 102).

Before protest, campus rebellions over discipline (Altbach, 1973), dining (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997), and dormitory life (Rudolph, 1990) have been recounted to demonstrate the cyclical (Altbach, 1989; Levine & Cureton, 1998b; Levine & Hirsch, 1991) nature of student activism in American colleges and universities. This historical overview is contextualized by the observation that student activism is not new to higher education (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975), nor is it going away in the near future (Biddix, 2006).

For expressing discontent, students have borrowed tactics from other social movements in the United States and abroad. In some cases, they have been innovative in discovering and implementing new means of expressing their discontent. In the last three decades only, student activists have utilized a variety of resistance tactics. The Student Affairs Surveys (1978, 1992, and 1997) reported by Levine and Cureton (1998b) list the most prominent tactics used by students, by percentage, in 1969, 1978, 1992, and 1996.

The following tactics are reported: demonstration, petition of redress, threat of violence, taking over building, strike, intentional destruction of property, taking issues to court, other (lobbying, demanding hearings, educational activities), going public, refusal to pay tuition, disrupting class, and emailing an authority (Levine & Cureton, 1998b). According to the authors, the most prevalent tactic in 1969 was the demonstration (39%); in 1978, other (27%); in 1992, the demonstration and petition of redress (tie, 33%); and in 1997, going public (46%) was most common. This chapter presents a review of historical accounts of student protest, with an emphasis on tactics utilized.

## Overview

For this review, periods of unrest are organized chronologically by era and issue in a survey format to present the reader with a sequential summary of historical student protest. This again follows the previously recalled “formula” for presenting historical student activism. This examination deviates from that pattern, however, by presenting the reader with an emphasis on the tactics that students have used to express dissent, in an attempt to recount the varied, and often innovative, approaches that students have utilized, as well as to introduce the modern evolution of student protest tactics, tactical dissent using the Internet, or estudentprotest.

## Method

The sources for this chapter are primarily drawn from the scholarly contributions of higher education, sociology, and student activism and protest historians, largely from the Sixties and early Seventies. The selection criterion for the representative studies and accounts was the inclusion of tactical information. Only one study (Soule, 1997) was found that solely focused on tactics. From this group, summaries were formulated and discussed where divergent views were presented. Table 1 is an overview by historical period of tactical innovations in student activism presented in this chapter.

Table 1. *Tactical Innovations in Student Activism by Historical Period*

| Historical Period | Tactical Innovation | Example |
|---|---|---|
| 1636 – 1779 | The non-violent demonstration | Patriotic disputations |
| 1780 – 1869 | The building occupation, or sit-in | Princeton sit-in |
| 1878 – 1919 | The educational campaign | Campus speakers, Conferences |
| 1920 – 1929 | The national communications network | Distribution of *New Student* |
| 1930 – 1939 | The massive demonstration<br>The student strike | National war protests<br>Refusal to attend classes |
| 1940 – 1959 | The non-party, non-sectarian recruitment | Student disaffiliation from adults |
| 1960 – 1964 | The combination of educational and direct approaches | Demonstrations, pickets, boycotts |
| 1964 – 1968 | The teach-in<br>The walk-out<br>The spontaneous protest | Non-university classes and lectures<br>Public walk-outs from events<br>Uncoordinated war protests |
| Spring, 1968 | The solidarity protest<br>The violent protest | Students join together for an action<br>Disruptive, harmful actions |
| 1973 – 1979 | The student lobby | Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) |
| 1980 – 1989 | The shantytown<br>The personal computer | Construction of debris cities<br>Distribution of activist software |
| 1990 – 1999 | The student volunteer | Local community involvement |
| 2000 – present | The celebratory riot<br>The estudentprotest | Michigan State NCAA celebration<br>??? |

## Organization

An adaptation of Earnest's (1953) and Rudy's (1996) scheme of defining protest periods amid American conflicts is utilized until the 1920s, when activism is customarily discussed by decade until the present (Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Chambers & Phelps, 1993; Levine & Cureton, 1998a; Loeb, 1994; Magolda & Magolda, 1988; Rhoads, 1998a; Vellela, 1988). Consideration is given to Mauss's (1971) suggestion that looking at student protest as chronological may not be the best way to examine, so attempts have been made to summarize general periods using ideological similarities. This organization includes:

1. Harvard's Founding through the Revolutionary War (1636 – 1779).
2. Post-Revolutionary War through the Civil War (1780 – 1869).
3. Post-Civil War through World War I (1870 – 1919).
4. The Twenties (1920 – 1929).
5. The Thirties (1930 – 1939).
6. The Forties and Fifties (1940 – 1959).
7. The Sixties and the "Era of Unrest"(1960 – 1972).
8. The Seventies (1973 – 1979).
9. The Eighties (1980 – 1989).
10. The Nineties (1990 -1999).
11. Early Trends of the 2000s (2000 – 2005).

A summative discussion follows the findings of this review.

## A History of Student Protest Issues and Tactics (1636 – 1979)

### *The Founding of Harvard through the Revolutionary War (1636 – 1779)*

#### *History*

In summarizing early student life from the first colonial colleges to the Civil War, Brubacher and Rudy (1997) observe that this time,

> was a period when constant warfare raged between faculty and students, when college government at best was nothing but a paternal despotism, when the most outrageous pranks and disturbances were provoked by undisciplined and incredibly bold young men. It was pre-eminently a period of rowdies, riots, and rebellions. (p. 51)

The authors state that this misbehavior was a direct result of poor faculty/student relations. A faculty member served as both instructor and disciplinarian, often doling out harsh punishments that kept him on unfriendly terms with the students. This rigid social order created a distal environment that culturally forbade any other interaction – to the point that students seen by their classmates visiting faculty after class were ridiculed and persecuted (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997). This atmosphere, according to the authors, bred rebellion.

Rudolph (1962) speculates that student dormitories, "the sometime house of incarceration and infamy," account for much of the early discontent. A third view is that of Lipset (1972), who attributes late eighteenth century student uprisings to repressive disciplinary practices and restrictive institutional religious practices. Rudy (1996) classifies a "decade of turmoil" from 1765 – 1776, when political activism (largely anti-British sentiment) disrupted the campus environment. Student activism at this time was largely local, spontaneous, and not directed or coordinated by a national group of students or faculty (Rudy, 1996). Tactically, the student actions of this era would model protest activities to come.

*Tactics*

Throughout the colonial college period, student discontent was largely expressed through open rebellion (Rudolph, 1990) or revolt. Many times, this took the form of property damage and often also resulted in harsh corporal punishment or suspension

(Geiger, 2000). As the Revolutionary War drew near, students turned their energies to anti-war sentiments. Boycotts of all but American-manufactured products, rallies, and various types of demonstrations (Rudy, 1996) characterize the patriotic sentiment of pre-war students.

*The non-violent demonstration.* A new form of student activism, the non-violent political demonstration, was tested on the American campus as students turned graduation into a political forum for patriotic disputations at Princeton, Harvard, and Yale preceding the Revolutionary War (Rudy, 1996). This form of non-violent protest seems to have fit well within the ideals of the college, stressing the might of the pen over the sword. Its effectiveness is marked as successful by Rudy (1996), who contends that this was a time when the United States popular opinion sided with students.

### *Post-Revolutionary War through the Civil War (1780 – 1869)*

#### *History*

After the war, student activism returned to local disputes with the college and surrounding community. Lipset (1972) summarizes that, “for a half century after the Revolution, students recurrently engaged in protests, some of them quite violent in character, directed *against the universities* [sic] for various deficiencies” (pp. 127-128). Many of these demonstrations were over bad food, the harsh discipline and lack of student redress at the time (Bevis, 1936; L. Jackson, 2000; Rudolph, 1990), and the conflict over the imposition of religious views by the colleges on students (Lipset, 1972). Such protests became more the norm than the exception at some colleges in the early 19th century. Riots at Harvard, Princeton, Yale, the University of Virginia, and the College of South Carolina are noted as particularly disruptive (Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Brubacher

& Rudy, 1997; Lipset, 1972; Rudolph, 1990), as evidenced by the expulsion of half the class at Princeton in 1806 (Lipset, 1972).

As the 1840s approached, campus disturbances seem to have abated in preparation for student involvement in the abolitionist, states' rights, and anti-war movements that escalated during the middle of the century (Lipset, 1972; Rudy, 1996). As the war drew closer, local conflicts arose along geographic sympathies, but no large protests were reported (Rudy, 1996).

*Tactics*

*The building occupation, or sit-in.* Student protest turned violent in the decades following the Revolutionary War, particularly from 1800 – 1830 (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997; Lipset, 1972). At Princeton, the first recorded sit-in is mentioned as occurring at this time in which students occupied a facility armed with pistols and bricks (Lipset, 1972). Similar violent rebellions were employed by students to interrupt the daily operations of the college. In some cases, the damages caused for needed repairs, and lost revenue from student expulsion put considerable strain on the fledgling colonial colleges (Lipset, 1972).

Jackson's (2000) summary of disruptive actions at Harvard, though concentrated on 1788 – 1797, is emblematic of the tactics that many colonial college presidents and faculty members struggled against during this period. These include group rowdiness, individual acts of sabotage, material appropriation and theft, and violation of specific college rules.

*Post-Civil War through World War I (1870 – 1919)*

*History*

Student protest experienced its second lull after the Civil War. Historians suggest several possible explanations – a generation of college-aged men decimated, college campuses (particularly in the South) damaged or destroyed, or simply a general aversion to any political activity (Rudolph, 1990; Rudy, 1996). Whatever the reasons, the college campus seems to have remained relatively quiet.

Brubacher and Rudy (1997) describe this time as "The Period of Fraternities and Athletics," and propose that the emergence of extracurricular activities facilitated a time of peace on campus. Demographically, post-war students represented a much broader spectrum of the population (age, class, socio-economic status). In college, they became united as "strong-willed entrepreneurs," a socialization closely aligned with the emergence of pre-Industrial America turning to business ventures and enterprise (p. 120). It seems natural, according to Brubacher and Rudy's (1997) classification, that young men would pursue those activities that could increase their social standing (fraternities) or campus status (athletics). At the turn of the century, this would begin to change with the emergence of a new type of campus organization.

In tracing the development of the most influential student organizations of the 1960s and 1970s, Altbach (1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971) draws attention to the appearance of student political groups at the turn of the twentieth century.

> It was during this period that the American student movement was formed. The kinds of organizations that developed during that period – political, fraternal, religious, national coordinating groups – were reflected in later periods. Furthermore, the student movement, especially the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, was influential in shaping the political views and the lives of individuals who later became important in national political and intellectual life. (p. 52)

In 1905, with the endorsements of authors Upton Sinclair and Jack London, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS) formed (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Cohen, 1989). Its development signaled a shift in student politics from local campus issues to socialist and human concerns, ranging from voluntary work in settlement houses to conferences on labor action. Though other student groups formed with educational social platforms, no other group would have as much lasting historical influence as the ISS. This is most notably demonstrated by its emergence, after two name changes, a declaration of purpose (The Port Huron Statement), and a shift in tactics, as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1962.

As World War I arrived, however, ISS lost much of its support because of its noncommittal stance on supporting the war (Altbach & Peterson, 1971). Summarily, though a scattering of religious groups took up the non-violent student activism mantle before and during the War, the student movement had lost much of its momentum and strength by the 1920s (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Lipset, 1972).

*Tactics*

*The educational campaign.* The development of the student organization brought a new set of tactics to the student protest. Altbach (1973) notes that journalistic ventures, such as campus newspapers and organizational journals emerged. Additionally, Altbach writes, educational campaigns to include sponsored speaking tours on social issues and conferences distinguish the nature of student tactics in this time period.

*The Twenties (1920 – 1929)*

*History*

The 1920s was not a time of student protest or waves of student activism (Altbach, 1973), though currents of social and political unrest were present (Altbach & Peterson, 1971). Anti-militarist sentiments (particularly anti-ROTC) were strong on college campuses, but were not as visible until the 1930s (Rudy, 1996). Also in the Twenties, students fought against journalistic repression on campus, as editors were expelled, newspapers censored, and groups fought to bring radical speakers to campus (Altbach & Peterson, 1971).

The impersonalization of higher education (called "gigantism") and an emergent counterculture permeated student sentiments of dissatisfaction (Cohen, 1989). One significant development was the formation in 1925 of the National Student Federation of America (NSFA), a precursor to the National Student Association (NSA), noted as the most significant student political association during a time when other groups were attempting to regain momentum lost after the war (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971). In 1921, ISS became the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) and turned its on-campus focus to anti-ROTC campaigns and off-campus to labor union organizations (Altbach, 1973).

Student activism on historically Black campuses did experience a surge in the mid Twenties, as protests were launched against white administrative control and Jim Crow practices (Cohen, 1989). Tactically, however, student journalism is perhaps the most significant contribution to the student protest movement.

*Tactics*

Following the pre-war guidance of newly formed socialist groups, student actions in the Twenties were largely non-direct (conferences and sponsored speakers), with a few notable exceptions. The disruption of ROTC activities locally on many campuses deserves tactical mention. A few methods students utilized included: disruption of drill exercises, strikes, petition campaigns, meetings, and lobbying of faculty and trustees for the removal of the organization from campus.

The *New Student*, a journal founded in 1922, was a regularly published student paper and magazine that served as "the predominant expression of student activism" (Lipset, 1972), though its overall success is questioned (Altbach, 1973). The *New Student* took political stands against the university and was circulated to like-minded students at elite institutions in an attempt to communicate political action and ideas to others (Altbach, 1973).

*The national communications network.* Though Altbach refutes the overall success of the *New Student*, the publication is nonetheless a pioneering attempt at creating a broader movement among traditionally decentralized local groups. Combined with the NSFA's national, regional, and local conferences (Altbach, 1973), the resultant communications network, "may have promoted a sense of a national movement and a feeling that college liberals were not totally isolated" (p. 39).

*The Thirties (1930 – 1939)*

*History*

Student protest in the 1930s was drastically different, organizationally, than at any other time in American history. Though its impact and long-term effects have been

debated (as to whether or not there were substantive enduring effects) (Altbach, 1973), the scope of student protest shifted dramatically from local disagreements to national social concerns (Altbach, 1973; Brax, 1981). For the first time in the history of American higher education, the student movement was recognized on the national political scene (Altbach, 1973).

The causes for student discontent have been broadly categorized as dissatisfaction with the state of political and economic affairs, including such issues as the political party system, the Depression, and the threat of a second world war (Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Brax, 1981; Cohen, 1989). Students protested four major issues: 1) the threat of World War II, 2) an economic depression, 3) ideological politics (largely socialism and communism), and, locally, 4) questions of academic and university reform (Altbach, 1973; Brax, 1981; Lipset, 1972).

*The threat of World War II.* By far, the anti-war movement was the most powerful, exhibited in anti-ROTC actions, "peace strikes," and conferences (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971). Several highly successful actions characterize the anti-war protest. For example, a conglomeration of student organizations was able to create and maintain a traditional strike that in 1936 allegedly involved over 500,000 students nationally (Brax, 1981). Another example is of a student group that was formed during this time that received a great deal of success – the "Veterans of Future Wars," founded at Princeton by students satirically to collect future pay for their lives (Rudy, 1996). Finally, it is important to note that a strong anti-anti-war sentiment was also part of the student movement, which consisted of conservative students protesting the anti-war demonstrators and rallies (Brax, 1981).

*An economic depression and ideological politics.* Little research has been devoted to economic depression activism, perhaps because it was not as well publicized and often more local, except when a part of labor movement actions. Even this can be linked, to a certain degree, to student interest in ideological politics. The Communist party maintained a good deal of popularity for students, and many of its members, according to Lipset (1972), were involved in the radical actions of the era. Altbach (1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971) has written extensively on the relationships between student groups and socialist organizations, tracing the influences of some partnerships to radical Sixties organizations. As World War II drew closer, various internal and national political issues marginalized, then ultimately decimated, membership in the two groups (particularly the Communist party) (Altbach, 1973; Lipset, 1972; Rudy, 1996).

*Questions of academic and university reform.* The final issues that characterize student activism in the 1930s involve questions of academic and university reform. Though academic reform receives some attention as part of the larger movement (Altbach, 1973), university reform was more closely tied to protest action. Prominently, First Amendment rights for students were a concern for young activists. Student discontent generally began after administrators censored the student paper, seized copies of underground publications, or took disciplinary action against student newspaper editors. Brax (1981) suggests that the expulsion of the editor of the student newspaper at Columbia University was the first successful large-scale action that began the activism of the 1930s. Altbach and Peterson (1971) concur that the student demonstration and rally following this expulsion was one of the first successful collegiate strikes. It is important to note, however, that a student “strike” during the 1930s was vastly different than a

strike conducted by students in the 1960s. For example, a strike during the 1930s would have been for one hour, or one day at most, whereas by the 1960s, protestors committed to striking as long as necessary to create change or gain notice (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971).

In perspective, the student movement of the Thirties "was one of the most significant in American history, and in terms of proportions of students involved in activism, perhaps more significant than the New Left of the 1960's" (Altbach & Peterson, 1971, p. 7). It was during this time that the first major, national protest actions took place (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Cohen, 1989; Rudy, 1996), student involvement in radical groups began and thrived (Altbach, 1973), and for the first, and perhaps last time, the student movement was tied to the larger adult, societal one (Altbach & Peterson, 1971).

*Tactics*

In 1933, the staff of the Brown University student newspaper sent letters to student representatives at 145 colleges asking them to sponsor a campus demonstration for peace (Rudy, 1996). What followed were the early stirrings of the massive peace demonstrations and protests that characterized the anti-war activism of the 1930s. In addition to student strikes, several other tactics were utilized throughout the decade. These included such non-violent tactics as sponsoring educational speakers, holding conferences, and peaceful picketing (Altbach, 1973). The anti-war protests, however, were the most significant considering that several hundred thousand students would participate in this tactic over the next few years (Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Cohen, 1989). This tactic has been the most widely participated-in event recorded in the history

of student protest, when taking into account the proportion of participating college students.

*The massive demonstration.* The legacy of student activism in the Thirties is the arrival of the massive, multi-institutional, national demonstration. The first such event was a strike in the Spring of 1934, which may have involved over 25,000 demonstrators coast-to-coast (though mainly in the New York area), though it was reported to have been hastily put together and overall, poorly organized (Altbach, 1973). Over the next few years, the turnouts would be much greater, yielding 150,000 in 1935, and topping out at a reported 500,000 for the "Student Strike Against War" in 1936 (Altbach, 1973), though these figures have since been debated as both over- and under-estimated. (Brax, 1981; Rudy, 1996). The primary action of the massive demonstration was the strike, which is discussed below.

*The student strike.* The student strike originated with a one-day refusal to attend class at Columbia, in response to the expulsion of the student newspaper editor in 1932 (McCaughey, 2004, March). The action itself deserves consideration, as the notion of a strike in the Sixties was vastly different from the type accompanying the massive strikes aforementioned. The "strike" of the Thirties involved a one-hour work stoppage, generally followed by peaceful demonstrations (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971).

## *The Forties and Fifties (1940 – 1959)*

### *History*

World War II deflated the student movement of the Forties. Student anti-war protests shifted to pro-Ally views in the late 1930s and into the early 1940s, effectively

crippling the single-issue activism that characterized the late Thirties (Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Rudy, 1996). Summarizing this era of student activism, Altbach (1973) writes, “By the end of the war, most of the roots of the prewar student movement had been destroyed, and political activity, by and large, had to start anew” (p. 111). Pervasive conservatism and apolitical sentiments following the war kept the Left and radicals silent. It cannot be overstated, notes Altbach (1973), that students desired a return to “normalcy,” and that the radical student movement was intimidated in the face of this culture.

The early Fifties are characterized by direct political repression and general apathy. A chilling effect created by McCarthyism kept student activism frigid. Cohen (1989) writes that, “The red scare devastated the student Left in the early 1950s. A climate of fear pervaded the campuses. Students were afraid to join protest groups, demonstrate, or even sign petitions” (p. 440). Conservatism established a firm hold on student opinions (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971), which kept support for unpopular views silent (Lipset, 1972). In the mid- to late-Fifties, this began to change.

As the Fifties arrived, a new student group came to the forefront of student activism, the strongly anti-Communist National Student Association (NSA). Perhaps in the context of the repressive era, it is no surprise that the group was financially supported by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (Altbach, 1973; Cohen, 1989). Nonetheless, the NSA played an important role in shifting the focus of the student movement to multi-issue platforms. Its members supported the civil rights movement, civil liberties, and peace activities. Altbach (1973) suggests that these three issues were crucial to the revival of the student movement, though in terms of importance, places them as advocacy for

civil liberties (mainly free speech and expression), peace (movement developed during the Cold War, disarmament issues), and civil rights, in that order. An historical analysis indicates that civil rights activism, though only marginally important in the Fifties, would have the most impact on the development of student activism and the New Left of the Sixties (Cohen, 1989).

*Tactics*

*The non-party, non-sectarian recruitment.* Though the student movements of the 1940s and 1950s paled in significance to the 1930s or 1960s, their tactical legacy is significant. Prior to the civil rights movement, student protest took familiar forms – various publications, sponsorship of traveling speakers, and local meetings advocating for world peace. However, some picketing and successful large-scale demonstrations also took place (Altbach, 1973). As previously mentioned, the NSA at this time had expanded its efforts to cover a multi-issue platform. Tactically, this would become a vital inheritance of the New Left. Cohen (1989) summarizes that,

> These late 1950s activists pioneered the non-party and non-sectarian style of organizing that would become a hallmark of the early New Left; they sought to rally undergraduates around single-issue campaigns and into student-run organizations not affiliated with any adult Left parties. (p. 441)

As the Fifties drew to a close, the student movement embraced the civil rights issue. Notably, students witnessed the militant, nonviolent, direct action movement of Southern Black students in their struggles for racial equality (Altbach, 1973). During the last few summers of the 1950s, students spent valuable time in the South, participating in protest actions that would prove invaluable to the student movement of the Sixties. The first test of these new tactics came with the arrival of the House Un-American Activities

Committee (HUAC) in San Francisco in 1960 (Altbach, 1973; Cohen, 1989) and is further discussed the next section.

*The Era of Unrest (1960 – 1972)*

In many ways, the Sixties legitimized the study of student protest. Prior to the events at Berkeley in the fall of 1964, there were few, if any, formal research studies on the student movement outside of a few dissertations, scattered books (Altbach & Kelly, 1973; Keniston, 1973), and one highly politicized documentary (*Operation Abolition, 1960*). Following the Free Speech Movement, however, several academic fields added intellectual analyses to the phenomenon, including higher education (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Kelly, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Astin & Bisconti, 1971), political science (Feuer, 1969), psychology (Keniston, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1971; Sampson, Korn, & Associates, 1970) sociology (Lipset, 1972; McVoy & Miller, 1969; Searle, 1971), and various others who found an eager audience for the study of protest. Lipset and Altbach remarked in June 1966, not quite two years after Berkeley, that "the number of articles, books and dissertations on the new student movement in the United States has become substantial" (p. 320).

In 1998, some 30 years after the height of student activism, Robert Rhoads, professor of higher education, published a study of contemporary student protest. His witty subtitle within the historical context chapter, "The Inevitable Comparison," speaks to the impression that the "Era of Unrest" (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975) left on college student research. Rhoads' (1998a) word choice reminded the reader of Altbach and Cohen's (1990) assertion that a discussion of activism cannot proceed without prompting a comparison to the Sixties.

An abridgment of the Sixties' inheritance to higher education research is presented, followed by a summary of the events and tactics utilized by students in this era. The categorical summary of this section, borrowed from Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti's 1975 study, *The Power of Protest*, is employed for consistency. A discussion of protest tactics is also included after each section, to emphasize their development.

This overview of the Sixties is divided into six sections, as modeled by Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975): 1) Early Stirrings (1960 – 1964); 2) Flare-up at Berkeley (Fall 1964); 3) Spread of the Movement (1964 – 1968); 4) University as Enemy, Columbia, Spring 1968; 5) Black Militancy: Cornell, Spring 1969; and, 6) Cambodia, Kent State, April – August, 1970. Each section represents a significant event, theme, or issue describing the Era of Unrest.

*History: Early Stirrings (1960 – 1964)*

During the first few years of the 1960s, civil rights, atmospheric nuclear testing, and the "witch-hunt" of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) were important student concerns (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971; Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Lipset & Altbach, 1966; Obear, 1970). Primarily, the civil rights movement, a more prominent issue among college students after the student sit-in by four Black youths in Greensboro, North Carolina in February of 1960, served as both catalyst and training ground for a decade of protest. Groups such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) formed to rally support for racial equality in the South, and students spent their summers alongside Black students learning to peacefully resist through courses of direct action (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971; CORE, 2005). These summers would come to

have an immeasurable tactical impact on the rest of the decade (Altbach, 1973; Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Gitlin, 1987; Lipset & Altbach, 1966).

The anti-war/peace movement, no stranger to student activism, was reignited with the nuclear arms race, particularly by nuclear testing. Students resisted air raid drills and voiced their concerns through student organizations such as the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) and the Student Peace Union (SPU) (Altbach, 1973). While a phase of the newly-formed anti-war movement would end with the Limited Test Ban Treaty in 1963 (Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, n.d), it would quickly heat up again as hostilities increased in Vietnam.

The most visible protest action of the early 1960s was a demonstration against the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in San Francisco, May 12-14, 1960 (Altbach, 1973; Huberman & Prickett, 1960). Numerous students were arrested while protesting the meeting (Gitlin, 1987), marking some of the first arrests of the new student Left. The images of these arrests were spun by the HUAC into a documentary intended to prove the existence of continued communist threats, but instead had the opposite effect of further instigating youthful resentment (Gitlin, 1987). Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) note that the demonstrations against the meeting by Berkeley and San Francisco State students created a high level of political awareness and commitment to action – in other words, “a suitable atmosphere” for the student movement (p. 20).

*Tactics*

*The combination of educational and direct approaches*. The importance of the white students’ experiences with the early civil rights movements cannot be emphasized enough for their importance to the overall movement. Altbach (1973) observed that,

> It demonstrated that a combination of traditional educational approaches and militant direct action was a viable program for a student organization, and it indicated that a radical leadership could direct a mass a good deal less sophisticated and activist than itself. (p. 194)

In the summers prior to the Fall of 1964, students had traveled to various parts of the South, following the movement and participating in freedom marches and voter registration drives (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). These quickly led to demonstrations, picketing, and boycotting of various services (Obear, 1970). In the North, student efforts were no less ambitious as they circulated petitions, collected money, and picketed chain stores such as Woolworth's who had ties to Southern discriminatory practices. These tactics became, "the characteristic tactic[s] of the new movement for integration" (Obear, 1970, p. 14). Gitlin (1987) recalls that,

> The sit-ins were the main dynamo that powered the white movement, galvanizing the little nodes of opposition that had been forming in New York City, in the Boston and San Francisco areas, in Chicago's Hyde Park, in Ann Arbor and Madison – wherever the booming universities, thick with students, were promoting the value of reflection, cultivating intellectual alienation, and providing sides for both. (p. 83)

As the peace movement escalated, students returned to large-scale organized protest. Perhaps the most notable event of the early decade was an anti-war demonstration in Washington, D.C. held in February of 1961, and sponsored by a Harvard Student Peace Union (SPU) affiliate. The activity reportedly attracted some 10,000 people, the majority of whom were students. This was thought to have been the largest such demonstration since the 1930s (Altbach, 1973).

The impressions that these early tactics left were soon manifest in the radical, direct actions of the New Left (Obear, 1970). Students who were part of such activities and involved in groups like SPU and SNCC later became active in SDS and like-minded

New Left groups (Altbach, 1973). In view of this, Altbach and Lipset (1966) supposed that, "the lessons and experiences of the civil rights movement made the Berkeley revolt possible" (p. 321).

*History: Flare-up at Berkeley (Fall 1964)*

For the first few years of the Sixties, colleges and universities saw a random assortment of political activity and increased social awareness on campus (Heineman, 1993). Students began to grow disenchanted, perceiving that "the system" (society, the government, etc.) refused to change. As they looked around them, the most visible "system" was the university – an institution whose bureaucratic practices and *in loco parentis*-born policies came to represent a viable and easy target for their frustrations (Kerr, 1969). Though not the first major student uprising of the decade against an institution (Heineman, 1993), The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley was the mascot of the 1960s student movement.

On September 16, 1964, administrators at the University of California – Berkeley announced that they would enforce an existing policy that off-campus political groups could no longer use a previously "open" area on campus to distribute literature, collect money, or recruit members (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Feuer, 1969). The students then offered alternative solutions, were denied compromise, and subsequently launched the linchpin of student protest in the United States – the Free Speech Movement (FSM). By refusing to negotiate, Berkeley officials had unwittingly turned a 26-foot strip of university-owned property into a symbol which was seen by the students as illustrative of the repressive power of "the system" over the people.

After isolated demonstrations, the movement came to the forefront of media attention when on October 1st, a former student, Jack Weinberg, was arrested for soliciting funds for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) (Lipset & Altbach, 1966). The police car in which he was detained was surrounded and immobilized for 32 hours by students giving impassioned speeches for the resurrection of free speech on campus. The media attention that surrounded this and subsequent actions following the demonstration (including a well-documented sit-in of the administrative building) became the rallying call for college students everywhere to fight the "machine" (Savio, 1964, December 3). For college administrators, the images created the opposite effect, remarked Lipset and Altbach in 1966, who wrote that, "In a sense, the Berkeley Free Speech Movement became the massive locomotive behind which many toy trains were hooked by the press, frightening deans and college presidents" (p. 322).

*Tactics*

The tactics that students utilized during the Fall of 1964 in Berkeley were directly related to the preparation many of them had received during summers spent in civil rights work in the South (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971; The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970). These tactics included holding all night vigils, staging marches, picketing the chancellor, and other nonviolent tactics. The removal and arrest of 700 students during the sit-in at Sproul Hall, a direct response to the indefinite suspension of eight students, made it clear the University would fight back (Lipset & Altbach, 1966).

The FSM would continue to fill the remaining months of the school year with protests, demonstrations, and faculty/student strikes. The media attention that these

events generated had further vindicated their actions (Lipset & Altbach, 1966). Students were committed, using direct non-violent tactics, to creating a change. Lipset and Altbach surmised that, "By the end of 1964, the students at Berkeley had proved [sic] that they had the power to initiate change, and that their direct action techniques would work outside the South. To some, the possibilities seemed limitless" (p. 18).

*History: Spread of the Movement (1964 – 1968)*

The responses to student protest on campuses across the country were harsh and seemed to provoke further student rebellion (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). In addition, two events changed the character of student protest. First, in 1966 Stokely Carmichael expelled white members from SNCC (Altbach, 1973). Black students were bitter, angry, and resentful toward a society that would not accept them as equals, and had a hard time reconciling the membership and help of whites. Black militancy will be discussed further in a later section.

The second prominent event was the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965 (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). For students, it seemed that despite their efforts at peaceful protest, the war would continue. Carmichael's leadership and the renewed offensive in Vietnam signaled a directional change for the student movement. Berkeley had sparked massive local efforts directed at campus issues, such as free speech and *in loco parentis*. By 1965, however, the movement shifted from local to society issues and sparked a time for new, more direct tactics (Altbach, 1973).

*Tactics*

*The teach-in.* From early 1965 to around the middle of 1967, traditional non-disruptive tactics were the preferred strategies for student protest. Two new tactics, the

teach-in and the walk-out, were developed during these last few years of non-disruptive action. The teach-in was pioneered by faculty and students at the University of Michigan in 1964 (Menashe & Radosh, 1967; Obear, 1970). This event was an attempt by these two groups to protest the war using their intellectualism, rather than direct action. The 24-hour event was quickly adopted by campuses all over the country as an important tactic for rallying and supporting anti-war efforts nationwide (Rapoport, 1967).

*The walk-out.* Conversely, the walk-out was reportedly originated at Berkeley in 1966 when around 300 students walked out of a convocation in which Arthur Goldberg, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, received an honorary degree (Obear, 1970). Though neither the specific number of uses nor the impact of these tactics are recorded, it is important to recognize their role as the last non-direct actions attempted by student activists during this time. The media, however, covered these early tactics because campus opposition was the only visible antagonist to the government's policies (Lipset & Altbach, 1966).

This is not to say that mass demonstrations, such as marches and rallies, were no longer employed. Marches in Washington, D.C. in October, then again in December, of 1964 attracted 50,000, and 40,000 student supporters, respectively (Obear, 1970). Demonstrations of this scale were unprecedented until the latter part of the decade, where rallies in the New York and San Francisco areas attracted upwards of 300,000 to 400,000 for an April 1967 event (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975).

*The spontaneous protest.* By the middle of 1967, the nonviolent gave way to new protest tactics as students began to see that their previous actions were not producing the intended results ( Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). As issues expanded to selective

service and university research agreements with corporations related to the war (an example is Berkeley's involvement with Dow Chemical Company who was manufacturing napalm), the non-disruptive, generally legal tactics gave way to the spontaneous protests, including illegal and obstructive actions. Examples include interference with recruiting efforts on campus and the burning of draft cards.

The historical precedent for illegal anti-war actions, according to Lipset and Altbach (1966), was set by Berkeley-led organizations which performed such efforts as stopping the movement of troop trains, tearing up draft cards, and passing out anti-war leaflets at military bases urging soldiers not to fight. Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) note that this was the time that activism spread from the prestigious private and selective public universities to the general population of colleges. Though the time frame is disputed by Heineman (1993), who maintains that active protest was as heated at smaller institutions early on as at the larger, it remains clear that the scope and tactics of protest were dramatically changing.

Finally, the pro-war, anti-protest conservative organizations also became a factor during this time. Counter protests by the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) were an important part of the dialog and agitation on campus (Heineman, 1993; Lipset & Altbach, 1966). Specifically, these groups disrupted anti-war protests, organized demonstrations in favor of bombing, organized mass meetings, began petition campaigns, and sponsored blood drives in support of the war (Lipset & Altbach, 1966).

*History: University as Enemy, Columbia, Spring 1968*

The violence at Columbia University in the spring of 1968 is regarded as an example of the militancy that protests took on in the late 1960s. In February of 1968, the

University chose to construct a new gymnasium which called for the displacement of Black residents in a low-income area (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). On April 23, a group of Black students began a sit-in to protest the dislocation of the residents. The building occupation not only created a disruption of operations for the university, but the violence that accompanied the action caused considerable property destruction. Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) regard this event as significant because it marks the point at which a previously non-violent tactic became disruptively violent.

*Tactics*

*The solidarity protest.* Though the April occupation is noteworthy for its turn to violence, its scope of student involvement is the tactically important development. The sit-in originally involved only Black students occupying Columbia University's Hamilton Hall, but was quickly joined in solidarity by members of the SDS who by sheer numbers expanded the effort to the occupation of five buildings for a full week (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). By the end of the protest, 707 persons were arrested, 148 injured, and classes were suspended for one week. White SDS students would again occupy Hamilton Hall in May to protest the suspension of the campus SDS leadership (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975).

*The violent protest.* Terrorist tactics followed more frequently after the Columbia protest. Bomb threats, the actual planting of bombs, and intimidation of faculty and staff grew more frequent as the Sixties drew to a close (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). This period coincides with the division of the SDS into smaller factions over tactical disagreements (some were in favor of the militancy, others of non-violent approaches) (Altbach, 1973; Altbach & Peterson, 1971). A prominent splinter group was the

“Weathermen,” formed from dissenting SDS members at Michigan State University in 1968 (Heineman, 1993). This group gained a measure of notoriety as proprietors of much of the violent action in the late 1960s (Altbach, 1973; Heineman, 1993; Jacobs, 1971).

*History: Black Militancy: Cornell, Spring 1969*

Following the ascension of Stokely Carmichael to the presidency of SNCC and the formation of the Black Panthers, the civil rights movement began to take a violent, armed viewpoint toward change. Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) offer an explanation for this turn. According to the researchers, feelings of depression, resentment, and hostility necessarily followed the nationwide recruitment push of colleges and universities for Black students. Many students who were brought to campus were ill-prepared and lacked the adequate institutional support to succeed – leading to feelings of institutional racism and curricular irrelevance.

Though acts of Black militancy had begun well before, the actions at Cornell University are the most significant. Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) recount that the events began when a professor allegedly made a racist remark on the date of Martin Luther King’s Assassination in 1968. A Black student organization asked that the faculty member be forced to apologize, be reprimanded, then dismissed. The administration investigated, which caused the ire of the faculty for a perceived threat to their academic freedom. The students’ displeasure at the University for the handling of this incident had an impact on the subsequent actions.

Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) further summarize that in September of 1968, a group of Black students expressed their anger at the perceived sluggishness of the creation of a Black studies program at Cornell. Demonstrations ensued which involved

disruption and the manhandling of university officials. These actions led to actions by the student judicial board, an all-White panel. This further exacerbated the Black students' outrage. Then, events came to a head on April 18, 1969 when a cross was burned in front of a Black women's dormitory. The students asked for protection against further violence, and the University sent only one officer to patrol the area. The next day, students took over the student union and began making demands and arming themselves for protection. The publicity of the event focused not on the issue, but played on the nation's fear of armed Black militants.

*Tactics*

Cornell is an example of many of the tactics used by militant student groups in the late 1960s – White and non-White. The immensity of student protest tactics during this period is reported by Searle (1971), who notes that, "sit-ins, strikes, marches, the systematic disruption of classes, bombings of university buildings, the counter-use of police, tear gas, mass arrests, the closure, sometimes for weeks on end, of the entire university – all have become quite common" (p. 2).

*History: Kent State, Jackson State, Wisconsin-Madison: April – August, 1970*

The final notable set of events that occurred during the era of unrest took place following President Nixon's announcement on April 30, 1970, that the United States would begin bombing Cambodia. The President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970, September 26), established in direct response to the incidents following this announcement in June of 1970, reported remarkable data related to the anti-war protests that occurred. According to the Commission report, during the six days after the president's announcement (but prior to the events at Kent State) nearly 20 strikes per day

were held on campuses nationwide. Tragic events at Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State College in Mississippi fed the final massive waves of protest.

On May 4th, 1970, four students were killed and nine wounded at Kent State University following anti-war rallies, demonstrations, and the burning of the ROTC building. During the four days following Kent State, the number of protests reportedly jumped to 100 or more per day. Of note is that a strike study center at Brandeis University reported that by the 10th of May, 448 campuses were either still affected by a strike or were completely closed down (The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970).

On May 14th, two students were killed and 12 wounded at Jackson State College following demonstrations and an attempt at setting fire to the ROTC building the day before. Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975) emphasize this event as perhaps the most tragic because the investigations were severely racially biased. What is known is that three separate police forces were called in and that at least 150 rounds were fired, mostly on a women’s dormitory.

The final noteworthy event took place in the summer of 1970 at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The bombing of a building on the Madison campus by student protestors that resulted in the death of one person and the injury of four others (Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti, 1975) marks the turning point of student activism according to psychologist Kenneth Keniston (1971). Keniston writes that when protestors learned that their fellow students could and would also kill as a means of making their point, the shame and embarrassment of these feelings led to the eventual decline of the student movement.

*Tactics*

The tactics of this final chapter in the 1960s activism story have already been recounted, though the overall impact is important to recognize. Keniston (1971) suggests that increasingly violent protest tactics principally contributed to the conclusion of the era of unrest (1960 – 1972). Altbach (1979b; Altbach & Cohen, 1990) supports this assessment, among other contributing factors. Altbach (1979a) provides additional support for the tactical contribution to the decline in student activism, using the history of SDS as an example:

> Tactics moved from teach-ins and freedom rides to disruptive campus demonstrations which resulted in some violence (often precipitated by the police) to massive direct confrontation with authorities such as the Democratic Party convention in 1968 and the demonstrations in Washington, D.C. against the war in the following several years. The final tactical state was underground urban guerilla warfare which included the bombing of buildings. These fluctuating tactics, and an increasingly strident student rhetoric indicated to most students that the movement had lost its grasp of American political reality. While large numbers of students rallied for specific anti-war demonstrations after 1968, they no longer took the ideological leadership of organizations like SDS very seriously. There is no question but that the tactics of the movement contributed to its isolation and speeded its decline. (p. 621)

Whatever the rationale, college campuses remained calm in the subsequent years following the tragic events at Kent State, Jackson State, and Wisconsin-Madison (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975).

## *Summary*

In addition to activism research, the study of student protest movements in the Sixties spawned other innovative perspectives in the study higher education. The fundamental work of Altbach, Peterson, Lipset, Keniston, and Astin shaped the way contemporary higher education stakeholders view student involvement and development. Astin (1977, 1993) , Levine (1980; Levine & Cureton, 1998b), and Pascarella and

Terenzini (1991, 2005) were among the first to recognize that activism was inevitably tied to engagement, and consequently moved the study of protest into a more developmental, holistic realm that fit more directly within the Student Personnel Point of View (American Council on Education, 1937). Though the study of student involvement, engagement, psychological and psychosocial development, student affairs, and higher education history cannot solely be credited to the student movement of the Sixties, the subsequent research considerations that this era made possible are indebted to it.

## *The Seventies (1973 – 1979)*

### *History*

With the dissolution of the SDS and other radical groups, along with the end of hostilities in Vietnam, campuses quieted. Ideological groups virtually disappeared in the 1970s, replaced by those that would be most effective for the daily lives and future goals of students (Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Levine, 1980; Levine & Wilson, 1979). Arthur Levine (1980), who was a student during the 1960s, remarked of the 1970s,

> Gone is the din of the preceding decade's student unrest, and the relative quiet of today has inspired a wave of nostalgia pieces about the activists of yesteryear and a sheaf of obituaries and explanations for the death of student protest. But reports of its demise are premature. (p. 39)

Most researchers agree that this new era reflected a shift in student attitudes. Levine and Wilson (1979) use the term, "meism," to describe the ascendancy of the individual. This did not reflect a total absence of protest, but a shift in concern from external issues (war, civil rights) to group, or single class, concerns (Blacks, women, etc.) (Levine, 1980; Rhoads, 1997, 1998a). This is also reflected in the growth of professional organizations and the importance of job security, as well as competition among students

for admissions and better grades (Altbach & Cohen, 1990). Student government also gained some prominence among students (Altbach, 1979a).

It seemed that students of the 1970s had become increasingly concerned with self, a pessimistic view that Levine (1980) attributes in part to Vietnam and Watergate. Such concerns surfaced as actions against 1) student fees, 2) institutional facilities, and 3) faculty or staff hiring and firing.

Two other issues (which would continue into the early 1980s) are mentioned as noteworthy, South African divestment (Levine, 1980) and concerns for the environment (Altbach, 1979a). In summary, student protest seems to have remained sporadic throughout the decade with only a few reported incidents (Altbach, 1979a), and was largely expressed in a few new tactics (Levine, 1980; Levine & Wilson, 1979), reflective of the individual.

*Tactics*

Disenchanted with a perceived lack of results from previous endeavors, student activists in the 1970s turned to new means of expressing their dissent. Levine (1980) summarizes this methodological shift:

> What stands out here is the decline in use of tactics familiar from the Sixties – building takeovers, strikes, demonstrations, and the destruction of property. What has taken its place are litigation and tactics ranging from lobbying and use of grievance procedures to educating the public and fellow students via seminars and research reports. (pp. 42-43)

Students in the 1970s moved away from the direct action approach, so characteristic of the 1960s, and abandoned tactical variety in favor of educational and litigious means. Though Altbach (1979a) recalls sporadic demonstrations, and notable uses of traditional

means are evident (*National On Campus Report*, 1979, February, as cited in Levine, 1980) media reported activism took legislative and judicial turns.

In 1978, the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (as cited in Levine & Wilson, 1979; Levine, 1980) surveyed a representative 870 college and university administrators on the occurrence of various forms of contemporary student protest as compared to the 1969 – 1970 year. The number of protests that involved the intentional destruction of property as tactic dropped from 11.6 percent in 1969 – 1970 to 1 percent in 1977 – 1978. Student takeover of a building occurred at 15.4 percent of campuses in 1969 – 1970, then had dropped to 0.8 by 1977 – 1978. Similar declines were reported for student threat of violence, which were reported at 20.3 percent in 1969 – 1970 and fell to 2.9 percent in 1977 – 1978. The student strike was reported at 13.9 percent of institutions in 1969 – 1970, then at 1 percent in the 1977 – 1978 sample.

Perhaps most significant is the decline in student demonstrations (involving a number of undergraduates), which was reported at 39.2 percent of the campuses in 1969 – 1970, then dove to 12.8 percent in 1977 – 1978. The only increases reported were organized student refusal to pay tuition (0.2 percent in 1969-1970, 0.4 in 1977 – 1978) and in the undefined "other protest activities" category (3.5 percent in 1969 – 1970, 27.5 percent in 1977 – 1978). The undefined, "other" category, according to Levine and Wilson (1979) refers to the more frequent use of lobbying and litigation – tactics less dangerous, more practical, and more appealing to the individualistic attitudes of students in the 1970s (Levine, 1980; Levine & Wilson, 1979)

*The student lobby*. Two nationwide student lobby groups emerged in the 1970s, the state student associations and Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs). As of 1978,

PIRGs were found at 11 percent of campuses nationwide in 25 states (Levine, 1980). These groups were originally proposed by Ralph Nader in 1970, in an effort to offer means of implementing social change for college students (Altbach, 1979a; Altbach & Cohen, 1990). Through membership in PIRGs, students were provided with financial support, structure, and training opportunities in research to work for constructive reform. Training was provided within the theoretical framework of government and citizenship (Levine, 1980; Levine & Wilson, 1979).

A successful example of a PIRG is the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPRG), created in 1972, which influenced change through research, litigation, and education in a variety of efforts. A few accomplishments included uncovering legislator scandals, providing financial support to people in small claims court judgments, and lobbying for several energy bills in 1977. A more personal benefit of student participation included receiving academic credit for research (Levine, 1980).

By the early 1970s, it was estimated that state student lobbies were established on 22 percent of colleges campuses nationwide in 39 states (Altbach & Cohen, 1990). State student lobbyist organizations generally advocated for student concerns, such as financial aid, tuition increases, and restrictions on student rights. The Student Association of the State University (SASU), representing a large student population of the State University of New York (SUNY) system, provides an example of a successful example of combining new tactics with student-related concerns (Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Levine, 1980). In addition to student funding and student rights concerns, the group has been successful in obtaining other services – from entertainment (block concert bookings) to

travel and shopping discounts, through legislative testimony to advocacy relevant to student issues (Levine, 1980).

Though similar in orientation, the distinction between PIRGs and state student lobbies can be made primarily in their focus. The work of PIRGs tended to place more importance on community or societal issues (using student labor), while state lobbyists generally focused more on student concerns (Levine, 1980). While the accomplishments vary widely for the two groups, their importance is that they provided a new tactic for student protest in an era that disfavored the direct, often illegal methods of the previous generation. This is described by Levine and Wilson (1979), who write that, “this analysis suggests that as student character and mood change, so do the forms of activism that students employ” (pp. 639-640).

## Contemporary Student Protest Issues and Tactics (1980 – 2005)

Modern student activism encompasses a variety of contested issues, ranging from international (Altbach & Cohen, 1990) to local (Levine & Cureton, 1998a; Levine & Hirsch, 1991). Students in the 1980s, responding to YUPPIEism accusations, prominently spoke out against institutional investments in apartheid South Africa (Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Vellela, 1988). As the Eighties drew to a close, researchers describe a shift from national and institutional concerns to local issues (Levine & Cureton, 1998a; Levine & Hirsch, 1991; Rhoads, 1998b). While mass media struggled to find sensational evidence of student activism on campus, students quietly volunteered as a means of fostering social change (Levine & Hirsch, 1991). Concurrently, students locally demonstrated for multicultural and sexual orientation identity issues (Rhoads, 1998a, 1998b).

The approach of the new millennium foretold resurgence in activism (Levine & Cureton, 1998b) that has yet to be identified as single-issue, amidst the proliferation: volunteerism, identity concerns, isolated institutional protests, and a muted resistance to the war in Iraq. While higher education researchers patiently await the next wave of activism (Levine & Hirsch, 1991), others ask, “Are student protests still alive?” (Stencel, 1998).

*The Eighties (1980 – 1989)*

*History*

Student activists in the 1980s were concerned largely with race-related issues (Loeb, 1994; Vellela, 1988). Altbach, Lomotey, and Kyle (1999) characterized these issues as either demonstrations against apartheid racial policies or reaction to localized incidents on campus. Of the latter, the researchers report that more than 200 campus issues were reported by the media between 1986 and 1988. Student demonstrations for the divestment of university interests in South African apartheid politics is perhaps the most notable campus political activity of the otherwise quiet 1980s (Altbach, 1993; Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Loeb, 1994; Vellela, 1988).

*Tactics*

Altbach and Cohen (1990) found that activist tactics in the 1980s were noticeably different from the 1970s methods of student lobbying and public interest research groups. The researchers reported that the intended outcome of student activists was to raise awareness and as such, the means were non-violent and non-disruptive to the functions of the university. According to Vellela (1988), though some civil disobedience was still practiced (risking arrests by openly defying a law), students turned to mostly educational

demonstrations and methods such as panel discussions, teach-ins, forums, invited speakers, tabling, putting up posters, chalking, or distributing flyers or leaflets .

Two additional tactics stand out to define the Eighties as an era of innovation. First, students constructed "shanty towns" on college campuses as a silent demonstration of the effects of apartheid politics, resulting in 120 colleges and universities divesting interests in South Africa by the 1985 – 1986 year (Weiner, 1986). Second, a student programmed and distributed computer disks to share information among activists on different campuses.

*The shantytown.* At Columbia University in 1985, nearly 200 students blockaded the main administration building of campus in an attempt to get the attention of administrators. The students brought all manner of furniture and items with them, including tarps to construct makeshift shelter (Soule, 1997)s. This "sit-out" tactic, a modification of the sit-in and building blockade, rapidly spread to other campuses (Vellela, 1988) riding on the success of the Columbia protest at drawing national attention. When the tactic arrived at Cornell later that Spring, students added scraps of wood, tar paper, and plaster to construct a shack in front of the administrative offices to be used for meeting space (Soule, 1997). This later became known as the shantytown (Vellela, 1988). After capturing media attention, the innovative tactic spread to campuses across the country throughout the next few years as students embraced the divestment movement with this visible sign of the living conditions of South Africans. The shantytown proved to be an effective tactic used by student protesters to generate media attention and keep media pressure on the university to divest. In many cases, the tactic was successful (Vellela, 1988).

*The personal computer.* In the early Spring of 1987, former University of Pennsylvania student Rick Harbaugh attended a regional conference in New York to discuss progress for local schools in the divestment movement. Prior to the conference, Harbaugh had collected and created a list of files for distribution known as the "Divestment Disk" that added a new tool to the student protestor's tactical repertoire. To help other campaigns get organized, the Disk included files to assist with mass mailings, phone trees, and other network communication structures. What truly made the tactic innovative, however, was the specific information Harbaugh had also provided on institutional investments in South Africa.

In one of the most successful divestment campaigns, students at John Hopkins University used the Disk to uncover information linking several trustees to ties with Maryland National Bank, an institution with extensive investments in apartheid South Africa. After six weeks of picketing and the construction of a shantytown outside of the bank's downtown location, the bank ended its ties to South Africa. Additional results included a $50 million dollar commitment to low income investment in Baltimore area, and free checking for low income families. Commenting on the power of the technology, Vellela (1988) notes that the Divestment Disk, "symbolizes the growing prominence of computers in student political organizing, and how their use underscores a basic strategy: know your facts, and know when and how to use them (p. 13). The Divestment Disk represents the earliest identified union between student protest and electronic technology – a tactical predecessor of estudentprotest action.

## *The Nineties (1990 – 1999)*

### *History*

Student activism in the 1990s was defined through local actions, not national struggles, observed Levine and Cureton (1998a), who termed this phenomenon "the new localism." Research on student activism in the 1990s focused primarily on volunteerism (Hirsch, 1993; Levine & Hirsch, 1990, 1991) and identity politics (Rhoads, 1997, 1998a, 1998b), and was frequently described as occurring in either the local or institutional community. Call for curricular reform was the most common intended outcome of student demonstrations, in which students called for the addition of ethnic studies programs to the curriculum (Altbach, Lomotey, & Kyle, 1999). One study also indicated that students protested the Gulf War, though literature is isolated to one campus (Williams & Malaney, 1996).

Student activism in the 1990s was also centered around multicultural and sexual orientation identity issues (Loeb, 1994; Rhoads, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). Rhoads' (1998a) summative work on multicultural identity protest, *Freedom's Web: Student Activism in an Age of Cultural Diversity* challenged claims that multiculturalism was marginalizing students. Using a phenomenological approach, Rhoads reclassified multicultural issues as both multiracial and multifarious, and explained that student identity political activities were inclusive of all marginalized groups.

### *Tactics*

*The student volunteer.* Though isolated demonstrations and other familiar forms of activism were reported in various media sources, no widespread identifiable tactic emerged during the Nineties, as in previous eras. The local activism of the era gave rise

to an increase in community service, leading some observers to categorize specific, directed volunteer work as a tactical expression of activism. Thus, volunteerism has been largely undisputed as the manifestation of college activism in the early 1990s (Levine & Cureton, 1998a, 1998b), as higher education researchers looked for activism within the localized framework suggested by Levine and Hirsch (1990) and locally confirmed by Loeb (1994). Hirsch (1993) later amended this classification in a discussion of potential civic engagement outcomes of volunteerism, concluding that involvement in community service did not necessarily mean that the student will be an activist in other areas. Nonetheless, the issues protested remained local, not national, and students confronted these issues by volunteering time in the community (Levine & Cureton, 1998a). It is unclear, with the limited research to date on this movement, whether volunteerism as an expression of student activism will be classified as a tactic of student protest.

### *Early Trends of the 2000s (2000 – 2005)*

#### *History*

Few researchers in the new millennium have undertaken studies of student activism. In the first four years, authors generally pursued student activism from historical points of view. These included perspectives on student resistance in the United States and abroad (Boren, 2001), a single-institution analysis of black student protest (Glasker, 2002), further studies of student movements related to multiculturalism and identity politics (Green, Wathington, Rowley, & Kim, 2005; Yamane, 2001) and a look at the effects of Civil Rights activism on the student affairs profession (Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, & Gaston-Gayles, 2004). Aside from these historical viewpoints,

current research on celebratory rioting offers a new perspective on student activism (Kaplowitz & Campo, 2004; Kolek & Williams, 2004).

*Tactics*

*The celebratory riot.* In 1999, Kaplowitz and Campo (2004) surveyed students after the National Collegiate Athletic Association Tournament riots at Michigan State University, seeking to understand attitudes toward and antecedents of the recent disruption. In their survey, students described restrictive alcohol policies (viewed as unfair) as the fuel that excited the activity. Thus, while celebratory rioting may not seem to fit into the traditional activist categories for disruption (see Levine & Cureton, 1998), students described their actions as a demonstration against the unfair alcohol policy. This finding was also consistent with Kolek and Williams' (2004) research.

## *Summary*

In summary, the salient theme of activism research in the 1990s was that student activism was again on the rise, but perhaps needed to be contextualized locally (Hirsch, 1993; Levine & Cureton, 1998a, 1998b). The studies of specific incidents previously mentioned, as well as Cooperative Institutional Research Program data (Astin, 2004), indicate that student activism is alive and well, yet the media has failed to pay much attention. This could be due to the localism of protest activities, or it could merely be that the tactics themselves are not as visible as the substantial rallies and demonstrations documented in the 1960s. An under-researched interpretation of this low visibility is that perhaps aspects of student political activism have gone unnoticeably online. It is within this context that cyberactivism will be discussed in the next chapter as a gateway to the identification of estudentprotest.

## Conclusion

Historically, many different considerations have influenced the *modus operandi* of student protest action from Harvard's founding in 1636 to 2005. The literature reviewed in this chapter indicated that students have chosen the expression to fit the issue based upon available and existing support, the current political climate, and the simplicity of operation, though further research on these aspects of tactical choice is needed. The review of student activism issues, in tactical context, has demonstrated that available and existing support and the changing political climate is dependent upon (among other considerations) campus, community, and/or national temperament. Today, the simplicity of operation has been assisted by the successful appropriation of electronic technology by activists.

### *The Estudentprotest*

Simplicity of operation, in the context of student protest, refers to the potential to quickly communicate, effectively mobilize, and successfully carry out an action. Each of these actions can be carried out electronically, using the Internet (Danitz & Strobel, 1999a, 1999b) or cell phone technologies. Studies have indicated that the capability exists (Biddix, 2006; McCaughey & Ayers, 2003a), and have classified such activity as cyberactivism (McCaughey & Ayers, 2003b) or Internet-enhanced activism. The next chapter provides a review of related literature and conceptual frameworks related to the identification and analysis of estudentprotest.

*You know, I used to think that administrators who cut off food or sent in cops were stupid and that Harvard was smarter to wait people out and ignore them (because they look bad in the media and polarize people). Then the sit-in happened and I realized how effectively we could use that "ignored" time to organize and get people to listen and think about an issue and that for that window, the press, alumni, faculty, and all the usually dormant potential allies begin to come on board and exert pressure. So the cutting off of the Internet and food may actually be the smarter strategy now, for recalcitrant administrators, even if the University Hall head busting approach is still a loser.*
– *Hal, student organizer, Harvard (PSLM)*

# *CHAPTER THREE*

# REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

## Overview

The assessment of tactics is a new approach to the study of social movements. To date, researchers have primarily considered the influence of specific tactics on the civil rights movement (Gamson, 1975; McAdam, 1982; McAdam, 1983; Morris, 1981, 1993; Tilly, 1978), with one notable exception among recent student protests (Soule, 1997). This chapter reviews the research on social movement tactics, and then incorporates several distinct, yet complimentary perspectives to frame a study of estudentprotest.

First, a review of the tactical innovation framework, an evolution of collective behavior theory developed to determine and assess the specific influence of tactics, is presented. Second, hyperlink analysis, an application of social network theory for mapping online relationships among Web sites, is discussed. Next, the cyberactivism, the study of online forms of protest, is presented along with a pragmatic classification system to help define and describe contemporary student protest tactics. Finally, the integration of student activism, democratic theory, and cyberactivism is considered as a discussion framework.

Collectively, each perspective will contribute to the overall purpose of this study, to define and describe electronically-enhanced student activism, or estudentprotest. A review of collective behavior theory follows to trace the development of the tactical innovation framework, used pragmatically in this study to consider the impact of specific tactics in student protest.

## Tactical Innovation

### *Collective Behavior Theory*

Prior to the civil rights movement, collective behavior (or a variation) was the dominant theoretical perspective in social movement literature (McAdam, 1995). Classic collective behavior theory suggests that social protest is an activity "in which organized groups seek goals, mobilize resources, and employ strategies," merely as a reaction to the "stresses and strain of social society" (Gamson, 1990, p. 130). Protest participants are viewed as non-rational agents who simply react, without thought or consideration, to a perceived social ill. Human agency, or rational thought, operates only indirectly, as participants are seen as reacting to concerns beyond their control. In summary, organization, strategy, reason, analyses, and rationality are viewed as absent from social movements (Morris, 2000b).

### *Resource Mobilization*

After a series of studies on the civil rights movement, researchers determined that protest actions were anything but irrational and disorganized. From these findings, resource mobilization (Gamson, 1990; McCarthy & Mayer, 1977; Piven & Cloward, 1977) and political process (McAdam, 1999) theories evolved. Resource mobilization theory emphasizes the interaction between resource availability, preexisting

organizations, and attempts to meet demands (McCarthy & Mayer, 1977). The political process approach, incorporating the relational assumptions of resource mobilization, advocates the study of tactics.

*Political Process*

Political process theory (McAdam, 1995, 1999; Tilly, 1978) adds three fundamental concepts to resource mobilization. First is the importance of mobilizing structures, or the means by which actors engage in action (thus rejecting the irrationality concept) (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). Second is the existence of political opportunity structures, which suggests that movements are only likely to occur when favorable changes in political systems allow them to develop. Third is the concept of cultural framing, or the notion that ideas, beliefs, rituals, traditions and interpretations are crucial in social movements. The last tenet, according to Morris (2000a), is the least developed.

Morris (1999) notes that the primary weakness of the political process theory is an overemphasis on external factors, and that the cultural and emotional processes of the challenging participants are not adequately considered. He further explains that this could be corrected by weighting the reciprocal relationship between a challenging groups' capacity to mobilize and the existing political structure. By accounting for this relationship, Morris suggests, researchers can also better understand how diverse tactics and collective action influence the outcomes of social movements.

Future development in political process theory should incorporate the roles that institutions (such as the African American church during the civil rights movement), frame lifting (such as accounting for operative cultural structures and context), tactical

solutions, leadership configurations, pre-existing protest traditions, and transformative events, play (Morris, 1999). Meyer (1999), focusing on the study of tactics, raised two crucial issues for consideration when applying political process approaches: 1) how do protestors choose the tactics they employ, and 2) what are the differential effects of these choices? In his investigation of the civil rights movement, Morris (1999) discovered that,

> Widespread and sustainable collective action is not likely to develop if potential movement leaders fail to meet the tactical challenge. Such leaders must select and then execute appropriate tactics that will generate sufficient disorder and be attractive to their constituency. If they fail to meet this challenge, collective action will not develop. (p. 449)

The importance of tactical solutions is rooted in McAdam's (1983) influential work on the tactics of the civil rights movement.

## *Tactical Innovation*

### *Development*

According to Sociologist William Gamson (1990), the strategy of protest is to win acceptance or new advantages for a social movement. This can be accomplished through the successful employment of tactics. An influential, systematic attempt to understand the impact and effectiveness of social movements, Gamson's work promoted a reexamination of organizational involvement and discussed the importance of tactics for the success of protest movements (Guigni, 1998). One of his most controversial findings was that groups who used violent tactics found a higher rate of success than those who used more moderate actions. Though a survey of subsequent findings resulted in mixed or inconclusive findings (McAdam & Yang, 2002), the study of tactics has been advocated as an important feature in protest literature (Morris, 1999).

Building upon Gamson's findings, McAdam (1983) proposed a framework for examining the tactical interplay, or pace, of protest movements. One of the first researchers to point to tactics for the study of protest, McAdam's work reviewed the tactics of the Black insurgency (1955-1970) in terms of participants' effectiveness in creating and sustaining change. Following Gamson (1975), McAdam suggested that to offset powerlessness, challengers must find ways to offset their lack of power. Challengers do this by forcing their opponents to meet outside of the arenas from which opponents draw their power. The idea is to discover a means of disruption that causes the opponent to acquiesce if only to stop the tactic. Innovation is effective only to the extent that the introduction of a new tactic results in renewed disruptions that compel action by authorities (McAdam & Yang, 2002).

*Tactical Innovation and the Political Process Model*

To support tactical innovation, two important factors must be in place, outlined by the political process model (McAdam, 1982). First, a high level of indigenous organization is crucial to the success of the movement. Incorporating Morris's (1981) work on tactical diffusion, McAdam (1983) found that to be successful, the organization needs to mobilize community resources to support new tactics and individuals who know how to direct their use, to offer the participants to carry out the actions, and to provide the communications structures to facilitate the use and diffusion in the context of the larger movement. Second, the alignment of group(s) within the larger political context must create a structure of opportunities. In other words, tactical innovation only becomes potent in the environment of a vulnerable political system (McAdam, 1983).

Meyer and Staggenborg (1996) also studied this idea of a political opportunity feature of tactical success. They argue that political opportunity is not a fixed entity and can be altered by activists. One way is by creating or magnifying critical events that facilitate a response. Examining movement-countermovement interaction, the researchers found that interaction increases between actors when states permit, but do not satisfy, challengers.

*Tactical Innovation and Tactical Adaptation*

A challenge to this strategy of gaining and maintaining political leverage is the constant discovery and successful employment of new tactics (McAdam, 1983). The pace of the insurgency is critically influenced by both the resourcefulness of insurgents devising new tactical forms (tactical innovation) and the ability of the opponent to devise effective counters (tactical adaptation).

> Together they define an ongoing process of tactical interaction in which insurgents and opponents seek, in chess-like fashion to offset the moves of the other. How well each succeeds at this task crucially affects the pace and outcome of insurgency. (McAdam, 1983, p. 736)

McAdam (1983) arrived at this classification after analyzing the tactical innovations and tactical adaptations between civil rights activists and their opponents. Tactical innovations were arranged chronologically by date of introduction against the frequency of protest activity. The results indicate that pace of the movement changed (peaked) with the introduction of each new tactic. Tactical innovations included the bus boycott, sit-in, freedom ride, community campaign, and riot. Valleys between each innovation (peak) were examined and found to be instances when their opponents adapted and employed successful countermeasures (such as legal obstruction or violence to counter bus

boycotts). A second important finding was that the introduction of each new tactic seemed to bring a renewed use of all previous tactical forms.

*Applications*

Jasper and Poulsen (1993) researched counter-tactics used by organizations to evaluate the strategies, responses and "blunders" of these organizations that created political opportunities for protestors. They found that as the tactics of an organization become more expansive and visible, successful counter-organizing by targeted institutions also developed. The tactical innovation framework has been applied to the study of anti-war protests and congressional voting (McAdam & Yang, 2002), animal rights campaigns (Jasper & Poulsen, 1993), and the Latino struggle against English-only laws (Santoro, 1999). It has been adapted or slightly modified in studies of new social movements in West Germany (Olzak & Uhrig, 2001) and applied to specific confrontations in the civil rights movements (Morris, 1993).

*Criticism*

Critics of the tactical innovation framework argue that while the framework is useful in the study of social movements, examination of tactics should also be culturally framed, or situated, for better understanding (Morris, 1993, 2000a). Also, in the case of the Birmingham protests in 1963, the complete tactical repertoire was found to be more applicable than a point counter-point examination of tactics (Morris, 1999). In other words, using multiple tactics led to a more comprehensive attack on the power structure than a single innovation/adaptation concept. Future research should consider the nexus between tactical innovations and the complete tactical repertoire, as well as, instances in which multiple tactics are utilized as a single innovation.

Olzak and Uhrig (2001) argue that tactical innovation is not possible by strict definition of innovation, as most tactics considered innovative already have historical precedence. However, McAdam (1983) notes that “tactical innovation seems to stimulate the renewed usage of all tactical forms” (p. 740), suggesting that the timing of the innovation, not necessarily the form, can be the inventive aspect. Finally, Olzak and Uhrig (2001) note that innovation in tactics is “nearly impossible to observe” (p. 700).

*Evolution and Future Directions*

In a second analysis that incorporated the tactical innovation concept, McAdam (1995) emphasized a model of reform cycles, distinguishing between initiator movements (that signal or set off protest cycles) and spin-off movements (those that draw impetus and inspiration from the original initiator). Successful movements include a high degree of internal and external structural ties that lead to greater diffusion of the movement. The greater the density of structural ties in a movement, the more apt the movement is to generate spin-off movements.

Regarding such structural relations, McAdam (1995) noted that the importance of the ties between actors in a social movement is not only informational. He hypothesized that, “such ties make available to potential adopters the various innovations – collective action frames, new organizational forms, tactics, etc. – emanating from the movement” (p. 237). The significance of such relationships suggests a study of social networks and warrants additional investigation.

*Tactical Innovation, Social Networks, and Student Protest*

An applied example of tactical innovation regarding student protest is the construction of the shantytown, a non-violent tactic used by students to raise awareness

during the student divestment movement (mid 1980s – 1990) (Loeb, 2001; Vellela, 1988). Drawing on McAdam's (1983) work, Soule (1997) examined this tactic by modeling its diffusion through groups of student protestors at different campuses. Soule found that the tactic was successful for two reasons, first, it was perceived as an effective action that led to campus divestment in South African interests and, second, it drew attention to the living conditions of Black South Africans, illuminating the depravity of the apartheid regime. From systematic removal of the constructions to violent attacks by a conservative countermovement, ultimately neither universities nor counterprotestors were able to overcome the innovation (Vellela, 1988). Soule (1997) also found that certain institutional types (particularly elite, liberal arts colleges in the Northeast) had higher levels of tactical activity. This is consistent with the "protest demographic" found in much of the student protest literature (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Lipset, 1972).

An additional significant finding was Soule's (1997) discovery that social movement organizations are not isolated. Instead, the researcher notes, "they are constantly engaged in the monitoring of other organizations either directly (through direct communication or network ties) or indirectly (though cultural linkages or indirect communication with the media)" (p. 873). This finding suggests that among student protest movements, such direct and indirect linkages are important not only for tactical innovation and diffusion, but also in sustaining and evaluating the overall movement. An analysis of the social network(s) suggested by this finding is the focus of the following supplemental framework and methodological approach used in this study.

# Hyperlink Analysis

## *Social Network Theory*

Social network theory suggests that individuals are connected to groups in which relationships are formed for communication and resource sharing (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). An example is a work environment, in which employees are connected to one another through a variety of paths, or ties, to achieve the common goals of work. Thus, coordinators may be tightly connected to each other, but only to one director. This assumes a hierarchical approach, but social networks can form groups and subgroups based on any number of attributes. Units of analysis, for example, people, are known as nodes, while relationships are referred to as ties.

The analysis of social networks differs from traditional statistical inference in that the measures are between the individual units, not attributes of the units (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Therefore, person A is connected to person B, person B to C, but the link between A and C, if not direct, is bridged by B. The measure and meaning of these associations encompasses the social network approach, which is generally measured by graph theory, a mathematical representation using matrices to inform graphical representations of relationships (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988).

### *Social Networks and the Internet*

In 1997, Garton, Haythornthwaite, and Wellman hypothesized that the structure of the Internet, via computer-mediated communications, was ideal for social network analysis through the study of online social networks. Then, in 2001, after continued empirical evaluation, social network scholar Barry Wellman suggested that computer networks were inherently social networks. This hypothesis launched a wave of studies

using theoretical approaches that have been beneficial for the study of communication and resource sharing patterns using Internet technologies.

*Social Networks and this Study*

This study will utilize the social networks approach to collect and analyze data specific to this phase of the inquiry. Specifically, hyperlink analysis will be utilized to generate data, which will be followed by a network analysis of the single-issue protest. An overview of hyperlink analysis follows.

### *Hyperlink Analysis and Social Movements*

Communications scholar Michelle Jackson (1997) suggested a means of assessing the structure of communication on the World Wide Web using hyperlinks between Web pages. Hyperlinks among Web sites have been shown to represent approximations of social relationships among individuals (Adamic & Adar, 2001; M. Jackson, 1997) providing cursory structural data to inform related movements (Garrido & Halavais, 2003). Several researchers (Burris, Smith, & Strahm, 2000; Garrido & Halavais, 2003; Tateo, 2005) have demonstrated the utility of this approach to evaluate online social networks among activist organizations. Links between sites on the Web can be non-hierarchical, or more lateral between individuals so that each individual can be both a producer and consumer of information (Abbate, 1999, pp. 217-218). For the purposes of social networks analysis, the Web site is regarded as the actor, or unit, and the hyperlink between sites is the relation or tie (Park, 2003).

*Units of Analysis*

An overview of the basic units of analysis and data gathering techniques is provided in a review and methodological evaluation of hyperlink analysis research by

Park and Thelwall (2003). The three units of analysis include: 1) geographic top-level domains (TLDs – an example is the .edu in www.restech.wustl.edu), 2) secondary domains (an example is the .restech in www.restech.wustl.edu), and 3) Web documents (examples include html formulated Web pages and Web-accessible files, such as .pdfs or PowerPoint files). To gather information, three strategies include: 1) observation, 2) computer-assisted measurement, and 3) the combination of the two. Limitations will be discussed in chapter six.

*Benefits*

Among the benefits of hyperlink analysis is the discovery of patterns or relationships not apparent in real-life organizational analyses. A notable issue in using this approach is the possibility of making faulty assumptions about why links to other sites exist. Park and Thelwall (2003) suggest that researchers should include a method of textual analysis at the data gathering stage to reduce potential error. In summary, the researchers note that,

> Although a number of issues remain unresolved, hyperlink network analysis is certainly a worthwhile method to analyze various kinds of information obtained from the Web. It enables researchers to identify an invisible network in the field of interpersonal and organizational communication. Hyperlink network analysis has rendered visible a latent network among people or organizations that might not appear when focusing only on the organization and its members' relationships. (¶33)

Hyperlink analysis, an application of social network theory, will be utilized in this study of student use of the Internet for activism.

## Classifying Forms of Cyberactivism

### *Cyberactivism*

In an early computer-mediated communications study, Haight and Rubinyi (1983) reviewed computer-enhanced activism by community groups. The researchers suggested that the circulation and use of new technologies, such as computers, by political groups could have an impact on the distribution of political power. At that time in the early circulation of computer technologies, activist groups were using computers primarily for distribution of materials and word processing functions, such as newsletters or periodicals (1983). The groups in this study planned to add electronic messaging systems as an additional later use. Comparatively, Rice and Case (1983) found computers to be useful for grassroots communication in an early study on electronic mail.

The term cyberactivism was first used by McCaughey and Ayres (2003a) to describe political activism using the Internet. This definition was further expanded by Silver (2003), who described the study of cyberactivism as focused on "engaged activism" within informational environments (p. 280). The use of computer and Internet technologies in activist movements forecast in these early studies was validated by three prominent movements in the 1990s.

#### *Forms of Cyberactivism*

A review of literature that describes tactics utilized by cyberactivists must be preceded by defining the distinction between activism, hacktivism, and cyberterrorism (Denning, 2001; Vegh, 2003a, 2003b). The three broad categories of online activity are described by Denning as: 1) activism, which involves normal, nondestructive advocacy to support a cause and can include browsing the web for information – creating Web sites,

transmitting electronic email messages, discussing issues with others online, forming alliances, or planning activities; 2) hacktivism, which combines activism and hacking – attacking a Web site with the intent of disrupting operations through such measures as web sit-ins, denial of serve attacks, online blockages, email bombing, computer break-ins, and distributing viruses or worms; and, 3) cyberterrorism, combining cyberspace and terrorism – intending to create loss of life or economic disruption and could include hacking an air traffic control to cause planes to crash (2001, p. 241). The author further notes that although each category is defined separately, the boundaries can be subjective, so that what is considered hacktivism by some might be construed as cyberterrorism by others. For the purposes of this review, only activism and hacktivism tactics are discussed.

*Cyberactivism in Social Movements*

Though several individual acts of cyberactivism by groups and individuals have been researched since the early 1990s, three incidents largely populate the literature. An important first example of research in Internet-enhanced activism is the Free Burma Coalition (Danitz & Strobel, 1999a). The original study was among the first to describe the advantages and disadvantages of Internet protest (Danitz & Strobel, 1999b). Perhaps the most widely researched example of cyberactivism is the online Zapatista Movement, which has attracted a variety of scholarly inquiries, from military studies (Ronfeldt & Center, 1998) to historical accounts (Collier & Quaratiello, 1999; Harvey, 1998), and interdisciplinary collections (Holloway & Pelâaez, 1998). The tie that binds each account is the online activism and resultant electronic network that enhanced the rebellion (Garrido & Halavais, 2003). A third, but equally salient case study is the Battle for

Seattle and the subsequent online activities against World Trade Organization's (WTO) meeting in Seattle (Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2001). Researchers of this event have explored the online tactics used by cyberactivists (Eagleton-Pierce, 2001) as well as the unintended outcome of the alternative news source (De Armond, 2001; Kidd, 2003). A review of relevant research on these three representative examples follows.

*The Free Burma Coalition (1993 – 1998).* Two researchers, Tiffany Danitz and Warren Strobel (1999b), conducted one of the first comprehensive research studies in cyberactivism, using BurmaNet (http://www.burmanet.org/) as a case study and triangulating these findings with survey results. At the outset, the researchers acknowledged that little research had been conducted on the influence of new technologies on activism, suggesting that their findings could be difficult to generalize. Their analysis indicated, however, that the Internet could be influential in aiding grassroots democratic efforts (Danitz & Strobel, 1999b).

The results of the 1997 survey indicated several advantages and disadvantages worth noting for using the Internet as a tool for activism (Danitz & Strobel, 1999a, 1999b). Advantages included that the Internet is inexpensive and an organizational tool "par excellence," that it puts information in the hands of organizers fast, that it allows rapid replication of successful efforts, that it allows users to select their level of activity, that it helps publicize the cause and the campaign, and that it gives grass-roots activists a leg up on their opponents. Disadvantages included that communications over the Internet can be easily monitored, that opponents may try to use the Internet for sabotage, that information transmitted on the Internet is "unmediated" and can sometimes be of questionable accuracy, and that access to the Internet is not equal and may highlight

divisions between information “haves” and “have-nots.” Other disadvantages included that the Internet cannot replace human contact in lobbying and other campaign activities, that it may contribute to a lack of historical memory and archives for the movement, that movements based on the Internet, because of their decentralized nature, may be unstable, and that a danger exists in relying solely on a single source of communication in the event of technological malfunction or breakdown (Danitz & Strobel, 1999a). Several of the noted advantages were later confirmed by Eagleton-Pierce (2001), researching a subsequent movement.

*Zapatista Movement (1994-1996).* In much the same way that protests at Berkeley serve as the reference point for student activism research, the Zapatista rebellion is lauded as the first large-scale use of the Internet for cyberactivism (Ronfeldt & Center, 1998). The importance of this early movement is that it demonstrated Howard Rheingold’s (1991, 1993) early claims that the Internet could be a useful instrument for grassroots activism.

In the case of the Zapatistas, the positive effect of Internet activism was an unintended outcome of the rebellion. It is important to first note that while use of the Internet became the most effective weapon of the Zapatistas, it is unlikely that members of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, or Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), due to limited access in the poor region, ever directly made use of it (Cleaver, 1994, 1998). The Internet was, however, used in a variety of capacities by sympathizers to support the Zapatista plight.

After the initial conflicts following the seven-town occupation in January 1994, a few individuals began posting up-to-date reports of the Zapatista movement on the

Internet, setting up Web sites and email LISTSERVs (Froehling, 1997; Ronfeldt & Center, 1998). The Mexican government, facing local protests in Mexico City and international public outcry in the media initiated first a cease-fire, then agreed to a limited dialog between the Mexican government and the Zapatistas (Harvey, 1998). Messages and communications were passed to reporters and sympathizers who kept the world updated as to the Zapatista plight (Cleaver, 1994). Perhaps the most infamous technique used was FloodNet, an application created by the Electronic Disturbance Theatre (EDT) that when executed, "floods" a web server with reloads until it is shut down (Stalbaum, n.d.). Cleaver notes that the Zapatista rebellion is important because it demonstrated the activist capabilities of the Internet as both an information provider and an organizing agent (1998).

*Battle for Seattle (1999).* The protests against the World Trade Organization's (WTO) meeting in Seattle in 1999 are another frequently cited example of Internet activism (Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2001). Classifying online protests, Vegh (2003a, 2003b) situates the WTO protests as an action/reaction example of a hacktivism attack against an organization. Eagleton-Pierce (2001) employed the protest as a study in Internet activism methodology, evaluating the techniques in which cyberactivism can benefit social justice.

Successful online activists during the Seattle meeting utilized LISTSERVs for electronically organizing street protests and developed parody Web sites to confuse and divert conference participants (Eagleton-Pierce, 2001). This analysis further revealed that the Internet was an effective tool for benefiting social justice through access to resources, global reach, speed, networking, and low cost. Perhaps the most significant outcome of the World Trade Organization protests, however, was the advent of Indymedia.org (Kidd,

2003). Indymedia was developed to provide activists with up-to-date, eyewitness accounts of the street protests and demonstrations. Its birth, rapid growth, and popularity as an alternative non-media and non-network controlled news source continues to inform the world public on a broader array of activities as an unintended consequence of the Battle for Seattle (De Armond, 2001; Kidd, 2003). From the substantive, we next turn to a theoretical review of literature to help frame student political activism and cyberactivism.

*Classifying Forms of Cyberactivism*

Using cyberprotests against the World Bank as a case study, Vegh (2003a) demonstrated the use of classifying forms of Internet-enhanced action for studying online activism. Vegh distinguishes between Internet-enhanced (as another communication channel, raising awareness, coordinating action) and Internet-based (virtual sit-in, hacking into Web sites) activities, falling into three general categories:

1. Awareness/Advocacy. The Internet provides an alternative forum for information collection and dissemination. Additionally, groups and individuals become part of a larger community that can later aid organization/mobilization efforts. Online lobbying and petitioning is also located in this category.

2. Organization/Mobilization. The Internet is used for organization/mobilization in three ways: (1) to call for offline action, (2) to call for immediate action more efficiently than can be done offline, and (3) to call for online action that can only be performed on the Internet, such as massive spamming.

3. Action/Reaction. The most prominent media-reported form of action/reaction is hacktivism. An example is EDT's FloodNet software, which overwhelms target servers and effectively slows or shuts them down, also called a DoS, or denial of service, attack. Another technique is to set up parody Web sites to confuse would-be consumers, or to deface Web sites altogether, which requires root access to the system. A third is to create and distribute computer viruses. (pp. 72-84)

Vegh (2003a, 2003b) further notes that although each category is defined separately, the boundaries can be subjective so that what is considered hacktivism by some might be

construed as cyberterrorism by others. Vegh's framework may be useful as a practical guide to classifying tactical innovation by estudentprotesters.

*Limitations to the Study of Cyberactivism*

Internet studies, in general, are relatively new areas of academic inquiry. When one considers that the personal computer was not widely marketed until the mid 1980s, and that affordable modems to allow connection to other computers were not available until even later, it is easy to see why (Abbate, 1999; Hafner & Lyon, 1996). The study of computer-enhanced activism as a form of political activism, as a result, is even more immature. This is explained, in part, by the relatively recent emergence of public access to and use of the Internet and World Wide Web, which were not widely available until the early 1990s (Abbate, 1999).

Internet studies thus far have been historical (Abbate, 1999; Hafner & Lyon, 1996; Rosenzweig, 1998) cultural (Poster, 1990, 2001; Silver, 2000), or grounded in identity and community constructs (Rheingold, 1993; Turkle, 1995; Wellman, 1999; Barry Wellman & Haythornthwaite, 2002). A review of literature indicates that as recently as the late 1990s, a deficiency in studies of new technologies aiding protest or activism existed (Danitz & Strobel, 1999a, 1999b). It comes as no surprise, then, that the study of Internet activism has still not found a permanent disciplinary home (McCaughey & Ayers, 2003b; Silver, 2003).

This deficiency appears after consideration of several observable limitations: 1) public access to and use of the Internet is a relatively new phenomenon (National Telecommunications and Information Administration, 2004, September), 2) uses of the Internet for activism are difficult to uncover (Vegh, 2003a, 2003b), and as previously

mentioned, 3) no discipline has emerged to ground the study of Internet activism (McCaughey & Ayers, 2003a; Silver, 2003).

## Student Activism and Democratic Theory

### *Student Activism*

Political activism among college students has been a prevalent research subject in higher education since the campus disruptions of the Sixties (Altbach, 1991; Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Cross, 2000; De Groot, 1998; Kezar, 2000; Levine & Hirsch, 1991; Miser, 1988). Researchers have attempted to identify a student protesting demographic (Astin, 1977, 1993; Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975), to situate activism within a larger historical context (Altbach, 1973, 1993; De Groot, 1998), and have attempted to characterize activism as a function of student development (Chambers & Phelps, 1993; Hamrick, 1998).

### *Student Activism as Student Development*

Student political activism and student development theory have only recently been paired for analytical study. With the exception of a few researchers (Astin, 1977, 1993, 1999; Keniston, 1969), the prevalent historical view has been to identify activism as a disruptive behavior and not as a developmental one (Chambers & Phelps, 1993).

During the mid-Sixties and early Seventies, student affairs administrators often struggled with their responsibilities, wanting to be student advocates by supporting dissent, but required by their institutions to keep the peace (Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, & Gaston-Gayles, 2004). One has only to recall the sharp criticisms of Berkeley President Clark Kerr by California Gubernatorial Candidate Ronald Reagan to

understand the pressures faced by administrators to regain order and control on campus (Kitchell, 1990; Rosenfeld, 2002, June 9).

Researchers in the early Seventies attempted to identify an activist student demographic and compare that group with a non-activist cohort, factored by biographical and psychological data (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975). This method seems to reflect the contemporary needs of administrators who were likely enjoying a break from the previous era of unrest, yet who were hoping to identify antecedents before another era arrived. As the mid-Seventies and early-Eighties approached, Astin re-classified activism as a form of student engagement (1984).

Grounded in psychological assumptions, several adult development theories have been applied, or developed to fit, college students (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998). These include theories on psychosocial and identity development (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Keniston, 1969), cognitive-structural identity formation (Gilligan, 1982, 1993; Kohlberg, 1976, 1981; Perry, 1968, 1999), and student involvement and engagement outcomes (Astin, 1975, 1977, 1984, 1993).

Relating these and other theories to student activism, Hunter (1988) observed that activism should not be viewed as a developmental failure, but as a successful student commitment to an emerging social consciousness. As a developmental function, “the activities of campus protest – rallies, debates, boycotts – provide college youth with opportunities for community and contexts for their exploration of personal growth” (p. 35).

Applying Astin’s theory of involvement (1984) and Keniston’s theory on moral development and youth activism (1969), Chambers and Phelps (1993) suggested that

viewing activism as a developmental activity will contribute to the same outcomes as traditional leadership activities – involvement, decision-making, community, and social commitment. The involvement of faculty (Loeb, 2001), administrators (Hunter, 1988), and peers both during and after experiences of political activism also yields positive outcomes (Chambers & Phelps, 1993).

### *Student Activism and Democratic Theory*

Higher education's role as democratic educator was discussed by Astin (1999) who urged institutions to do more to educate students on democratic principles. Hamrick (1998) offered an application of democratic theory to student activism, suggesting that the core principles of democracy are acted out in student unrest. According to Hamrick, activism, in the sense of mobilizing others around a common cause, forming consensus among group members for activity, and fighting for an issue that affects the common good, already aligns with these values (1998). These views are significant in that they further demonstrate a marked shift from the traditional viewpoint of student activism as disturbance and reclassify it as developmental and democratic (Ropers-Huilman, Carwile, & Barnett, 2003). This democratic outcome helps establish a developmental link to student use of the Internet for activism.

## Student Activism and Cyberactivism

### *The Democratic Appeal of Online Activism*

The application of democratic theory to electronic activism is as new as the identification of cyberactivism itself. Researchers have only recently applied theoretical concepts to activist movements online (Silver, 2003). Silver acknowledges that studies of the intersection between the Internet and politics are emerging, but most are from the

perspective of the political institution, and not the activist one. Indeed, the Association for Progressive Communication's (APC) advocacy for an electronically facilitated Habermasian civil society, in which citizens can freely engage in democratic speech, hopes to counterbalance the growing presence of such one-way propaganda platforms by acting as the voice of the New Social Movements (NSM) online (Salter, 2003).

Yet, the concept of the Internet as the great democratic equalizer (Rheingold, 1991) and as a potential democratic change agent (Norris, 2001) is undermined by those who downplay the Internet as an opinion-only forum (White, 1997). Despite these conflicting views, one comprehensive multiyear study found that "real world" political involvement was more prevalent for Internet users than non-users (Katz, Rice, & Aspden, 2001). The researchers found that online-prompted participation consisted mainly of gathering information and discussing issues electronically with others. In summary, it would seem that with the Internet's purported ability to facilitate civic engagement coupled with the modern college student's rising propensity toward civic development outcomes; Internet-enhanced student political activism represents a promising democratic union.

## Conclusion

This chapter reviewed a broad range of literature from many disciplines in an attempt to build a theoretical framework and pragmatic research design though the use of related studies. Currently, no field specifically addresses electronic and electronic-enhanced student activism. By evaluating subsequent findings against the theoretical applications of tactical innovation, social network, student development, and democratic theory, as well as pragmatically though hyperlink analysis and forms of cyberactivism,

the concept of estudentprotest begins to emerge. The following chapter presents a discussion of the methodologies utilized to establish and evaluate this development.

*Well, I can't imagine how different it would have been without Internet and email. The Internet is where we found all of our first information on what a living wage is, who had passed one, and what the economists said about it. I remember at the time that our library had one book – but the Internet had case studies and resources – things more useful to a campaign. . .Mostly, though, I don't think we would have known where to start if we hadn't had access to other campaign and [economic] justice info and suggestions for how to run a campaign. Really basic stuff, but we had no idea.*
*–Sara, student organizer, Swarthmore College*

# *CHAPTER FOUR*

# RESEARCH METHODS

## Introduction

Student protest is remembered for the tactics that students use. Historically, the more memorable protests used violent, disruptive tactics that necessitated the familiar grandiose media attention. Some have even claimed that the national media attention given to the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in 1964 sparked the subsequent activism movement on campuses across the country (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Lipset & Altbach, 1966). Unfortunately for the protestors, the issue seems at times to have been lost in the unwitting preservation of the tactic.

Prior to public accessibility of online communications in the 1980s (Rice & Case, 1983; Vellela, 1988), student protest tactics and actions spread to other campuses via conference workshop attendees and individual or organizational letter-writing campaigns to students at other institutions (Altbach, 1973). Records were rarely kept of the activities of activist organizations concerning planning, effectiveness, and recommendations for others (S. McLean, personal communication, 2005). This is likely due to the spontaneous nature of student protest activity (Altbach, 1989b; Lipset & Altbach, 1966). In short, the media seems to have served as communicator, record keeper, and unintentional

coordinator of protest actions among students at different institutions. Internet technologies have the capability to drastically alter this paradigm, transferring the power of protest and tactical preservation from reliance on media directly to the keyboards of the activists themselves (Rheingold, 1991).

Yet the tactics available to modern activists via the Internet go well beyond coordinating action (Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2001; Danitz & Strobel, 1999a, 1999b; De Armond, 2001; Denning, 2001; Ronfeldt & Center, 1998; Vegh, 2003a). Records are preserved online, contact lists are updated for quick and easy access (Biddix, 2006; Vellela, 1988), and outside agencies link activists across the globe in solidarity (Cleaver, 1994, 1998; Garrido & Halavais, 2003). Studies demonstrate that many features of activism have gone online (Danitz & Strobel, 1999a, 1999b; McCaughey & Ayers, 2003a; Vegh, 2003b) – necessitating a distinction between online-reliant and online-based activism. The media, while still a contributor to the success of protest actions (by keeping pressure on those in power), are no longer the unintentional coordinator of action on the college campus. This study attempts to demonstrate how contemporary student activists increasingly rely upon Internet technologies to facilitate protest action, generating a new tactical classification of student political dissent, the estudentprotest.

## Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to identify and define the electronic and electronically-enhanced tactics utilized by contemporary student protestors. More specifically, this study focuses on student uses of Internet and other electronic technologies that support, aid, and accomplish protest actions to define and describe the tactics of estudentprotest.

## Research Questions

A central research question directed this study:

How do students use information and communications technologies (ICTs) to aid in student protest?

The specific objectives of this study included:

1. To identify the issues and tactics of contemporary student protest.
2. To define and describe the Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) utilized by college students for protest.
3. To determine the impact and significance of the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in college student protest.

Additional guiding research questions, accommodating the strengths of the sequential research approaches, are posed in each methodological sequence of this investigation, as related to the central question of this study.

## Overview of the Study

Figure 1 is a graphical representation of this method, using the notations suggested by Morse (1991, 2003) and a modified sequential explanatory design (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003) to accommodate the addition of social networks analysis. A discussion of the mixed methods research approach and how it is employed in this study follows. Afterward, a detailed account of the sample selection, procedures, data collection, and analysis for each phase of this study is included with a discussion of limitations.

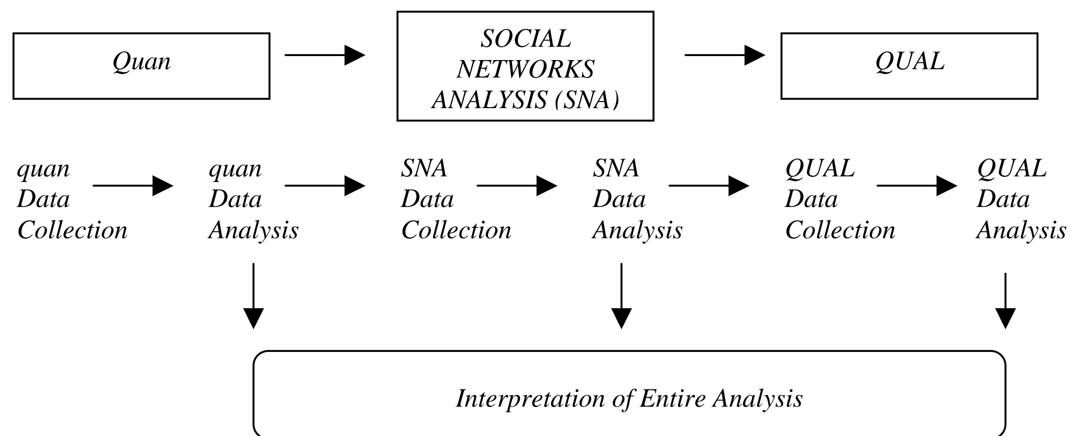



*Figure 1.* Visualization of the Sequential Explanatory Design.

## Mixed Methods

In the last ten years, mixed methods approaches have become increasingly prevalent in social science research. An example of this progression is Creswell's (1994, 2003) textbook of social science methodologies, which initially only detailed quantitative and qualitative approaches. By the second edition, Creswell (2003) added a combination of the two methodologies as a new strategy, mixed methods. The author notes that this was an essential addition as, "mixed methods research has come of age" (2003, p. 4).

### *Terminology and Perspective*

The strategies employed in a mixed methods approach can involve collecting data either simultaneously or sequentially to understand a problem (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Morse, 2003). Often, this involves some type of numerical data measure (quantitative) blended at some stage in the research with a textual data collection (qualitative). The research question(s) dictate the stage of integration, as well as the priority (if one is given) to the quantitative or qualitative data (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003).

For this study, the term "mixed methods" will be used, but it is important to note that this approach has also been called integrating, synthesis, and multi-method (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). The general disagreement arises from the distinction of the term multi-method, which Teddlie and Tashakkori describe as using two data collection procedures or research methods of the same tradition (such as qualitative interviews and observation, or quantitative database analysis and survey instrumentation).

A mixed methods perspective is generally defined as a pragmatic, pluralistic approach to answering a research question (Creswell, 2003). Assumptions underlying this approach are generally more pragmatic, in that they are not committed to one philosophy and therefore allow the researcher to draw from the assumptions inherent in traditional quantitative and qualitative research (Cherryholmes, 1992). Central to the pragmatist viewpoint is that the research question is more important than either the method used or the paradigm that underlies it (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). This study maintains that perspective.

### *Historical Overview*

The evolution of this approach can be traced back to psychological roots in the work of Campbell and Fiske (1959), who sought to use convergent techniques to account for the variances of using single-method designs. Jick (1979) became interested in converging the two approaches to achieve a better triangulation of results. Though these researchers are generally credited with the formal blending of quantitative and qualitative approaches (Creswell, 2003), others have long used mixed methods, explicitly or not, to answer research questions that required multiple analytical or interpretive approaches (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003).

Perhaps the most noteworthy and recognizable early mixed methods application is the Hawthorne Study (Roethlisberger, Dickson, & Wright, 1939) in which researchers blended interviews and observations with the overall research program to describe the "Hawthorne" effect. Another historically familiar mixed methods approach is Zimbardo's (2005) study in 1969 of de-individuation in prisons, where a controlled experiment was supplemented with quantitative evaluations and qualitative data gathering techniques. More recently, reviews of mixed methods research indicate its popularity in social science and educational research (Creswell, Goodchild, & Turner, 1996; Creswell, Trout, & Barbuto, 2002; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

*Strengths*

There are several reasons why researchers choose a mixed methods approach (Creswell, 2003; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). First, using mixed methods allows a greater freedom of inquiry than one would have if confined to one technique, allowing researchers to answer questions that a single methodology cannot. Indeed, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003) note that, "A major advantage of mixed methods research is that it enables the researcher to simultaneously answer confirmatory and exploratory questions, and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study" (p. 15). Second, the convergence of data (at the collection or interpretation level) allows one to view the problem from different perspectives. This can lead to divergent findings, which Johnson and Turner (2003) describe as a strength of this methodology. Third, mixed methods allow for stronger inferences. Greene, Caracelli, and Graham suggested five purposes for mixed methods: 1) triangulation, 2) complementarity, 3) development, 4) initiation, and 5) expansion (1989, pp. 258-261).

The first two functions lead to multiple inferences that can complement one another, and the other three are related to the idea that inferences made at the end of one phase can lead to questions and/or design for the second.

### *Challenges and Limitations*

An inherit challenge to a mixed methods approach is the need for extensive data collection (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Additionally, Creswell (2003) adds that researchers must be familiar with both quantitative and qualitative approaches, as well as be prepared to face the time-intensive nature of analyzing textual and numerical data.

To date, mixed methodologists have not settled on an overall term to describe validity and reliability, as both are inherent in the two primary approaches. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003) detail the numerous threats proposed in quantitative and qualitative literature, and note that mixed methodologists report validity and reliability separately for each phase. For this study, validity and/or reliability will be addressed separately in each section as they relate to the study.

### *The Sequential Explanatory Design*

Choosing a strategy based on the research question(s) is the first major consideration of a mixed methods approach (Creswell, 2003). The criteria include deciding on the implementation sequence of data collection, the priority of data collection and analysis, integration stage, and overall theoretical perspective (if used) for the study (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003).

This study utilizes a sequential explanatory design (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003), consisting of collecting first quantitative data, then qualitative data to enlighten or elaborate on the quantitative results. An intermediate

data collection and investigation phase for social networks analysis is also included, which has been hypothetically suggested (Bazeley, 2003). Quantitative data are given first priority, as they will be used to inform the social networks analysis. The sequential explanatory design was chosen because it is better suited to explain and interpret relationships (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003, p. 277), an important consideration for the primary research question of this study.

The strengths of this approach include that it is a fairly straightforward design, it is easy to implement as steps fall into distinct stages, and it is easy to report as a result of this simplicity (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). The main weakness is the length of time required to collect data in separate phases. This is particularly a challenge for this study, as an intermediary phase is included. A description of the methodology for each phase follows.

## Phase One: Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis

### *Overview*

The first phase of this study is modeled after Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti's (1975) analysis of student protest using data generated from campus newspapers. The methodology and original results of the study were previously published by Astin and Bisconti as an ACE report for the Office of Education in February of 1971. The report consisted of two parts, a survey of campus unrest for the 1969 – 1970 academic year, followed by a sequential analysis of the events in each protest. In this study, the variable selection methodology for the first part was adapted to illustrate the features of a selected issue of protest actions – issue, precipitating factors, actors, leadership, tactics, and outcomes. Two deviations from Astin and Bisconti's (1971) methodology include first,

that references to similar protests on other campuses, as well as electronic-use variables, were recorded where available, and second, then-current digital technology was utilized to identify the dataset. This is elaborated in further detail where applicable.

### *Research Questions Specific to Phase One*

The following research questions guide this phase of inquiry:

1. What protest events occurred on college campuses during the 2004 – 2005 academic year?
2. Which antecedent features and characteristics predict specific student protest actions?
3. Which antecedent features and protest events are related to the use of estudentprotest tactics?

### *Sources of Data, Sampling, and Procedure*

The total population of reported student protest incidents related to a selected protest movement was included in this phase of the study. All cases were selected from the available population of reported incidents in electronic versions of national, regional, and campus newspapers. Data were also collected from student group Web sites, where available. Since this was a multi-stage, sequential approach at data collection, sources of data, sampling, and procedure information are presented together under each relevant stage heading to avoid explanatory fragmentation. Figure 2 is a graphical representation of the quantitative dataset formation method.

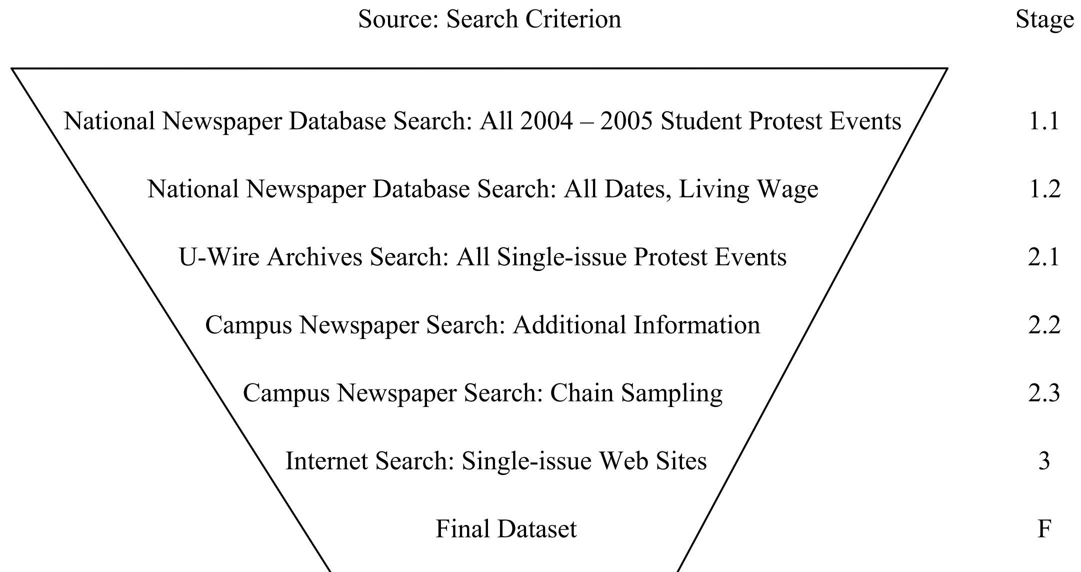



*Figure 2.* Visual Representation of Newspaper Dataset Size.

*Stage One: Newspaper Abstracts (Exploratory)*

*Sub-stage one: All 2004 – 2005 events.* For the first stage, an electronic search was undertaken using Newspaper Abstracts and Newspaper Source. Newspaper Abstracts is an electronic database containing searchable electronic versions of 50 national and regional newspapers (Online Computer Library Center, 2005). The searchable catalog includes full text and abstracts of over 7.3 million records from *The Wall Street Journal, USA Today, The New York Times, Chicago Tribune, Houston Chronicle,* and *Los Angeles Times*. Data consist of news articles, reviews, editorials, commentaries, editorial cartoons, and other items. Newspaper Source is an electronic database containing searchable electronic full text versions of over 40 national and international newspapers, newswires, and newspaper columns, as well selected text from over 240 regional U.S. newspapers (EBSCO Publishing, 2006). Full text coverage includes *The Christian Science Monitor,*

*The Washington Post,* and *Washington Times*. The purpose of this primary stage was to record all campus protest events in the previous year, based upon a keyword search, for a more detailed secondary investigation.

Campus protest events were then selected for review based on Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti's (1975) definition of a campus protest, classified as "any organized activity involving members of the campus community and occurring on or about the campus for the purpose of expressing public disapproval of or to bring about change in some policy, practice, or event" (p. 5). The search was structured as follows: 1) limiters were set in the search criterion for the 2004 – 2005 academic year (August 15$^{th}$, 2004 – May 30$^{th}$, 2005), 2) specific keywords were searched based on the literature and truncated in most cases to ensure successful hits (e.g., activis* to cover activist, activists, or activism), 3) hypertext links, when provided, were followed, and actions, meeting the predetermined definition of campus protest, were recorded by date, institution, and issue. The total available population of reported incidents, meeting the definition of a protest, were then included. Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to this technique as quantitizing data, whereby collected qualitative data are converted into quantitative measures for statistical analyses and representation. Appendix A contains the results of this search.

Issues uncovered were then clustered into representative groups (such as war protest, civil rights, etc.), as suggested by Astin and Bisconti (1971). Table 2 contains the representative groupings. A protest issue that was consistently characterized as multi-institutional was selected for further analysis in sub-stage two.

Table 2. *Student Protests Reported during the 2004 – 2005 Academic Year*

| **Representative Group** | **Issues** | **Frequency** |
|---|---|---|
| Labor Rights (*n*=23) | Divestment in Darfur | 5 |
| | Graduate & Faculty Unionization | 5 |
| | Human Rights/Worker Conditions | 2 |
| | Living Wage | 4 |
| | Other Campus Wages | 7 |
| Governance Issues (*n*=22) | Federal (non-Military) Policies & Decisions | 4 |
| | Global Policies & Decisions | 1 |
| | Institutional Policies & Decisions | 13 |
| | Local Community Policies & Decisions | 2 |
| | State Policies & Decisions | 2 |
| Military[1] (*n*=14) | Discriminatory Policies ("Don't ask, Don't tell") | 3 |
| | Recruitment Policies | 3 |
| | Recruitment Policies and War in Iraq | 5 |
| | War in Iraq | 3 |
| Identity Politics (*n*=7) | Affirmative Action | 1 |
| | GLBT concerns | 2 |
| | Minority Enrollment and Admissions Policies | 3 |
| | University Treatment of Women and Minorities | 1 |
| Political Issues (*n*=7) | Controversial Campus Visitors | 2 |
| | Presidential Election | 1 |
| | Presidential Inauguration | 2 |
| | Republican National Convention | 2 |
| Financial Issues (*n*=6) | Tuition and Fee Increases | 5 |
| | Financial Aid Policies | 1 |
| | | 79 |

[1]Several military protests involved multiple issues; therefore, each issue was recorded separately

*Sub-stage two: All selected issue protests.* A modified search of Newspaper Abstracts and Newspaper Source was then undertaken, broadening the search to include an historical background of incidents in a selected representative grouping reported from as far back as possible to present. Hereafter, this will be referred to as a single-issue protest. The total available population of reported incidents, meeting the definition of a protest, was recorded.

*Stage Two: College Newspapers (Primary Data Source)*

*Sub-stage one: Campus newspaper keyword search.* The second phase involved a more detailed approach to locate specific information on each protest. For this stage, campus newspapers were utilized. This was the primary source of data, as suggested by Helen Astin, Herman, and Horfrichter (1969, as cited in Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975) and Astin and Bisconti (1971) as a robust source of campus protest data. Using the date and institution information from the focused search in stage one, as well as focused keyword searches, detailed information was obtained from campus newspapers for each incident. University Wire, a database of college newspapers accessed through LexisNexis™ Academic Search, was used to locate data. In many cases, a number of reports from a single protest may have been chronicled over several days, offering the advantage of much more detailed data. Though a few cases may have been lost due to unavailable campus newspaper archives, the second phase bolstered the available data. Results from this stage are reported in Appendix B.

*Sub-stage two: Campus newspaper search*. As an additional step, for every institution identified in the previous sub-stage, a subsequent search was performed on the searchable online archives of each paper for additional information that the database may have missed. Results from this stage are reported in Appendix C.

*Sub-stage three: Campus newspaper chain-sampling*. This sub-stage involved a chain-sampling technique (Patton, 1990). For every protest identified in the previous sub-stages, a subsequent search was performed on other college newspapers referred to by the event. For example, if a protest at the University of Texas – Austin referenced a prior protest (within the search criterion) at Texas A&M, the newspaper at A&M was also

searched for more information on that protest. Appendix D reports additional results from stage two.

*Stage Three: Student Group Web Sites (Secondary Source)*

Additional supplemental data were obtained on each case from keyword searches for student group Web sites identified in the previous search. This search was undertaken to gather additional Internet tactic information for each protest, including but not limited to email lists, hyperlinks, archives, how-to manuals, and contact lists. The final dataset of all collected quantitative data for this study is reported in Appendix E.

## *Instrumentation*

Since this study involved archived electronic information, the primary instrumentation used to generate data was electronic search engines. Search engines have the advantage of allowing more limited and specific searches based on user-defined criterion. In this case, most searches were limited by date, and then categorized by issue.

## *Analysis*

Descriptive (frequency) statistics were calculated for all variables in the study and reported in chapter 5. To determine which antecedent features and characteristics predict specific student protest tactics, the discrete variable, or type of protest action, was tested as an outcome measure from the dataset of collected variables. Logistic regression was utilized, as it allows the prediction of a discrete outcome (such as a specific protest event e.g., sit-in) from a set of variables (such as involvement of student groups and/or campus administrators) that may be continuous, discrete, dichotomous, or a mix (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000, p. 517).

Logistic regression was chosen for the flexibility it allows, which includes the lack of assumption about the distributions of predictor variables (non-normal distribution, non-linearity, and/or non-equal variance within each group are permitted) (Peng, Lee, & Ingersoll, 2002; Peng, So, Stage, & St. John, 2002; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000). It accomplishes this by applying the logit transformation to the dependent variable, in other words, predicting the natural logarithm (ln) of ratios of probabilities, or odds ($\pi$) of Y happening to probabilities (1- $\pi$) of Y not happening. Borrowing again from Peng, Lee, and Ingersoll (2002), the basic formula becomes:

$$\text{logit}(Y) = \textit{natural}\ \log(\textit{odds}) = \ln(\pi / 1 - \pi) = \pi + \beta x$$

(where the regression coefficient, $\beta$, is the logit)

Also, note that $\beta$ reflects the direction of the relationship between *X* and the logit of *Y*. Part 2 of this formula includes the antilog of the previous equation on both sides to predict the probability of occurrence of the outcome of interest:

$$\pi = \textit{Probability}(Y = \text{outcome of interest} \mid X = x, \text{a specific value of X})$$

(where $\pi$ is the probability of the outcome of interest, $\alpha$ is the *Y* intercept, $\beta$ is the regression coefficient, and *e* is the natural logarithm base)

In equation 1, the relationship between logit (*Y*) and X is linear; while the relationship between Y and X in equation two is nonlinear. Therefore, equation 2 is needed to transform the natural log of the odds to make the relationship between a categorical variable and its predictor(s) linear (Peng, Lee, & Ingersoll, 2002).

As mentioned, a primary strength of logistic regression is that it allows for variable flexibility. For this analysis, variables were coded as follows: dichotomous outcomes as 0 or 1, categorical predictors as 0 or 1 (dummy coded), and continuous values for continuous predictors. A list of all variables coded is presented in Appendix F. SPSS® for Windows®, Version 13, was used to analyze data.

*Validity and Reliability*

Astin and Bisconti (1971) noted that a few members of the study group that discussed the initial methodological approach for *The Power of Protest* were wary of using data collected from campus newspaper reports. The authors note, however, that a sit-in is still a sit-in, no matter who reports it. To overcome potential issues with coding, the research team sent copies of each sequential analysis to representatives at the institutions under study to verify that the facts and sequence were correctly recorded. A similar method was used for this study, whereby institutional representatives (students when available, administrators as a backup) were emailed the final single-issue dataset for verification.

To assess statistical validity and reliability measures, Peng, Lee, and Ingersoll (2002) recommend several testing procedures for evaluating logistic regression results. Taking these recommendations, first, an overall evaluation of the logistic model is reported, using likelihood ratio and Wald tests. Next, statistical tests of overall predictors and goodness-of-fit information are provided using the Wald chi-square statistic and Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness of fit statistic. Other $R^2$ measures, Cox and Snell and Nagelkerke, were also used to determine goodness-of-fit. Finally, an assessment of odds ratio is included.

*Limitations*

Several limitations are apparent. Using multiple-stage data collection techniques runs the risk of losing cases. Also, by only using reported incidents, protest actions may be missed at smaller, less-publicized institutions. The snowball/chain-sampling technique using campus newspapers helps identify some of these cases. In addition, reporting errors

may result from coding and clustering data. Finally, logistic regression requires a specific observation-to-predictor ratio to reduce error (Peng, So, Stage, & St. John, 2002, pp. 266-267). Nonetheless, the descriptive information generated from the final dataset adequately informs the next phase of inquiry.

## Phase Two: Social Network Data Collection and Analysis

### *Overview*

Social network analysis is primarily concerned with the evaluation of relationships and structures of association (Scott, 2000). Several key assumptions distinguish the analysis of relations from typical statistical analysis of attributes (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). First, units and actions are viewed as interdependent, rather than as independent, data. Second, relationships, or links, between units are considered paths for the flow of resources. Third, a network may be viewed from the perspective of one unit's role among other units, regarding the opportunities or constraints facilitated by the network structure. Fourth, a network may be viewed as a full model to conceptualize structure as lasting patterns of relationship among its units. Social network analysis, according to Garton, Haythornthwaite, and Wellman (1997), allows researchers to look beyond attributes to examine the exchanges that create and sustain work and relationships. For this study, hyperlink analysis, a form of social network analysis, will be utilized to examine the structure of tactical relationships between students in a single issue protest movement.

### *Research Questions Specific to Phase Two*

Social network analysis has been combined with qualitative methodologies to generate data that both inform and attempt to understand social networks (Howard,

2002). The data collection and analysis strategies undertaken during this phase generate information for both forms of inquiry; therefore, research questions formulated for the dualistic approach are presented in their entirety here as well as in phase three. Only those questions related to social network analysis are analyzed in this section. To minimize confusion, questions related to social network analysis specifically are labeled SNA, while those related to the qualitative approach to follow are labeled QUAL, following Morse's (1991) mixed method notation strategy. These include:

SNA. 1. What relationships exist among Web sites in the living wage campaign network?

SNA. 2. What are the central units in this relationship and which, if any, units act as bridges between individual campaigns in the network?

*Sources of Data and Sampling*

The primary data source for this phase of inquiry were hyperlinks between student-group Web pages. The total population of Web pages that fit the criterion established for a single-issue protest in phase one of this study were used. Commercial Internet domains were not incorporated into this analysis.

*Procedure*

A social network approach to mapping connections via hyperlinks and recording common features via content analysis modeled by Adamic and Adar (2001) was utilized. First, from the single-issue protest campaign selected from phase one, the oldest three institutional campaigns with functional Web sites were utilized as primary data sources. Using a reputational sampling approach (Scott, 2000) applied in similar research of activist organizations (Tateo, 2005), the outbound links from each of these three sites were then recorded. To qualify for continued analysis, links met specific criteria: 1) links were to organizations with clear social missions, 2) links were to campaigns with a

current or historical real-life component, 3) links were to a single-issue movement (e.g. war protest), and 4) links were related to college student protests.

The hyperlinks of these sites were then checked and recorded until repetition of links began to define the boundaries of the network. This form of data collection is categorized as observational web document collection (Park & Thelwall, 2003), since domains are not the central focus, and a relatively small sample is expected. A commercial or custom web crawler is recommended for hyperlink analysis of large samples yet, observation may be utilized when the sample size permits (Park, 2003). To account for dead links, Internet Archives Wayback Machine (http://www.archive.org/), as suggested by Thelwall and Vaughn (2004), was utilized.

*Method of Analysis*

For the purposes of network analysis, the hyperlink data were arranged in a square, asymmetric matrix for review (Garrido & Halavais, 2003; Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Elements of the matrix indicate the total number of hyperlinks from each domain to each other domain in the network. Data were then assessed to determine characteristics of the network including units that are central to the group, and those that serve as bridges to others, as dictated by the research questions for this phase. These data were analyzed with UCINET, a widely used free software application for social network analyses (Garton, Haythornthwaite, & Wellman, 1997), for closeness and betweenness measures. The most current version of UCINET (6.102) included NetDraw software, which was used to generate visual representations of the data for analysis. Results of the content analysis were reported as descriptive data, supplemental to the qualitative and final analysis of this study.

### *Validity and Reliability*

A common threat to validity in observational hyperlink studies is the possibility of coding errors when dealing with a large sample (Park, 2003; Park & Thelwall, 2003). The total sample is expected to be small, so potential errors should be minimal. Coding and analysis were reviewed by an additional researcher familiar with social networks analysis.

### *Limitations*

A potential limitation to this approach is the exclusion of links that did not meet the predetermined criterion (commercial domains, for example). An analysis of these may provide useful evidence for further study, but are beyond the research questions for this study. A second limitation is the transitory nature of Web page maintenance and upkeep. The content of Web pages, including links, changes from time to time. For this study, the most recently updated version of the page was used for analysis. For pages requiring the use of Internet Archive, the update most closely corresponding with the most notable visible action was used. For example, the archived page closest to date of the building occupation at Johns Hopkins was chosen for examination.

## Phase Three: Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

### *Process Evaluation*

To explore tactical relationships among students involved in living wage campaigns at different institutions, a process evaluation approach was selected. This type of study is focused on describing the process by which relationships form or are formed, complementing the social network approach. Furthermore, the results of the individual interviews illuminated specific uses of electronic-enhanced tactics.

Qualitative inquiry is suggested for undertaking a process evaluation for several reasons (Patton, 1990). First, accurately portraying the process requires detailed description. Second, the experience of a process can vary from person to person. Third, a process can be fluid and dynamic. Fourth, the perceptions of participants of a process are a key consideration.

Process evaluations, Patton (1990) adds, involve not only looking at the formal data, but also entail an investigation of informal patterns and unanticipated interactions. Such evaluations can highlight key features such as organizational structures and relationships. Quantitative data are not useful in demonstrating processes, because the nature of social processes is that they are complex and interdependent. “By describing and understanding the dynamics of program processes,” writes Patton, “it is possible to isolate critical elements that have contributed to program success and failures” (p. 96).

This study utilized the results from the quantitative (phase one) and social networks (phase two) analyses, framed in social network assumptions. Process evaluation should be approached without a predetermined hypothesis about strengths and weaknesses (Patton, 1990). Therefore, a semi-structured interview guide was used to address the overall research questions, while allowing for flexibility during each interview. This permitted features of the process to emerge during the phases of inquiry, rather than being guided by a predetermined viewpoint.

### *Research Questions Specific to Phase Three*

To review, the research questions for the interview phase (QUAL) are related to the results of the social network analysis (SNA). It is necessary to include the SNA questions to understand those that guided this phase on inquiry. These include:

SNA. 1. What relationships exist among Web sites in the living wage campaign network?
QUAL. Do these relationships tactically contribute to action?
QUAL. If so, in what ways?
SNA. 2. What are the central units in this relationship and which, if any, units act as bridges between individual campaigns in the network?
QUAL. Why are these units important?
QUAL. Have they served as catalysts for subsequent campaigns?

Two additional questions were added for this phase, specific to the overall goal of defining and describing estudentprotest. These include:

3. In what ways do students use Internet and cell phone technologies to aid in student protest?
4. What are the challenges associated with using these technologies?

*Participants*

The participants chosen for this study were intentionally selected from the population of students involved in living wage protest actions identified by the preceding social network analysis. This type of purposive, deliberate sampling is a strategy that allows for more specific information that cannot be obtained well from other choices (Maxwell, 2005). A common characteristic among all participants is that he or she must have been a student at the time of a protest action at the institution under study. This is deliberately left vague to allow for full- or part-time status, degree or non-degree seeking, and graduate or undergraduate student participants.

*Sampling*

A primary function of the preceding social network analysis was to limit sampling bias. After analysis of social network data, former and current students were chosen from among activists involved in protest actions at the institutions identified as significant. Non-campus organization staff members were also contacted for interviews, as suggested by the analysis. One to two participants were interviewed from each institution or non-

campus organization for this study (as suggested by news stories or Web site information). Preference was given to students who served, or continue to serve, as protest organizers. The total population was ten interview participants.

### *Procedure*

The database generated from the newspaper and network analysis identified potential participants. Identified organizers of the protest action were first contacted by the researcher by email and followed up via phone (if needed). Once participants were identified, the researcher asked each participant for the name of a person important to their campaign (either former student or non-campus staff member), using a snowball, or chain-sampling approach (Patton, 1990). The researcher requested an introductory email or call from key informants to the potential additional participants to aid in access and involvement at the sites, as suggested by Manning (1992). The researcher contacted all participants to set up interviews.

### *Institutional Approval and Informed Consent*

Institutional approval for this study was obtained after a full review by the Human Subjects Committee (HSC) at the University of Missouri – St. Louis. Since most interviews involved alumni or non-campus organization staff members, approval from the University of Missouri – St. Louis was considered sufficient. For interviews with current students, an exemption was obtained from the Hilltop Human Subjects Committee (HHSC) at Washington University in St. Louis.

After initial contact and prior to each interview, participants were required to return an informed consent document discussing the potential risks involved with the study. A copy of this document is included in Appendix G.

*Interview Protocol*

The researcher then set up successive interviews with each participant after initial contact was made. Interviews utilized the standard interview guide approach (Patton, 1990), in which topic or subject area questions are developed and asked without a rigid structure. This allows the interviewer the flexibility to probe, explore, or ask relevant follow-up questions as needed while still covering the main points. A copy of the interview guide is included in Appendix H. General subjects included background items, followed by questions about the experiences and opinions of the participants. A series of evaluation questions was asked about the overall protest and the tactics involved, as well as the role of the Internet in the protest action.

*Instrumentation*

Interviews were conducted electronically with participants. The format included instant text messaging using AIM™ (America Online Instant Messenger), or equivalent software (such as Google's™ Gmail™ "Talk"). Instant messaging allows for real-time interaction and a semi-structured format. A second alternative was email interview exchanges, which also allow for semi-structured exchanges, albeit not in real-time. Berg (2001) reviewed the strengths of this form of communication, while cautioning two areas of potential ethical concern – the greater needs to protect children and the need for debriefing. For this study, no one under 18 year of age was interviewed and all participants have access to the transcript records created by their own computers.

*Data Analysis*

An inductive narrative approach was utilized for data analysis. Patton (1990) suggests that a primary decision when analyzing interviews is to decide whether a single-

case analysis or cross-case analysis will be used. For this study, a blended approach was taken to exploit the strengths of both approaches.

Data from interviews were grouped first by institution to understand the critical aspects of the process under study. Brief biographical information about individuals and their affiliations are presented to contextualize each case independently, as well as, within the network sample. To effectively analyze the significant amount of text that was collected, the responses are coded into three areas, as suggested by the review of research in chapters two and three: 1) relationship(s) to other institutions and organizations, 2) form of electronic-enhanced tactic, and 3) challenges of electronic-enhanced student activism. QSR N6 Version 6.0, a qualitative data analysis software program, was used to code and analyze the interview responses.

### *Validity*

Internal validity was enhanced though the triangulation of data collected from different sources (various institutions and non-campus organizations) and data identified in the first two phases of this study related to specific student protest events. Persistent observation and description of similar tactical uses, if provided in interviews, further enhanced credibility.

### *Reliability*

To establish reliability of the interview analysis, coded transcripts were submitted to an outside reviewer for a preliminary evaluation of the proposed scheme. Specifically, proposed themes and patterns related to transcribed interviews were provided to the reviewer with this submission.

### *Trustworthiness*

To enhance trustworthiness, a significant amount of archival data was collected from online campus newspapers and Web site records and used to cross-check event accounts. Member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to confirm accuracy were also instituted, and consisted of transcript verification (post interview).

## Integration Strategy and Conclusion

Following phase three, data were integrated from the three sequential phases of inquiry for discussion. The dataset and results from phase one (quantitative) were compared with the dataset and graphical representations from phase two (social network analysis), which were then contextualized with the results from phase three (qualitative). Each approach, when taken separately, yielded distinct results. When integrated, however, the mixed methods design helped to define and describe estudentprotest.

*[Without the Internet or cell phones], the sit-in would have played out very differently and probably would not have worked. We would have had to do a lot more organizing ahead of time, because every day inside would have resulted in dwindling support instead of acting as a full-time organizer camp. And even then, it would have been very difficult to get our message out to local/national/alumni supporters, the press, and the faculty. . . So the limits on institutional knowledge sharing would have been even more severe and the next generation would mostly reinvent the wheel, like we did. . .*
*– Hal, student organizer, Harvard (PSLM)*

*CHAPTER FIVE*

# CONTEMPORARY STUDENT ACTIVISM AND ESTUDENTPROTEST

## Contemporary Trends in Student Activism

To assess contemporary trends in student activism and initiate the search for evidence of estudentprotest, a detailed analysis of newspaper archives was undertaken. This strategy was model on previous research conducted by Astin, Herman, and Horfrichter (1969), then later Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975), who utilized newspaper accounts of student protests to determine the themes, impact, and outcomes of student activism. The primary purpose of this investigation was to similarly identify institutions reporting protest actions, to determine a single issue for further study, and to create a database of the issues and tactics of a modern student protest campaign.

Following Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti (1975), statistical analyses were performed to determine the characteristics of contemporary student protest that predict non-disruptive, as well as disruptive outcomes. Electronically-enhanced tactics of student protest were also assessed to determine significant relations between protest characterisitics and the use of technology to aid in action. This chapter presents the results of each analysis.

*Research Questions*

To review, the following research questions directed this phase of inquiry:

1. What protest events occurred on college campuses during the 2004 – 2005 academic year?
2. Which antecedent features and characteristics predict specific student protest actions?
3. Which antecedent features and protest events are related to the use of estudentprotest tactics?

The sequential newspaper search consisted of six subsequent searches from a variety of sources. Each source contributed to the final dataset. Figure 3 is a visual representation of the search, reporting the size of the dataset after each successive phase. The results for each question are presented in subsequent sections.

| Source: Search Criterion | Stage | Dataset Size |
|---|---|---|
| National Newspaper Database Search: All 2004 – 2005 Student Protest Events | 1.1 | 79 |
| National Newspaper Database Search: All Dates, Living Wage | 1.2 | 20 |
| U-Wire Archives Search: All Single-issue Protest Events | 2.1 | 80 |
| Campus Newspaper Search: Additional Information | 2.2 | 156 |
| Campus Newspaper Search: Chain Sampling | 2.3 | 158 |
| Internet Search: Single-issue Web Sites | 3 | 158 |
| Final Dataset | F | 158 |

*Figure 3.* Visual Representation of Newspaper Dataset

Protests Occurring on College Campuses During the 2004 – 2005 Academic Year

For the 2004 – 2005 academic year, 79 protests were reported in local, regional, and national newspapers. Each event was coded by issue, using categories based on

previous research (Rhoads, 1997; 1998). As reported in Table 2, these groups included labor rights ($n$=23), governance issues ($n$=22), military ($n$=14), political issues ($n$=7), identity politics ($n$=7), and tuition and fee increases ($n$=6). Issue-specific results of this preliminary search follows.

*Labor Rights*

Twenty-three cases classified as labor rights protests were reported during the 2004 – 2005 academic year. Of these, five involved university investments in Darfur related to labor practices. Five involved faculty and/or graduate student unionization or institutional recognition of an existing union. Two involved human rights/worker condition concerns protesting the presence of Coca-Cola and Taco Bell on campus. Eleven protests involved campus worker wage concerns. Of those, four were focused on a living wage specifically, while the remaining seven actions were focused on generally defined higher wages.

*Governance Issues*

Twenty-two cases classified as governance issues protests were reported during the 2004 – 2005 academic year. Of these, four involved federal (non-military) policies and decisions. Specifically, three events were targeted at the President's social and political policies, and one event protested the President's social security plan. One protest involved a global policy and decision, the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Thirteen cases involved institutional policies and decisions. Of these, two involved discriminatory hiring practices, while two others concerned administrative decisions affecting academics and athletics. The others were misspending by a college president, an administrative decision to honor a deceased professor, plans to cut faculty

pay, academic freedom (due to the Middle East conflict), a ban on alcohol at sporting events, a computer policy change (allowing the institution to review and monitor files), a presidential visit (institutional policies surrounding the visit), recent changes to academic programs, and institutional involvement in nuclear weapons research and development.

Two cases involved local community policies and decisions, specifically, local policies concerning police and a city council noise ordinance. Finally, two protests involved Colorado's state policies regarding the reduction of sanctions for marijuana cases.

*Military*

Fourteen cases classified as military protests were reported during the 2004 – 2005 academic year. Of these, three involved "don't ask, don't tell" discriminatory recruitment policies. Three involved aggressive recruitment. Five were linked to both recruitment policies and the war in Iraq. Three involved only the war in Iraq.

*Identity Politics*

Seven cases classified as identity politics protests were reported during the 2004 – 2005 academic year. Of these, two involved GLBT issues, specifically, administrative policies discriminating against a gay student group and students advocating for a nondiscriminatory campus policy. Three cases involved minority enrollment and admissions policies, two concerned policy changes and one was directed in opposition of admissions and recruitment policies that were too selective. The remaining two protests involved affirmative action and the university's treatment of women and minorities.

### *Political Issues*

Seven cases classified as political issues protests were reported during the 2004 – 2005 academic year. Of these, two involved controversial campus visitors, namely, Michael Moore, the controversial left-wing filmmaker whose works include *Bowling for Columbine* and *Fahrenheit 911*, and Ward Churchill, a Colorado professor whose remarks in an essay after September 11, 2001 created a controversy among conservatives. One involved the 2004 election results. Two involved the Presidential Inauguration. Two involved the Republican National Convention. It should be noted that numerous other protests related to the election involved college students; however, only those organized by college students or located on college campuses were included in this dataset. This number is expected to be less for a non-presidential election year.

### *Tuition and Fee Increases*

Six cases classified as tuition and fee increase protests were reported during the 2004 – 2005 academic year. Of these, five concerned tuition and fee increases. Four of the five involved a statewide tuition increase in Georgia, while the remaining protest involved a fee increase in California. The final case concerned financial aid policy reform.

### *Further Analysis: Campus Living Wage Protests*

The results of the 2004 – 2005 overview suggested that labor rights was a primary student protest issue. A criterion for single-issue selection was evidence of a connection between protest events. Though campus living wage campaigns only represented four cases, several news stories discussed collaborative efforts between protestors at different institutions. Therefore, campus living wage protests were selected for further analysis.

## Antecedent Features and Characteristics Predicting Living Wage Protest Actions

Findings from previous studies (Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Astin & Bisconti, 1971; Astin, Herman, & Horfrichter, 1969) demonstrated that protest actions were related to a number of identifiable features and antecedent characteristics. Categorically, these variables included precipitating factors, actors involved, and leadership. Researchers reported that particular combinations of characteristics led to disruption, while others were more commonly associated with non-disruptive expressions of dissent. The results of this analysis reveal that new variables have become prominent antecedent features and characteristics of student protest actions.

### *Research Questions*

The following research questions frame this analysis:

1. Among college students at four-year institutions, which antecedent features and characteristics predict non-disruptive living wage protest actions?
2. Among college students at four-year institutions, which antecedent features and characteristics predict disruptive living wage protest actions?

### *Data and Methodology*

#### *Data*

The Campus Living Wage Protests (1997 – 2005) dataset (hereafter abbreviated as CLWP) were generated from a search of campus newspaper electronic archives. The CLWP characterizes 158 protests at 32 institutions described in campus newspapers from October 1997 until December 2005. A list of institutions is provided in Appendix I. Geographically, sixteen of the institutions are located in the Eastern United States, six in the Midwest, five in the West, and five in the South. According to the Carnegie 2000 classification, 29 are Doctoral/research universities (DR Ext), two are Baccalaureate-liberal arts colleges (BA LA), and one is a Master's (comprehensive) college (MA I).

Finally, according to National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) classification designation, 20 are private four-year institutions, while the remaining 12 are public four-year institutions.

*Variables*

Each case was evaluated on 94 measures, including a mixture of discrete and continuous variables. These measures were categorized into eight groups: 1) institutional identifiers, 2) precipitating factors, 3) actors, 4) events, 5) estudentprotest tactics, 6) outsider involvement, 7) outcomes, and 8) other. Leadership variables, as used in previous studies (Astin and Bisconti, 1971; Astin, Astin, Bayer and Bisconti, 1975), were not included in this analysis, as in most cases, undergraduate student groups specific to living wage movements comprised the leadership.

### *Statistical Analyses*

The review of literature on historical and contemporary student protest suggested twelve initial composite variables for regression analysis. Category selection for CLWP variables is reported in Appendix E. To review, the purpose of the regression analysis was to attempt to identify antecedent to both non-disruptive and disruptive protest activity. These predictor variables were:

1. Precipitators (comprised of wage concerns, labor policies and benefits, contract renewal/renegotiation)
2. Actors, campus (comprised of faculty, administrators, campus workers, students at other institutions, the president and/or trustees, and police)
3. Actors, off-campus (comprised of off-campus support and/or involvement)
4. estudentprotest (comprised of the composite variables electronic information gathering/sharing and electronic non-disruptive expression of dissent).

To determine which antecedent features and characteristics predict specific student protest tactics, two discrete variables were tested as outcome measures from the dataset. These outcome variables were:

1. Non-disruptive expression of dissent (comprised of all non-disruptive actions, such as presenting demands or conducting a letter-writing campaign).
2. Disruption (comprised of all disruptive actions, such as conducting a hunger strike or building occupation).

SPSS® for Windows®, Version 13, was used to perform all data analyses. Descriptive (frequency) statistics were calculated for all variables in the study and appear in Table 3. Binary logistic regression was chosen for its methodological flexibility, as discussed in chapter four. It allows the prediction of a discrete outcome (type of protest activity) from a set of variables that may be continuous, discrete, dichotomous, or a mix (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000, p. 517). For this analysis, variables were coded dichotomous outcomes as 0 or 1, categorical predictors as 0 or 1 (dummy coded). The coding is further explained below. Continuous variables were not used in the predictive analyses.

*Modeling Strategy*

A separate analysis was performed for each research question. The results from each analysis are discussed in the following sections. Since procedures for missing values, data transformation and observation-to-predictor ratio, and variable descriptive statistics were the same for both research questions, they are presented prior to the individual analyses.

*Missing values*

Most of the data recorded in the CLWP consisted of qualitative entries from newspaper stories; therefore, variables were coded as 0 (did not occur) versus 1 (occurred). A frequency analysis was performed to determine missing values. It was

hypothesized that missing values were due to coding errors. Therefore, newspaper archives were again consulted for each case with missing values, and incomplete cases were replaced. This produced a final dataset with no missing values for all discrete predictors and outcome variables. Though some continuous data were recoded, missing values prevented the use of these variables in the regression analysis. These values could not be imputed or replaced due to the inconsistency of data for these measures in the campus newspaper archives. For example, less than half of the cases reported the total number of students involved in a protest and less than fifteen percent reported the length of a protest event (a time measure).

*Data Transformation and Observation-to-Predictor Ratio*

The final dataset relevant to this section of the analysis consisted of 64 variables and 158 cases. For logistic regression, the recommended observation-to-predictor ratio is at least 1:10, with a minimum sample size of at least 50 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000). Therefore, composite variables were created based on the categories utilized by Astin and Bisconti (1971), then later by Astin, Astin, Bayer and Bisconti (1975). Variables not in the original research (off-campus support and technology) were introduced as composite variables of several dummy coded features, consistent with Astin and Bisconti's method. For both initial equations, all 158 cases were analyzed using all 12 composite variables, for an observation-to-predictor ratio of 1:13.

*Descriptive Analysis*

A descriptive analysis was performed for each predictor and with the outcome variable. The results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. *Descriptive Statistics for the CLWP Data: Non-disruptive*

| | | | *Incidence (n=158)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Variable Name* | *M* | *SD* | *Frequency (Yes)* | *Percentage* |
| Wage concerns | .92 | .276 | 145 | 91.8 |
| Labor policies and benefits/workers' rights | .56 | .498 | 88 | 55.7 |
| Contract renewal/renegotiation | .14 | .347 | 22 | 13.9 |
| Faculty | .35 | .480 | 56 | 35.4 |
| Administrators | .36 | .482 | 57 | 36.1 |
| Campus workers | .36 | .482 | 57 | 36.1 |
| Students at other institutions | .18 | .388 | 29 | 18.4 |
| President and/or trustees | .30 | .459 | 47 | 29.7 |
| Police | .15 | .360 | 24 | 15.2 |
| Off-campus support/involvement | .49 | .502 | 78 | 49.4 |
| Electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing | .12 | .326 | 19 | 12.0 |
| Electronic non-disruptive expression of dissent | .14 | .347 | 22 | 13.9 |
| Non-disruptive expression of dissent | .92 | .266 | 146 | 92.4 |
| Disruption | .23 | .421 | 36 | 22.8 |

*Note.* $N$=158. Protests involving non-disruptive expression of dissent: $n$=146. Protests involving disruption: $n$=36.

Summarily, wage concerns were the most prevalent variable in living wage protest actions (92%). Faculty, administrators, and campus workers were nearly equally involved in student protests (36%), as reported in the newspaper accounts. The support/involvement of off-campus individuals and organizations was also notable (49%). Electronic variables (12%) and students at other institutions (18%) were also related to non-disruptive expressions of dissent.

Minimum and maximum values are not displayed, as all variables were composite and transformed to discrete values. Thus, the minimum is 0 and maximum 1 for all variables. A correlation matrix indicated that no variables were significantly related.

## *Results*

*Question 1: Which antecedent features and characteristics predict non-disruptive living wage protest actions?*

### *Identification of the Model*

A preliminary stepwise binary logistic regression was performed with all composite variables to evaluate the hypothesized model. Variables were entered into the

regression by blocks according to sequence of involvement. Precipitating factors were stepped in a first block; followed by actor involvement in a second, off-campus support in a third, then estudentprotest variables in the final step. The dependent variable for this question was the non-disruptive expression of dissent. The results are reported in Table 4.

Table 4. *Summary of the Logistic Regression Results for the Preliminary Model*

| | *Parameter Estimate* | *SE* | *Wald* | *Exp (B) (odds)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONSTANT | 1.659 | 1.229 | 1.824 | 5.255 |
| Wage concerns | .108 | 1.157 | .009 | 1.114 |
| Labor policies and benefits/workers' rights | -.123 | .641 | .037 | .884 |
| Contract renewal/renegotiation | -.767 | .898 | .730 | .464 |
| Faculty | .078 | .765 | .010 | 1.081 |
| Administrators | .180 | .743 | .059 | 1.198 |
| Campus workers | 1.652 | 1.100 | 2.256 | 5.218 |
| Students at other institutions | -.974 | .883 | 1.127 | .377 |
| President and/or trustees | .446 | .698 | .408 | 1.562 |
| Police | .077 | .822 | .009 | 1.080 |
| Off-campus support/involvement | 1.053 | 803 | 1.772 | 2.867 |
| Electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing | 19.040 | 8590.351 | .000 | 1.86E+08 |
| Electronic non-disruptive expression of dissent | -.197 | 1.252 | .025 | .821 |
| Likelihood ratio test -2 Log likelihood | 73.704 | | | |
| Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients | 11.225 | | | |
| Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness-of-fit statistic | 5.072 | | | |
| Cox & Snell $R^2$ | 0.69 | | | |
| Nagelkerke $R^2$ | .165 | | | |

* $p<.05$. **$p<.01$ levels.

For this preliminary evaluation, no variables were statistically significant at the $p<.05$ and $p<.01$ levels. The correlation output suggested that the variables were sufficiently independent, so no interaction terms were added. The data were re-examined to determine an alternate model.

*Alternate Model*

The outcome variable, non-disruptive expression of dissent was evaluated using a correlation matrix to determine possible relationships with any individual (non-composite) variables. A descriptive analysis was performed for each predictor significant

at the *p*<.05 level. The results of the descriptive analysis for significant variables are reported in Table 5.

Table 5. *Descriptive Statistics for the Alternate Model: Non-disruptive*

| | | | *Incidence (n=158)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Variable Name* | *M* | *SD* | *Frequency (Yes)* | *Percentage* |
| Undergraduate students | .90 | .303 | 142 | 89.9 |
| Student groups | .81 | .393 | 128 | 81.0 |
| Campus workers | .36 | .482 | 57 | 36.1 |

A correlation analysis suggested that the variables were sufficiently independent, so no interaction terms were added. The hypothesized equation for predicting non-disruptive action in living wage protests for this dataset became:

$$\text{predicted logit } (dv_1nondis = 1) = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{ x } a_studunder + \beta_2 \text{ x } a_studgroup + \beta_3 \text{ x } a_cworkers.$$

*Summary*

A binary logistic regression analysis was utilized to predict the probability that a non-disruptive expression of dissent would occur. The independent variables included three actor variables (undergraduate students, student groups, and campus workers). A test of the full model versus a model with intercept only was statistically significant, $\chi 2(3, N = 158) = 19.23$, $p<.001$. The model classified only 8.3% of those who did not participate in non-disruptive protests but was able to correctly classify 99.3% of those who did, for an overall success rate of 92.4%.

Table 6 shows the logistic regression coefficient, standard error, Wald test, and odds ratio for each of the predictors. Using a criterion of *p*<.05 statistical significance, undergraduate students and student groups had significant partial effects. The odds ratio for undergraduate student involvement indicated that, when holding all other variables constant, a non-disruptive expression of dissent was 10.7 times more likely to occur.

When student groups became involved, non-disruptive actions were 5.7 times more likely to occur. The involvement of campus workers was not significant at the $p<.05$ level.

Table 6. *Summary of the Logistic Regression Results for the Final Model: Non-disruptive*

| | *Parameter Estimate* | *SE* | *Score* | *Wald* | *Exp (B) (odds)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONSTANT | -1.012 | .875 | | 1.338 | .363 |
| Undergraduate students | 2.373** | .755 | 14.194 | 9.874 | 10.726 |
| Student groups | 1.735* | .730 | 4.342 | 5.645 | 5.669 |
| Campus workers | 1.920 | 1.084 | 4.334 | 3.155 | 6.824 |
| Likelihood ratio test -2 Log likelihood | 65.697 | | | | |
| Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients | 19.232** | | | | |
| Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness-of-fit statistic | 1.206 | | | | |
| Cox & Snell $R^2$ | .115 | | | | |
| Nagelkerke $R^2$ | .276 | | | | |

* $p<.05$. **$p<.01$ levels.

In terms of the research question assessing which antecedent features and characteristics predict non-disruptive living wage protest actions, the logistic regression results found two predictive actor variables. Not surprisingly, the likelihood of a non-disruptive expression of dissent was more likely when undergraduate students and student groups were involved prior to the protest action. This conclusion was reached due to the significant test result of the logistic model, statistically significant test results of two predictors, an insignificant Hosmer-Lemeshow test of goodness-of-fit, and an overall improvement of the predictive model from the constant only, evaluated by the test of model coefficients.

*Question 2:* *Which antecedent features and characteristics predict disruptive living wage protest actions?*

*Identification of the Model*

A preliminary stepwise binary logistic regression was performed with all composite predictors to evaluate the hypothesized model. Variables were blocked by sequence of involvement. Precipitating factors were blocked first, then actor

involvement, followed by off-campus support, then estudentprotest variables. The dependent variable for this question was disruption. The results are reported in Table 7.

Table 7. *Summary of the Logistic Regression Results for the Preliminary Model: Disruptive*

| | *Parameter Estimate* | *SE* | *Wald* | *Exp(B) (odds)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONSTANT | .23.662 | 9889.195 | .000 | .000 |
| Wage concerns | 20.700 | 9889.195 | .998 | 977E+.08 |
| Labor policies and benefits/workers' rights | .955* | .468 | 4.173 | 2.60 |
| Contract renewal/renegotiation | -.1.617 | .887 | 3.325 | .198 |
| Faculty | -1.56 | .487 | .102 | .856 |
| Administrators | 1.057* | .480 | 4.850 | 2.877 |
| Campus workers | .117 | .496 | .055 | 1.124 |
| Students at other institutions | 1.464** | .566 | 6.696 | 4.325 |
| President and/or trustees | .883* | .396 | 4.959 | 2.418 |
| Police | .733 | .517 | 2.014 | 2.081 |
| Off-campus support/involvement | .324 | .523 | .384 | 1.383 |
| Electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing | .900 | 1.025 | .771 | 2.458 |
| Electronic non-disruptive expression of dissent | -.595 | .956 | .379 | .552 |
| Likelihood ratio test -2 Log likelihood | 130.452 | | | |
| Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients | 39.133** | | | |
| Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness-of-fit statistic | 5.088 | | | |
| Cox & Snell $R^2$ | .219 | | | |
| Nagelkerke $R^2$ | .333 | | | |

* $p$<.05. **$p$<.01 levels.

For this preliminary evaluation, several variables were statistically significant at the $p$<.05 and $p$<.01 levels. The correlation output suggested that the variables were sufficiently independent, so no interaction terms were added. An alternative model, removing the insignificant variables, was tested. The hypothesized equation for predicting disruption in living wage protests for this dataset became:

$$\text{predicted logit } (dv_2disr = 1) = \alpha + \beta_1 \times rq_3laborben + \beta_2 \times rq_6admin + \beta_3 \times rq_8studot + \beta_4 \times rq_9prestr.$$

*Summary*

A binary logistic regression analysis was utilized to predict the probability that a disruptive protest would occur. The independent variables included one precipitating factor (labor and benefits), and three actor variables (administrators, students at other

institutions, and presidents and/or trustees). A test of the full model versus a model with the intercept only was statistically significant, $\chi 2(4, N = 158) = 23.28$, $p<.001$. The model was able to classify correctly 95.9% of those who did not participate in disruptive protests but only 13.9% of those who did, for an overall success rate of 77.2%.

Table 8 shows the logistic regression coefficient, standard error Wald test, and odds ratio for each of the predictors. Using a criterion of p<.05 statistical significance, administrators, students at other institutions, and presidents and/or trustees had significant partial effects, labor and benefits were not statistically significant. The odds ratio for administrators showed that when holding all other variables constant, a disruptive protest was 2.3 times more likely to occur. When students at other institutions became involved, disruptive protests were 4.8 times more likely to occur when administrators were involved. The involvement of the president and/or the board of trustees increased the likelihood of a disruptive protest by 2.5 times.

Table 8. *Summary of the Logistic Regression Results for the Final Model: Disruptive*

| | *Parameter Estimate* | *SE* | *Wald* | *Exp(B) (odds)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONSTANT | -2.728 | .473 | 33.261 | .065 |
| Labor policies and benefits/workers' rights | .699 | .435 | 2.587 | 2.012 |
| Administrators | .847* | .423 | 4.013 | 2.333 |
| Students at other institutions | 1.574** | .482 | 10.675 | 4.824 |
| President and/or trustees | .932** | .364 | 6.551 | 2.541 |
| Likelihood ratio test -2 Log likelihood | 146.309 | | | |
| Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients | 23.277** | | | |
| Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness-of-fit statistic | 3.411 | | | |
| Cox & Snell $R^2$ | .137 | | | |
| Nagelkerke $R^2$ | .208 | | | |

* $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$ levels.

In terms of the research question on which antecedent features and characteristics predict disruptive living wage protest actions, logistic regression results found three predictive actor variables. Specifically, the likelihood of a disruptive protest occurring

was more likely to take place when administrators, students at other institutions, and the president and or/trustees were involved prior to the protest action. This conclusion was reached due to the significant test result of the logistic model, statistically significant test results of three predictors, an insignificant Hosmer-Lemeshow test of goodness-of-fit, and an overall improvement of the predictive model from the constant only, evaluated by the test of model coefficients.

Antecedent Features and Protest Events Related to estudentprotest Tactics

*Question 3: Which antecedent features and protest events are related to the use of estudentprotest tactics?*

Estudentprotest variables were found in less than ten percent of the sample. The presence of a Web site (14 cases) and an electronic mailing list (13 cases) were the only variables represented in more than 10 cases. To evaluate the relationship of electronic tactics to the other variables in the sample, correlations were calculated using SPSS. For data with dichotomous outcomes, phi coefficients are used. In SPSS, this measure is displayed as a Pearson Correlation.

To identify potential relationships, 78 variables containing complete data in the CLWP (all measures minus electronic protest variables) were evaluated against the two composite estudentprotest variables. Table 9 contains the significant correlations ($p<.05$) between all variables and the two electronic composite variables, electronic non-disruptive expression of dissent and electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing.

Table 9. *Correlations of estudentprotest Tactics and Campus Living Wage Protest Variables*

| *Variable* | Electronic Mobilization or Information Gathering/Sharing | Electronic Non-Disruptive Expression of Dissent |
|---|---|---|
| Electronic Mobilization or Information Gathering/Sharing (*n*=19) | 1 | .751* |
| Electronic Non-Disruptive Expression of Dissent (*n*=22) | .751** | 1 |
| Student/s at Other Institutions (*n*=18) | .174* | N/A |
| Counter-Protestor/s (*n*=7) | .204** | .180** |
| Student Government Resolution (*n*=1) | .216* | .198** |
| Hunger Strike (*n*=4) | .188** | .168** |
| Vigil (*n*=6) | .232* | N/A |
| Invite Outside Speaker (*n*=8) | N/A | .157** |
| Solidarity Action (*n*=16) | .198** | .168** |
| Community Member/s (*n*=19) | .162** | N/A |
| Local Police (*n*=8) | .270* | .157** |
| National Union/s (*n*=7) | .204* | N/A |
| National Politician/s (*n*=5) | .267* | N/A |
| AFL-CIO (*n*=5) | .267* | .241* |
| Other Financial Commitment (*n*=1) | .216* | .198** |
| Committee Formation (*n*=3) | .234** | N/A |
| Immediate Raise (*n*=1) | .216** | N/A |
| Judicial Sanction (or Other) (*n*=2) | .306** | .282** |
| Involvement with Other Institutions (*n*=26) | .256** | .216** |

* $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$ levels.

*Summary*

Overall, a trend between variables with low representation and the estudentprotest variables was evident in this analysis. It is likely that the low representation of estudentprotest variables accounted for this occurrence. Generally, electronic variables were related to off-campus actors, events, and outsider involvement. However, outcome variables were non-significant in the regression analysis when tested with protest action as a bridge variable, but were correlated with cases where electronic tactics were employed. The low correlation among both estudentprotest variables and outcomes with other variables in the dataset, yet correlation to each other, suggests that further analysis is needed. Also, a potential significant finding was the relationship between involvement

with other institutions and both estudentprotest measures. A brief summary of findings among specific groups follows.

*Actors*

Two variables in the actor group were correlated with estudentprotest measures. The involvement of students at other institutions was related to the electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing composite variable, which may suggest electronic contact between primary institution protestors and students elsewhere. These students were not a factor in electronic non-disruptive expressions of dissent, however. Counter-protestors were related to both categories of estudentprotest.

*Protest Events*

Five variables in the protest events group were correlated with estudentprotest measures. The creation of a student government resolution was related to both estudentprotest composite variables, though only one instance was reported. Holding a vigil was related to both types of estudentprotest, as well. It seems no surprise that solidarity action was related to estudentprotest, as such actions require communication between protest groups. Inviting an outside speaker was only related to the action variable. One disruptive event, hunger strike, was related to both the electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing and electronic non-disruptive expressions of dissent variables.

*Outsider Involvement*

Five variables in the outsider involvement group were correlated with estudentprotest measures. Community members, local police, national union(s), national politician(s) and AFL-CIO involvement were all correlated with electronic mobilization

or information gathering/sharing. Only local police and AFL-CIO involvement were also associated with electronic non-disruptive expressions of dissent.

### *Outcomes*

Four variables in the outcomes group were correlated with estudentprotest measures. Other financial commitment, committee formation, immediate raises, and judicial sanction (or other) were all correlated with electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing. Only other financial commitment and judicial sanction (or other) were also associated with electronic non-disruptive expressions of dissent.

### *Additional Measures*

Only one variable in the additional measures group was correlated with estudentprotest measures. Involvement with other institutions, the highest represented variable correlated with estudentprotest measures (*n*=26), was significantly correlated with both electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing and electronic non-disruptive expressions of dissent.

## Conclusion

The results from this quantitative investigation suggested that estudentprotest variables have been features of living wage protests, though specific relationships can only be hypothesized at this stage. To further understand the tactics of estudentprotest, a social network analysis of student Web sites identified in the preceding phase follows in the next chapter.

*Without the Internet. . .I don't know how we'd connect with national organizations and other campuses. I mean, once we had contact, it wouldn't be hard. But how would we make that contact?*
*– Will, student organizer, Washington University*

*Researcher: For the living wage movement to succeed, what do college activists need to do (tactics, etc.)?*
*Wendy: Have a group of dedicated individuals who are motivated and inspired to put in lots and lots of time and energy. Once you have that...figure out the process from USAS and SLAP.*
*– Wendy, student participant, Washington University*

# *CHAPTER SIX*

# NETWORKS OF STUDENT PROTEST

## The Living Wage Campaign Protest Network

An examination of antecedent characteristics in the previous chapter suggested the involvement of students from other institutions and non-campus organizations (outside support/involvement actors) in campus living wage protests. Support from students at other institutions was also apparent. A structural analysis of that support is the subject of this analysis. The specific roles and impact of these associations will be addressed in a subsequent chapter.

The search of student group Web sites identified in the previous chapter identified subjects for a social network analysis. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the relations between and among the Web sites of student protest groups (institutions) and non-campus organizations to map networks for communication and support. The primary unit of analysis is hyperlinks.

### *Research Questions*

To review, the following research questions directed this phase of inquiry:

SNA. 1. What relationships exist among Web sites in the living wage campaign network?
SNA. 2. What are the central units in this relationship and which, if any, units act as bridges between individual campaigns in the network?

The previous sequential newspaper search suggested campus living wage protest (CLWP) as the single-issue. The final CLWP dataset revealed 15 student group Web sites representing 14 of the total population of 32 institutions. Two Harvard living wage student groups represented in this analysis. The earlier group is designated as Harvard (PSLM), or Progressive Student Labor Movement. The current group is designated as Harvard (SLAM), or Student Labor Action Movement.

To determine how campus Web sites were related to a larger, non-campus network, 12 non-campus organizations related to the living wage movement were added. Special considerations for working with Internet data were taken to obtain a complete dataset. To account for dead links, Internet Archives Wayback Machine (http://www.archive.org/), as suggested by Thelwall and Vaughn (2004), was utilized. After preliminary analysis, the final estudentprotest Hyperlink Dataset, hereafter referred to as espLinks, contained 27 nodes. The matrix generated for this analysis is located in Appendix F. A discussion of matrices follows below. The results for each question are presented in subsequent sections.

## Social Network Analysis

### *An Overview of Relevant Terminology*

Social network analysis is concerned with the importance of relationships among interacting units (Scott, 2000). The analysis of such networks is completed to locate and describe patterns among units, trace the flow of information or resources, and discover the effects that these associations have on people and organizations (Garton,

Haythornthwaite, & Wellman, 1997). Units can also be called nodes or actors, and lines between them may also be referred to as relations or ties. An overview of relevant terms follows to frame the analysis and results of this chapter.

*Matrices*

Social network, or relational, data, are most commonly stored and managed in matrix form. The mathematical approach of graph theory, by means of formal constructs and theorems, is utilized with matrices to generate analytical information on networks (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Social network analysts typically utilize software to accomplish the complex calculations of matrix algebra. Nodes, commonly called cases in statistical analysis, form rows, and are of primary importance. Entries of 0 or 1 indicate the absence or presence of a relationship with column nodes, thus forming the matrix. This is referred to as a binary network. Of primary importance is the pattern, not the positioning of points in a dataset. The data in this study are non-symmetric, or directed, which has more meaning when observed in a directed (with arrows indicating relations) graph.

*Sociograms*

Graphs are primarily used to model matrix data in social network analysis. Additional software is utilized to produce graphs, or sociograms as they are referred to in social network terminology, to better assist researchers in interpretation (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005; Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Social network graphs are distinct from graphs used in statistical analysis, in that sociograms are graphs of qualitative data (relations), as opposed to quantitative variables (attributes) displayed in statistical plots (Scott, 2000).

Plotting a sociogram allows the researcher to determine important components to the overall structure of a network. The shape of the graph and distances between points (measured in standard length) are only relevant if the researcher chooses to represent them as such (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). In other words, the relations in a graph are of central importance. Other features such as shape, color of points, line thickness, or overall pattern of the sociogram can be manipulated by the researcher to display valuable components, as long as the relations remain intact.

*Whole Networks vs. Ego-centered Analysis*

Networks may be viewed from two distinct approaches, as whole networks or as ego-centered (Garton, Haythornthwaite, & Wellman, 1997). When whole networks are viewed, members who are less connected to the overall network can be identified as well as those who act as egos, or central nodes. A whole network analysis allows roles and positions of structures and actors within such structures to emerge in ways that traditional statistical or quantitative analysis may not uncover. In an ego-centered study, other members of a network are defined by their relationship(s) to ego. This allows the researcher to view the extent of relationships that actors have to specific members in a network. This study utilizes both types of analysis to evaluate the research questions.

*Nodes and Relations*

The principal unit of analysis for social network data is the network. In a network, nodes, which refer to individual points, are connected by lines, which refers to relations among the points. Two connected nodes are referred to as adjacent to each other, and all nodes to which a central node is connected is referred to as its neighborhood. The total number of nodes in this neighborhood is its numeric size, or degree (Scott, 2000). For

binary data (as in this study), this number is generated by summing the row or column for a node. The total number of possible ties in a directed network is equal to the size of the population ($N$) multiplied by ($N - 1$). Thus, for the espLinks dataset or 27 units, there are (27)*(27-1) = 702 possible ties among the 27 relations.

*Paths, Walks, Geodesic Distance, and Density*

The series of all lines in a graph is a called a walk, while a specific walk between distinct lines is called a path. In a directed graph, a path is indicated by all lines pointing in the same direction. The length of a path is measured by the number of lines needed to complete it. The geodesic distance, an important term in social network analysis, is the shortest number of paths (directed, for this study) needed to complete a walk. Density is the total number of linkages within a network, or its cohesion, measured as a proportion of the number of theoretically possible relations (Garton, Haythornthwaite, & Wellman, 1997). Centralization describes the organization of this cohesion around particular focal points (Scott, 2000).

*Centrality: Closeness and Betweenness*

Centrality is the network term for power, and may include such concepts as degree, closeness, and betweenness. Freeman (1979) differentiates between local (direct connections to neighborhood) and global (prominence within the entire network) centrality. Global centrality, or closeness, is expressed in terms of the distances among the various points. Betweenness measures the extent to which a point lies between the various other points in the graphs (low degrees indicate an important central role in the network).

*Degree: Indegree v. Outdegree*

Directed data are indicated by the presence of a relationship directed from one actor to another. On a graph, this is displayed by arrows. The degree of a point is comprised of two distinct measurements, indegree (total arrows received) and outdegree (total arrows directed). In a network matrix dataset, indegree is shown by the column sum while outdegree is shown by the row sum (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005; Scott, 2000).

*Cut-points and Bridges*

Two final terms, cut-points and bridges, are important to note concerning the research questions of this study. Cut-points, refer to nodes that, if removed, would increase the number of independent nodes or subsets among whom there are no connections (Garton, Haythornthwaite, & Wellman, 1997; Scott, 2000). A bridge refers to lines that, if removed, would leave more components isolated than if connected (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The discovery of focal points (nodes), or bridges, can be crucial to understanding the structure of a network. Hanneman and Riddle (2005) note that, "where the groups overlap, mobilization and diffusion may spread rapidly across the entire network; where the groups don't overlap, traits may occur in one group and not diffuse to the other (Chapter 11, Introduction: Groups and sub-structures, para. 3)."

*Hyperlink Analysis*

Discussions concerning the motivations for creating hyperlinks have traveled from the social network conceptions of relations and modeling (Garton, Haythornthwaite, & Wellman, 1997; Park & Thelwall, 2003; Thelwall, 2001) to ethnographic portrayals of embedded meaning (positive, negative, or neutral endorsement) (Beaulieu & Simakova, 2005) and political tools (Park, Thelwall, & Kluver, 2005). While an attempt at

interpreting the motivation for hyperlinking behavior is beyond the scope of this chapter (Thelwall, 2006), it is hypothesized that an examination of the overall structure of the network will suggest some important features of estudentprotest movements. Prior research on activist linking (Garrido & Halavais, 2003) has suggested that the recognition of other campaigns (as suggested by links between groups) and the importance (or lack thereof) of coordinating organizations may be determined using network analysis procedures.

### *Analytical Software*

As previously noted, software programs are typically utilized by social network analysts to perform the required algorithms. UCINET for Windows, Version 6.109, (Borgatti, Evert, & Freeman, 2002) is a commonly used software program for this analysis (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005), and is utilized in this study. Two additional software programs, NetDraw, Version 2.29, for two-dimensional renderings and Mage, Version 6.02, for three-dimensional renderings are utilized to explore and model network data in this study. These are both packaged with UCINET.

### Relationships Between and Among Student and Non-Campus Organization Web Sites

For the first question, the whole network was considered. A binary, non-symmetrical matrix was constructed to model directed links between and among student and non-campus organization Web sites in this study. A directed link was coded 1, while the absence of a link was coded 0. Tables 10 and 11 report selected demographic information for each Web site in the espLinks dataset.

Table 10. *Student Group Web site Information (By Reported Protest Date)*

| *Institution* | *Type of Action* | *Domain* | *Reported Protest Date* | *Last Page Update* | *Site Longevity (Years Online)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Johns Hopkins University | Disruptive | .edu | 3/3/2000 | 2000 | 9** |
| Tufts University | Non-Disruptive | .com | 4/1/2001 | 10/3/2002* | 1 |
| Brown University | Disruptive | .edu | 4/5/2001 | 5/6/2001 | 5 |
| Harvard University (PSLM) | Disruptive | .edu | 6/5/2001 | 2003 | 5 |
| University of Wisconsin | Non-Disruptive | .edu | 10/19/2001 | 10/26/2005 | 5 |
| University of Pittsburgh | Disruptive | .edu | 4/5/2002 | 10/7/2002* | 6 |
| Boston University | Non-Disruptive | .edu | 9/13/2002 | 9/26/2002* | 1.2 |
| Swarthmore College | Disruptive | .edu | 10/24/2002 | 8/8/2002* | 4 |
| Carnegie Mellon University | Non-Disruptive | .edu | 12/10/2002 | 6/24/2005 | 4 |
| Stanford University | Disruptive | .edu | 6/4/2003 | 6/26/2005 | 3 |
| George Washington University | Non-Disruptive | .org | 4/7/2004 | 9/9/2004 | 2 |
| Georgetown University | Disruptive | .org | 3/18/2005 | 2/1/2006 | 1 |
| Washington University | Disruptive | .edu | 4/25/2005 | 4/18/2005 | 1 |
| Harvard University (SLAM) | Non-Disruptive | .edu | 10/11/2005 | 6/27/2005 | 0.5 |
| University of Virginia | Disruptive | .org | 12/1/2005 | 3/13/2001* | N/A |

*Archived via www.archive.org
**Archived page links to original page, last modified 5/4/97

Table 11. *Non-Campus Organization Web site Information (By Last Page Update)*

| *Organization* | *Group Type* | *Domain* | *Last Page Update* |
|---|---|---|---|
| New Party | NGO | .org | 1997** |
| LivingWageNow.com | * | .com | * |
| campuslivingwage.org (ACORN old) | NGO | .org | 2001 |
| livingwagecampaign.org (ACORN new) | NGO | .org | 2005 |
| SLAP (Jw/J and USSA) | NGO | .org | 2005 |
| ACORN | NGO | .org | 2005 |
| USAS (Students Against Sweatshops) | Student NGO | .org | 2006 |
| WRC (Workers Rights Consortium) | NGO | .org | 2006 |
| AFL-CIO | NGO | .org | 2006 |
| USSA (US Students Association) | Student NGO | .org | 2/1/2006 |
| Jobs w/Justice | NGO | .org | 2/14/2006 |
| Campus LW Project | Info | .org | 2/17/2006 |

*Not archived
**Archived via www.archive.org

Table 12 contains the links between and among sites within the network by classification of protest action. This allows a visual correlation of link choice with type of protest action reported.

Table 12. *Primary Links Sent in the espLinks Dataset (By Protest Type)*

| *Protest Type* | *Institution to Institution* | *Institution to Non-campus Organization* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Non-Disruptive | 3 | 13 | 16 |
| Disruptive | 11 | 28 | 39 |

Overall, sites connected to groups that participated in disruptive protest action seem to be the most connected in this network. Links to non-campus organizations by far eclipse links among institutions, though an evaluation of the specific roles of these sites requires further analysis. Graphic representations of the network offer further understanding of the whole network structure.

Figure 4 is a preliminary graph of all hyperlinks among actors in the espLinks dataset, with institutions coded blue and non-campus organizations coded red. Arrows indicate the flow of hyperlinks between actors. The positioning of each node and relation were randomly generated by NetDraw.

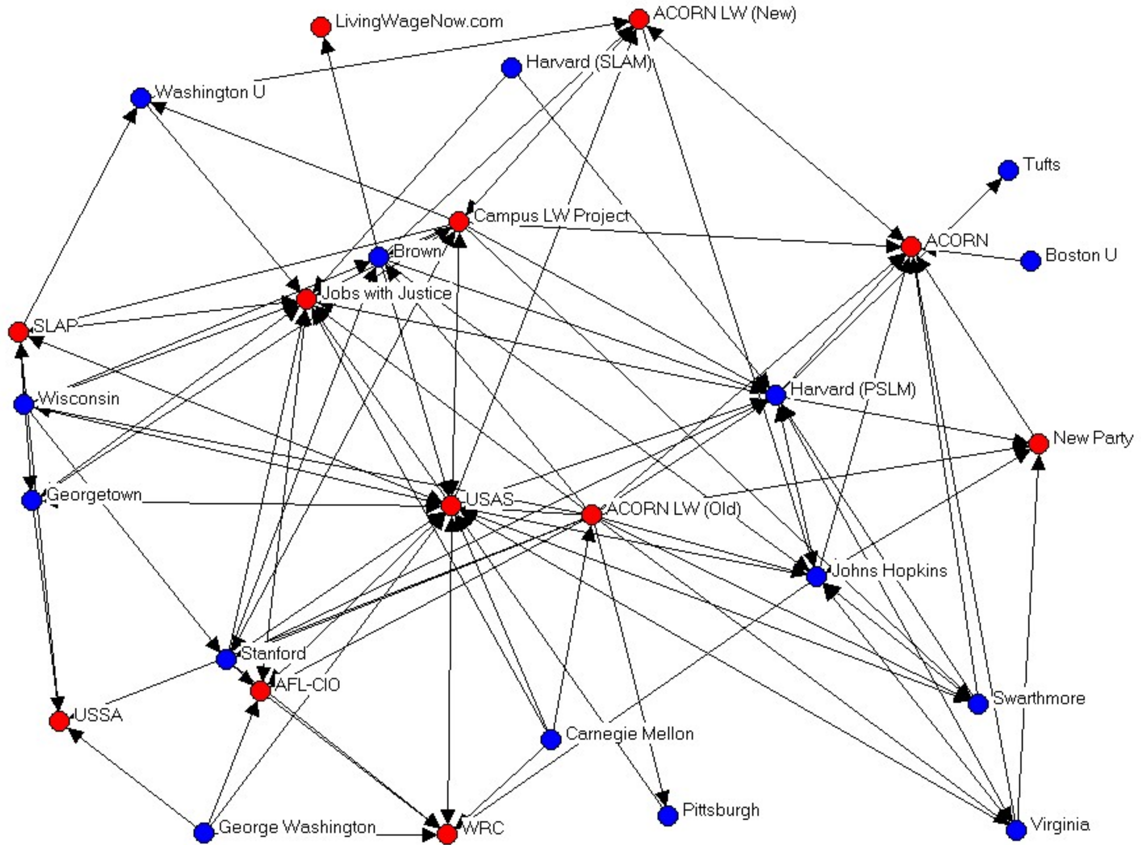



*Figure 4.* Hyperlinks among Institution and Non-campus Organizations in the espLinks Dataset

On immediate inspection, several nodes and relationships appear significant. The arrows surrounding Jobs with Justice, USAS, WRC, Harvard (PSLM), ACORN and to some extent ACORN LW (New) and Johns Hopkins are notable. For reference, a list of abbreviations is provided at the beginning of this study. When separating the network by institution (Figure 5) and by non-campus organization (Figure 6), the importance of relationships in the entire network becomes more apparent.

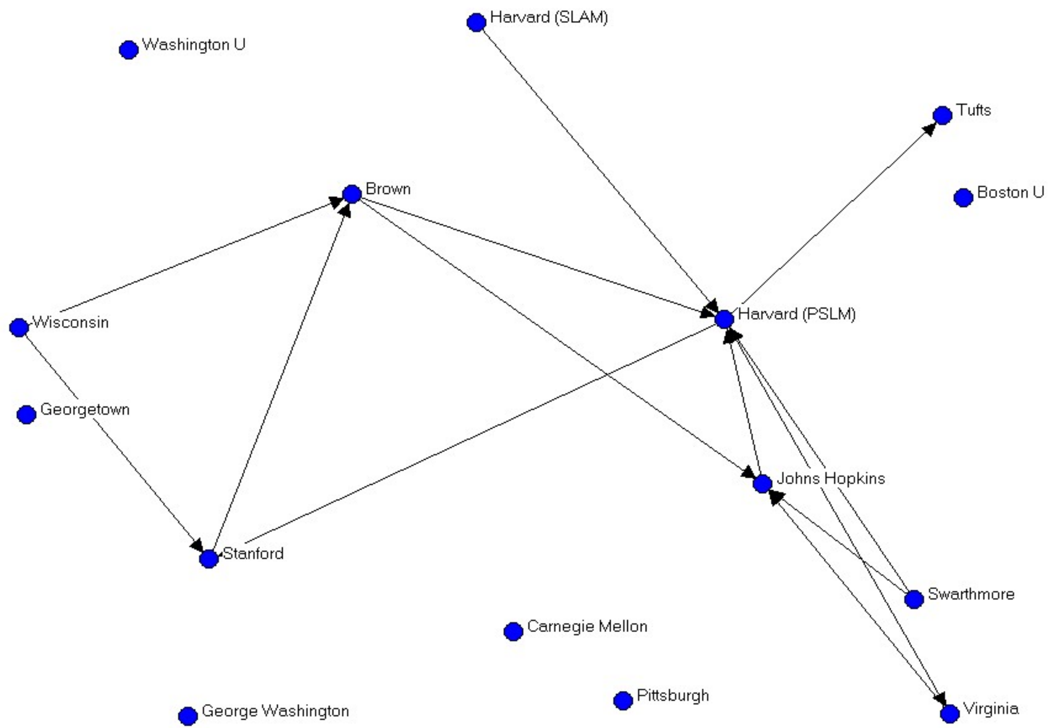



*Figure 5.* Institution-only

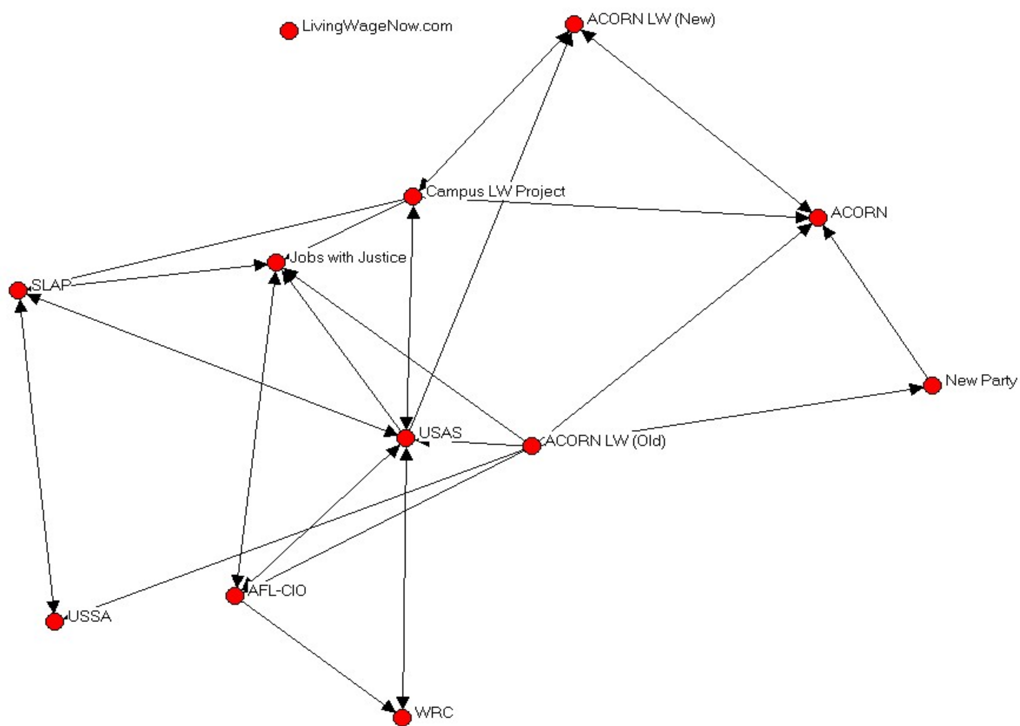


*Figure 6.* Non-campus Organizations-only

*Density*

For the whole network, the density of links among sites is .1524. This indicates that only 15% of the possible ties in the network are present.

*Distance*

Geodesic distance evaluates the shortest possible distance between two sites. This can be an indicator of the importance a site places on the role of another site (undefined, as yet) to the protest action. For the whole network, distances between sites remained relatively low (1-4) among those sites for which a measure could be reported. However, because the graph is not fully connected, it is not possible to obtain an accurate measure of distance between all potential pairs. For example, one site does not send any links, while seven sites do not receive any links from other sites in the network.

Links between sites are concentrated between institutions and non-campus organizations, and among non-campus organizations, but not among institutions. This was also demonstrated on the partial network graphs.

*Centrality*

Univariate statistics were calculated for each node (site). For a directed network of hyperlinks, two types of measures are reported, outdegree (links sent) and indegree (links received). Table 13 contains summative statistics for each actor in the network.

Table 13. *Web site Information (By Last Page Update)*

| *Node* | *Outdegree (Links Sent)* | *Mean* | *Standard Deviation* | *Indegree (Links Received)* | *Mean* | *Standard Deviation* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Campus LW Project | 11 | .423 | .494 | 4 | .154 | .361 |
| LivingWageNow.com* | 0* | 0* | 0* | 1 | .038 | .192 |
| ACORN's new LW site | 3 | .115 | .319 | 5 | .192 | .394 |
| ACORN's old LW site | 14 | .538 | .499 | 1 | .038 | .192 |
| USAS (Sweatshops) | 9 | .346 | .476 | 15 | .577 | .494 |
| USSA | 1 | .038 | .192 | 4 | .154 | .361 |
| Jobs w/ Justice | 2 | .077 | .266 | 12 | .462 | .499 |
| SLAP | 5 | .192 | .394 | 6 | .231 | .421 |
| ACORN | 1 | .038 | .192 | 9 | .346 | .476 |
| WRC | 1 | .038 | .192 | 6 | .231 | .421 |
| AFL-CIO | 3 | .115 | .319 | 5 | .192 | .394 |
| New Party | 2 | .077 | .266 | 4 | .154 | .361 |
| Harvard University (PSLM) | 6 | .231 | .421 | 8 | .308 | .462 |
| Harvard University (SLAM) | 2 | .077 | .266 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Stanford University | 6 | .231 | .421 | 4 | .154 | .361 |
| Tufts University | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | .038 | .192 |
| Brown University | 5 | .192 | .394 | 4 | .154 | .361 |
| Swarthmore College | 4 | .154 | .361 | 3 | .115 | .319 |
| Georgetown University | 5 | .192 | .394 | 3 | .115 | .319 |
| George Washington University | 4 | .154 | .361 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Carnegie Mellon University | 4 | .154 | .361 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Johns Hopkins University | 5 | .192 | .394 | 6 | .231 | .421 |
| Boston University | 1 | .038 | .192 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| University of Pittsburgh | 1 | .038 | .192 | 1 | .038 | .192 |
| University of Virginia | 5 | .192 | .394 | 2 | .077 | .266 |
| University of Wisconsin | 5 | .192 | .394 | 1 | .038 | .192 |
| Washington University | 2 | .077 | .266 | 2 | .077 | .266 |

*Page not retrievable

*Outdegree.* For outdegree, or links sent to other sites in the network, a low group (0-3 links) containing 48% of the sample, a medium group (4-8 links) containing 41% of the sample, and a high group (9-14 links) containing 11% of the sample can be determined. The mean for all outbound links is 3.96, or an average of four links sent. Among individual actors, ACORN's old LW site (14), Campus LW Project (11), and USAS (9) link to the most other sites. Among institutions, Harvard (PSLM) and Stanford link to the most other sites at six links each, followed by Brown, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins, Virginia, and Wisconsin each with five. Swarthmore, George Washington, and Carnegie Mellon include four links each to other sites.

Mean statistics are calculated as a proportion of the number of links in a row. This percentage is visually indicated by the outdegree measure, such that sites sending more links will have a higher mean. Therefore, ACORN's old LW site links to roughly 54% of the other sites in the network, while those sites linking to one other site are only connected to about 4% of the other sites in the network. The mean statistic normalizes the sum value of the number of links to allow comparisons across networks of different sizes. Standard deviation is an expression of row variance.

*Indegree.* For indegree, or links received by other sites in the network, a similar low group (0-3 links) containing 48% of the sample, medium group (4-7 links) containing 37% of the sample, and high group (9-14 links) containing 15% of the sample can be determined. The mean for all inbound links is again 3.96, or an average of four links received. The non-campus groups again lead all sites, though with different groups, namely USAS (15), Jobs with Justice (12), and ACORN (9). Among the institutions, Harvard (PSLM) and Johns Hopkins (6) receive the most links. Stanford and Brown follow, receiving four links from other sites in the network.

Mean statistics are calculated as a proportion of the number of links in a column. This percentage is visually indicated by the indegree measure, such that sites receiving more links will have a higher mean. Therefore, USAS receives roughly 58% of the links from other sites in the network, while those sites receiving a link from one other site are only connected to about 4% of the other sites in the network. The mean statistic normalizes the sum value of the number of links to allow comparisons across networks of different sizes. Standard deviation is an expression of column variance.

*Closeness*

A measure of the geodesic distance of an ego (site, in this case) to all other sites in the network is referred to as farness. Closeness is estimated by taking the reciprocal of farness. For directed data, in (ties received) and out (ties sent) closeness is evaluated for the network. However, because the network is not fully connected (Boston, Carnegie Mellon, George Washington, and Harvard [SLAM] do not receive any ties) closeness centrality cannot be computed (Borgatti, Evert, & Freeman, 2002).

*Betweenness*

For the whole network, there is a substantial amount of variation for the betweenness measure (from zero to 165.98). Table 14 contains the results from an analysis of betweenness, using Freeman's (1979) approach. There is moderate degree of betweenness concentrated among three sites: USAS (165.98) Campus LW Project (89.1) and Harvard (PSLM) (84.12). This is relative to the total number of geodesics possible in the network, and can be an indicator of influence, as these sites link others together in the network. Expressed as a proportion of the overall possible geodesic paths, a connection between two sites must pass between USAS nearly 26% of the time, between Campus LW Project and Harvard (PSLM) 13%, respectively. The relationship of these sites to the network is significant, but further analysis is needed to evaluate this finding.

Table 14. *Betweenness Measures for the espLinks Dataset*

| *Node* | *Betweenness* | *nBetweenness* |
|---|---|---|
| USAS | 165.917 | 25.526 |
| Campus LW Project | 89.100 | 13.708 |
| Harvard University (PSLM) | 84.117 | 12.941 |
| ACORN's new LW site | 58.800 | 9.046 |
| SLAP | 52.017 | 8.003 |
| Johns Hopkins University | 34.292 | 5.276 |
| Brown University | 31.742 | 4.883 |
| ACORN | 25.333 | 3.897 |
| Jobs w/Justice | 20.350 | 3.131 |
| Stanford University | 18.442 | 2.837 |
| Georgetown University | 12.033 | 1.851 |
| ACORN’s old LW site | 11.833 | 1.821 |
| AFL-CIO | 8.983 | 1.382 |
| Swarthmore College | 6.208 | 0.955 |
| Washington University | 2.633 | 0.405 |
| University of Virginia | 2.533 | 0.390 |
| USSA | 1.250 | 0.192 |
| New Party | 1.000 | 0.154 |
| University of Wisconsin | 0.417 | 0.064 |
| LivingWageNow.com | 0 | 0 |
| Carnegie Mellon University | 0 | 0 |
| WRC | 0 | 0 |
| Boston University | 0 | 0 |
| University of Pittsburgh | 0 | 0 |
| Tufts University | 0 | 0 |
| George Washington University | 0 | 0 |
| Harvard University (SLAM) | 0 | 0 |
| Mean | 23.222 | 3.573 |
| Standard Deviation | 37.587 | 5.783 |

Network Centralization Index = 22.80 %

*Centralization*

For the whole network, outdegree centralization is 40%. Similarly, indegree centralization is 44%. This is interpreted as the extent to which ties are directed to one (or few) nodes in the whole network. For the espLinks dataset, a high percentage indicates that one or a few nodes are the focus of several ties in the network. This confirms the visual concentration of links (depending on direction) among Jobs with Justice, USAS, WRC, Harvard (PSLM), and ACORN displayed in Figure 4. Further evaluation of this finding follows.

## Central Units and Bridges in the Living Wage Campaign Network

The second question was intended to discover important sites and relationships within the network. The preliminary analysis indicated the presence of cut-points or bridges. Cut-points are nodes that, if removed from the network, could increase the number of independent points or groups within the network. Bridges are similarly defined, but for relations, or ties.

### *Cut-point Analysis*

Cut-points are located using a bi-component, or block identification method. The results for each network – full, institution-only, and outside support-only follow.

*Full network.* Four blocks were identified in the full network.

Block 1: [Brown], LivingWageNow.com
Block 2: [ACORN], Boston U
Block 3: [Harvard (PSLM)], Tufts
Block 4: All other sites

ACORN, Harvard (PSLM), and Brown were defined as the cut-points (in brackets). This means that if these were removed, LivingWageNow.com, Boston U, and Tufts would become isolated. This can be visually verified by looking at Figure 4.

*Institution-only network.* Three blocks were identified in the institution only network.

Block 1: [Harvard (PSLM)], Harvard (SLAM)
Block 2: [Harvard (PSLM)], Stanford, Brown, Swarthmore, Johns Hopkins, Virginia, Wisconsin
Block 3: [Harvard (PSLM)], Tufts

Harvard (PSLM) was the only cut-point. This suggests that if Harvard (PSLM) were removed, Harvard (SLAM) (Block 1) and Tufts (Block 3) would become isolated. Block 2 indicated that if Harvard (PSLM) were removed, Stanford, Brown, Swarthmore, Johns

Hopkins, Virginia, and Wisconsin would become an isolated network. It is important to note that Georgetown, George Washington, Carnegie Mellon, Boston U, Pittsburgh, and Washington U are not connected to the institution-only network. This suggests the relative importance of non-campus organizations to the network.

*Non-campus organization only network.* Only one block was identified for the non-campus organization only network.

Block 1: Campus LW Project, ACORN LW (New), ACORN LW (Old), USAS, USSA, Jobs with Justice, SLAP, ACORN, WRC, AFL-CIO, New Party

There were no cut-points in the non-campus organization network. It is important to note that LivingWageNow.com is not connected to the outside support-only network. This indicates that the institution-only network is needed to connect the site to the non-campus organization network.

*Bridge Analysis*

Bridges may be located using Lambda Set, or relationship identification method (Borgatti, Everett, & Shirey, 1990). Lamba Set analysis is limited to symmetrical data, so the directed espLinks dataset was symmetrized by UCINET. Though all three networks were examined, due to this limitation only the full network is reported. Table 15 contains the matrix for maximum flow between all nodes.

Table 15. *Maximum Flow between Pairs of Nodes in the espLinks Dataset*

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LivingWageNow.com | 27 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Tufts | 1 | 27 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Boston U | 1 | 1 | 27 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Harvard (SLAM) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 27 | 15 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Pittsburgh | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 27 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| USSA | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 27 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| George Washington | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 27 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Carnegie Mellon | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 27 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| New Party | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 27 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Georgetown | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 27 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| ACORN LW (New) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 27 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| WRC | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 27 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| AFL-CIO | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 27 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Swarthmore | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 27 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| SLAP | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 27 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| ACORN | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 27 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 6 |
| Brown | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 27 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 6 |
| Stanford | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 27 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 6 |
| Campus LW Project | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 27 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| ACORN LW (Old) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 27 | 15 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| USAS | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 15 | 27 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| Jobs with Justice | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 27 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| Harvard (PSLM) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 27 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| Johns Hopkins | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 27 | 6 | 6 |
| Virginia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 27 | 6 |
| Wisconsin | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 27 |

*Full network.* The results of the Lamba Set query for significant relations indicated several important bridges in the full network. A block in the 3rd quadrant has been highlighted to show the most important relations (defined by maximum flow) in the full network. Those relations are ties among Campus LW Project, ACORN LW (Old), USAS, Jobs with Justice, Harvard (PSLM), and Johns Hopkins. As an example, ten links pass between Harvard (PSLM) and Johns Hopkins. The information should be interpreted with some caution, as the Lamba Set does not account for the direction (sent vs. received)

of links. While this restricts observations about the direction of link, the flow of information through the link network can be viewed.

*Summary*

Among sites in this analysis, several cut-points were found to be significant to the full, institution-only, and non-campus organization networks. Consistently, among institutions, the Harvard (PSLM) site seems influential to the entire living wage campaign network. Without the relations among several of the non-campus organizations, however, the network loses several institutions. A Lambda Set analysis was utilized to test for bridges in the network, and several significant relations were identified. Campus LW Project, ACORN LW (Old), USAS, Jobs with Justice, Harvard (PSLM), and Johns Hopkins seem to be important in maintaining the structure of the overall network. This analysis suggests that several individual sites are vital to the overall structure of the living wage campaign network. These sites are extracted from the network and their individual importance is evaluated in the next section.

## Ego Network Analysis

Having identified some of the most important actors and relations in the network, a visual ego analysis using NetDraw was performed. As this was a relatively small network with only two groups, egos could be partialed from graphs to visually examine their neighborhoods in more detail. Also, this is one means for allowing the identification of brokers, or egos that serve specific roles in a network. NetDraw allows the researcher to take a whole network, and then view egos individually.

Harvard (PSLM) was suggested by the whole network analysis as an important ego. Figure 7 is a graph of the Harvard (PSLM) ego network.

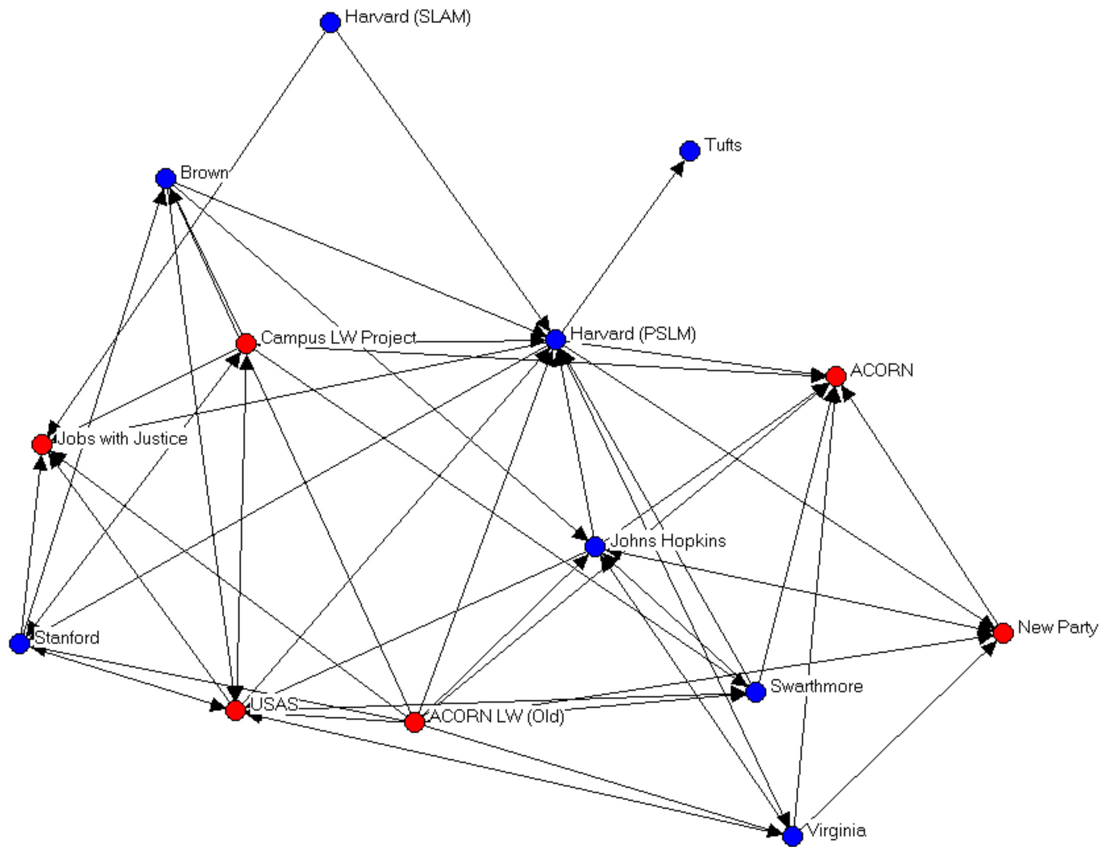



*Figure 7.* Harvard (PSLM) Network

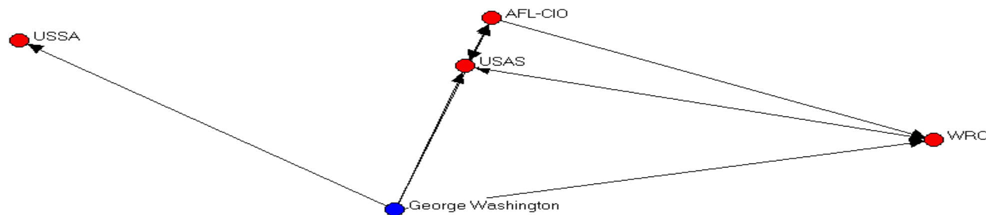
Surprisingly, the links in the Harvard (PSLM) ego seemed to primarily be among institutions reporting protest action early in the living wage campaign. To evaluate this finding, Table 16 was produced grouping the institution-only network data by protest date.

Table 16. *Living Wage Protest Groups by Reported Protest Date*

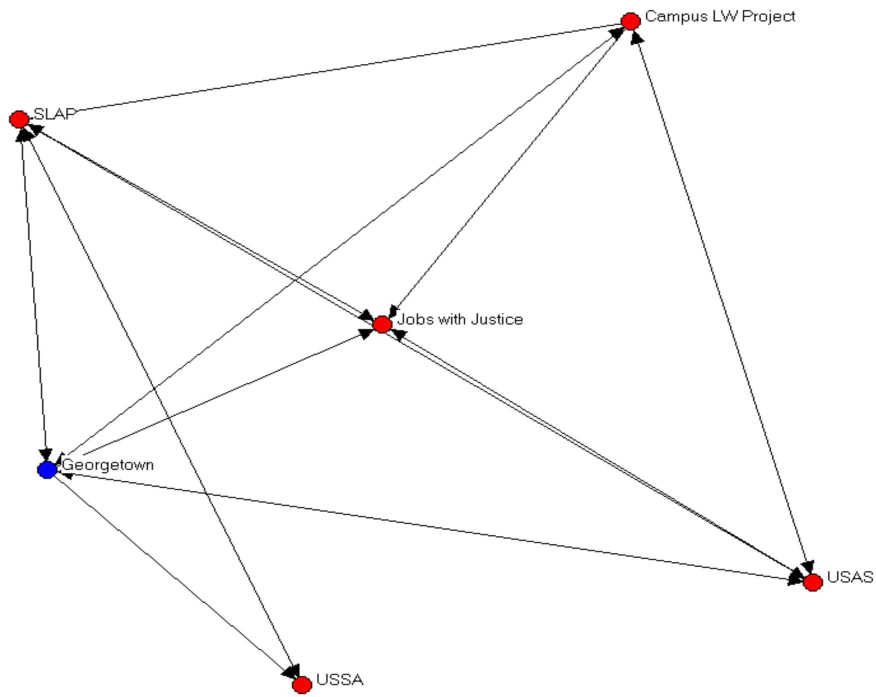
| | *Institution* | *Type of Action* | *Reported Protest Date* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Group A | Johns Hopkins University | Disruptive | 3/3/2000 |
| | Tufts University | Non-Disruptive | 4/1/2001 |
| | Brown University | Disruptive | 4/5/2001 |
| | Harvard University (PSLM) | Disruptive | 6/5/2001 |
| | Wisconsin University | Non-Disruptive | 10/19/2001 |
| | University of Pittsburgh | Disruptive | 4/5/2002 |
| | Boston University | Non-Disruptive | 9/13/2002 |
| | Swarthmore College | Disruptive | 10/24/2002 |
| | Carnegie Mellon University | Non-Disruptive | 12/10/2002 |
| | Stanford University | Disruptive | 6/4/2003 |
| Group B | George Washington University | Non-Disruptive | 4/7/2004 |
| | Georgetown University | Disruptive | 3/18/2005 |
| | Washington University | Disruptive | 4/25/2005 |
| | Harvard University (SLAM) | Non-Disruptive | 10/11/2005 |

*The University of Virginia is not reported in this table. The web site data for UVA was last updated in 2001, well before an actual protest action was reported (2005).

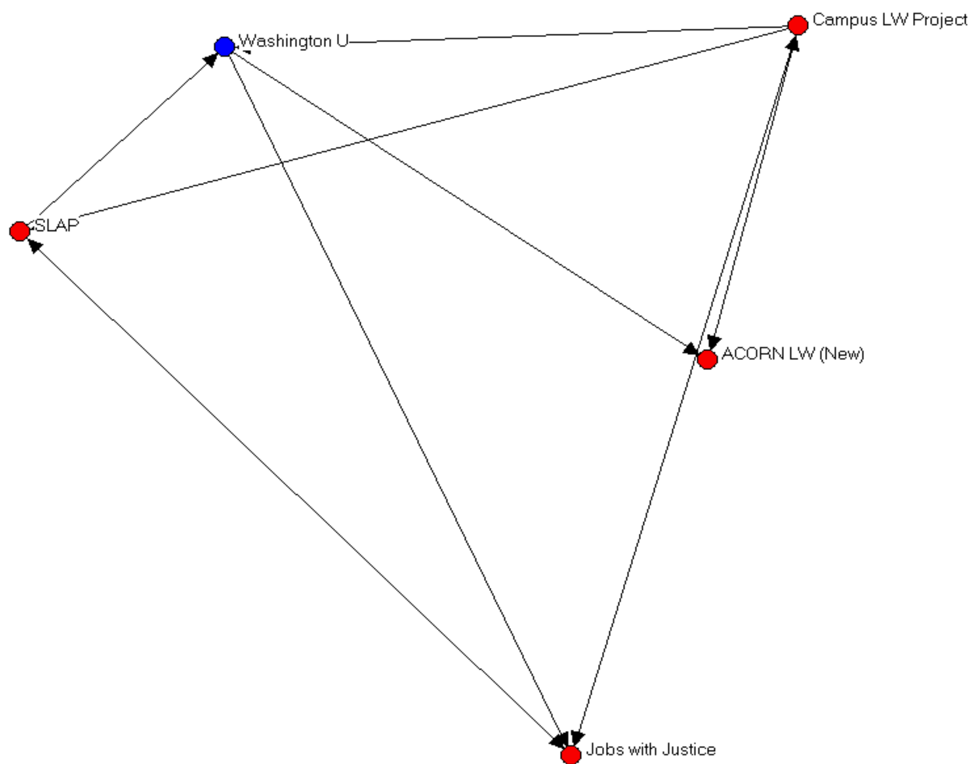
Group A is connected and represented in the Harvard (PSLM) ego. The only institution with recent protest action in the ego is Harvard (SLAM). To evaluate the sites not included in the Harvard (PSLM) ego, separate egos figures for each of the institutions in the "contemporary" Group (B) are presented as Figure 8 (a, b, c, and d)



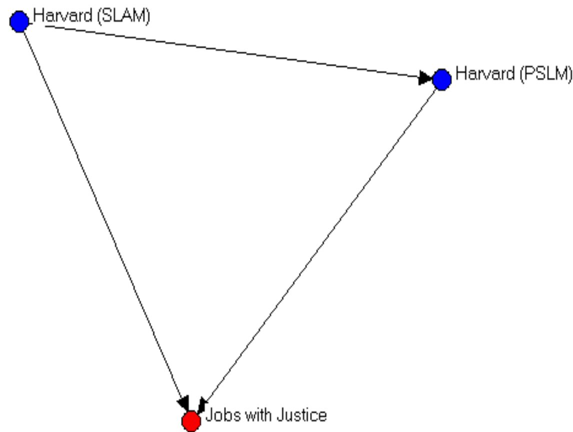

a. George Washington University




b. Georgetown University



c. Washington University




d. Harvard University (SLAM)

*Figure 8.* Group B (Contemporary Living Wage Protest) Individual Networks

It is apparent that Group B is much less connected, via links, to other institutions than Group A. Three of the four institutions in Group B were connected with Jobs with Justice. This suggested that adding the Harvard (PSLM) ego and Jobs with Justice ego to one graph would create a bridge to the most possible members of both Group A and Group B members. This graph is presented in Figure 9. Group A is color-coded blue, Group B is color-coded green, and outside supporters are coded red.

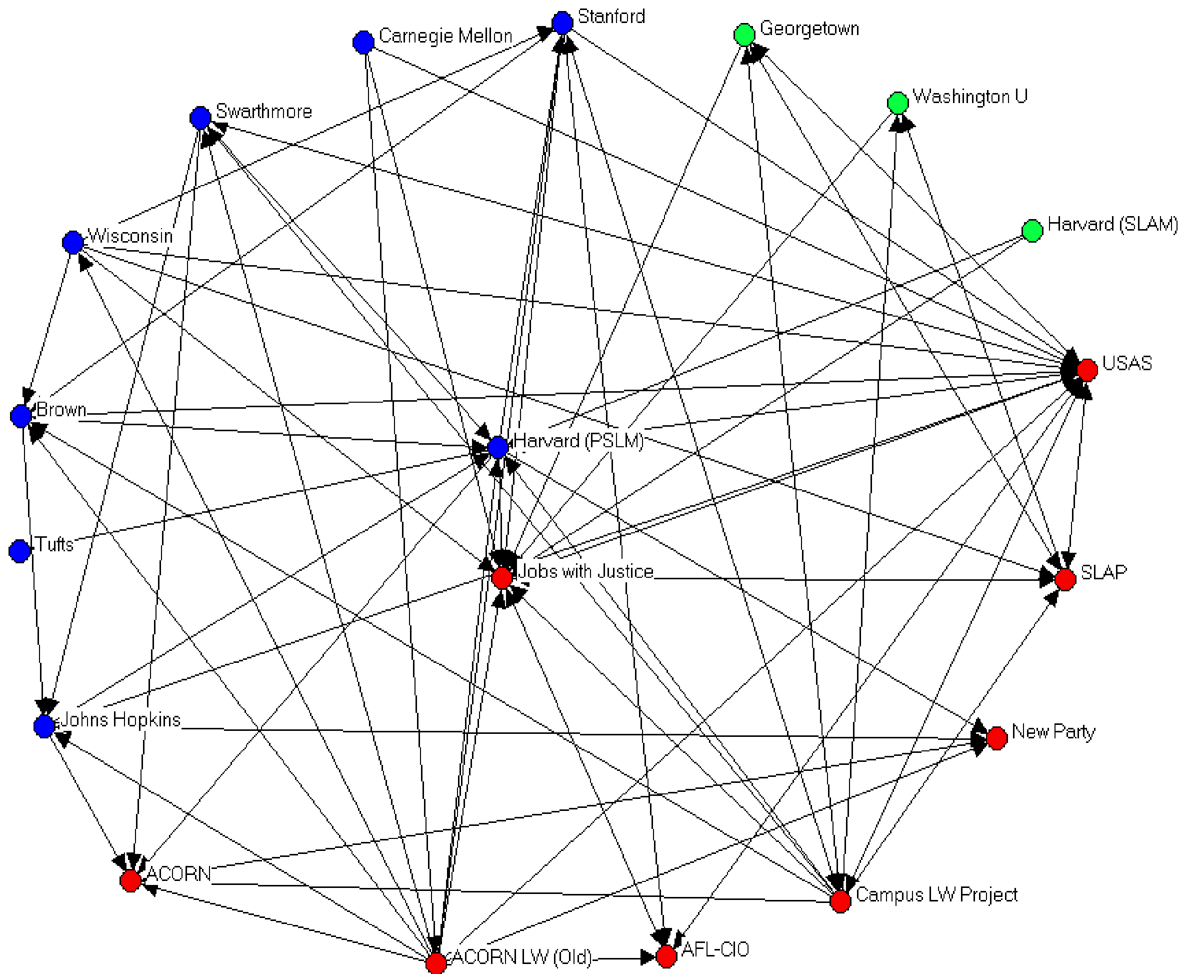



*Figure 9.* Harvard (PSLM) and Jobs with Justice Ego Network

Figure 9 is perhaps the most informative graph for social network analysis of the living wage online campaign network. When taken in context with the previous information, it demonstrates the importance of the Harvard (PSLM) site in maintaining the structure of the original campaign. Perhaps more importantly, Jobs with Justice has emerged as an important site, not only for the more recent campaigns, but also as a link to the first group. USAS also has a significant concentration of links, but was only linked to one recent campaign. While all institutions are not represented by the two-ego reduced network, the majority (11 of 14) are present, suggesting the importance of Harvard

(PSLM) and Jobs with Justice for maintaining links between institutions in the living wage campaign network.

## Conclusion

A social network analysis of the hyperlink structure in this chapter suggested a structural importance of certain institutions and non-campus organizations to institutions in the living wage campaign. Specifically, the roles of Harvard (PSLM) and Jobs with Justice need further evaluation. Those specific roles may only be inferred with the current data, but suggest cases for further analysis.

An examination of hyperlinks between actors in the espLinks dataset presents a limited view of the living wage network structure. Primarily, the specific role(s) that hyperlinks play in the network remains unclear. Nonetheless, important information about the online structure of the living wage campaign was generated by this analysis, suggesting cases and specific questions for further study. How these relationships relate to other estudentprotest tactics and translate to protest action will be addressed in the following chapter.

*I like my computer, dammit! But organizing and activism is about people. . .I guess what I'm saying is that technology is a GREAT tool. I used the hell out of it when I was a student activist, and it was the medium in which a lot of work was done it made networking and research and all that stuff faster and easier but I think it made it easier for us to rely on the computer as the be-all and end-all. And so maybe we wouldn't talk to someone about Bob Pollin's speech on campus next Friday – because they would have gotten the email, right? But that's a mistake, because talking about this stuff and making the personal connections actually IN PERSON is crucial.*
*– Diana, student organizer, Swarthmore*

# *CHAPTER SEVEN*

# ELECTRONICALLY-ENHANCED STUDENT ACTIVISM

## Introduction

Since the 1990s when World Wide Web browsers first made the Internet widely accessible to the general public, college students have incorporated the Internet and related technologies. Students in the 1990s accessed email, searched Web information, and began to create Web pages. Students in the early-2000s were introduced to further capabilities afforded by campus Internet connections. A few of the contemporary applications include downloadable movies and music, instant messaging software, and social network technologies. Academically, entire classes are now available online, and many professors post lecture notes and other course materials for download even for classes held on campus.

Similarly, cell phones have also figured prominently into the lives of college students, even prompting a few colleges to offer cell phone plans in lieu of land lines on campus. From doing homework to online dating, Internet-related technologies and cell phones have become so interwoven into the lives of today's college students that being unplugged, or "off the grid" is inconceivable. It is no surprise that student protest is enhanced, and has become in some cases dependent upon, such electronic capabilities.

This chapter examines estudentprotest from the perspective of the student activists and on-campus organization staff. In the previous chapter, a social network analysis of the student living wage campaign revealed a network of support between institutions. Analysis suggested that non-campus organizations were also part of the network, but the impact of their involvement could not be determined by the hyperlink analysis.

Interviews with individuals were conducted to determine the nature and meaning of relationships between activists, the tactical uses and impact of Internet and cell phone technologies, and the unique challenges presented by electronically-enhanced activism. A review of the pragmatic approach utilized for this study and research questions relevant to this phase follow, framing the results of this analysis.

### *Process Evaluation*

A process evaluation approach (Patton, 1990, 1997) was selected to explore tactical relationships among students at different institutions and non-campus organizations. This type of study complements the previous social network analysis by focusing on the process by which relationships form or are formed and the meaning of such associations. Also, individual interviews with important actors illuminate specific uses of electronically-enhanced tactics. A semi-structured interview guide (Appendix H) was created to address the overall research questions, while allowing for topic flexibility during each interview.

### *Research Questions*

To review, the research questions for this interview phase (QUAL) are related to the questions posed for the social network analysis (SNA). It is necessary to include the SNA questions to understand those that guided this phase of inquiry. These include:

SNA. 1. What relationships exist among Web sites in the living wage campaign network?
- QUAL. Do these relationships tactically contribute to action?
- QUAL. If so, in what ways?

SNA. 2. What are the central units in this relationship and which, if any, units act as bridges between individual campaigns in the network?
- QUAL. Why are these units important?
- QUAL. Are they involved in subsequent campaigns?

Two additional questions were added for this phase, specific to the overall goal of defining and describing estudentprotest. These include:

3. In what ways do students use Internet and cell phone technologies to aid in student protest?
4. What are the challenges associated with using these technologies?

## Overview

This chapter is organized into four sections, related to the social network and forms of online activism theoretical frameworks. First, brief biographies are presented for each participant, framing their involvement in the living wage movement. Second, the living wage campaign network is discussed in terms of its impact among individual members and relation to the tactics utilized in living wage action. Third, the tactics utilized by student activists are classified using a modified version of Vegh's (2003a) forms of online activism. Finally, the challenges of electronically-enhanced activism are presented as discussed by participants.

## Results

A social network analysis suggested several institutions and non-campus organizations for further study. The espLinks database was searched, and six individuals from news stories were contacted for interviews. Four additional participants were suggested by the initial six contacted and were also interviewed. Participants were instructed to read and return an electronic informed consent before interviews were

conducted (Appendix G). Pseudonyms are used for nine of the ten participants in this study. One individual, the researcher of the Campus Living Wage Project (www.clwproject.org) chose to have his real name used in the study.

*Participants*

Electronic interviews were conducted with a total of ten participants. Nine interviews took place using instant messaging software. One interview took place using email. Of the ten, seven participants were student activists, including five alumni and two current students; while the remaining three were representatives from non-campus organizations that support the living wage campaign in various ways. To situate the participants within the overall network structure, Figure 9 from the previous chapter is included here for reference.

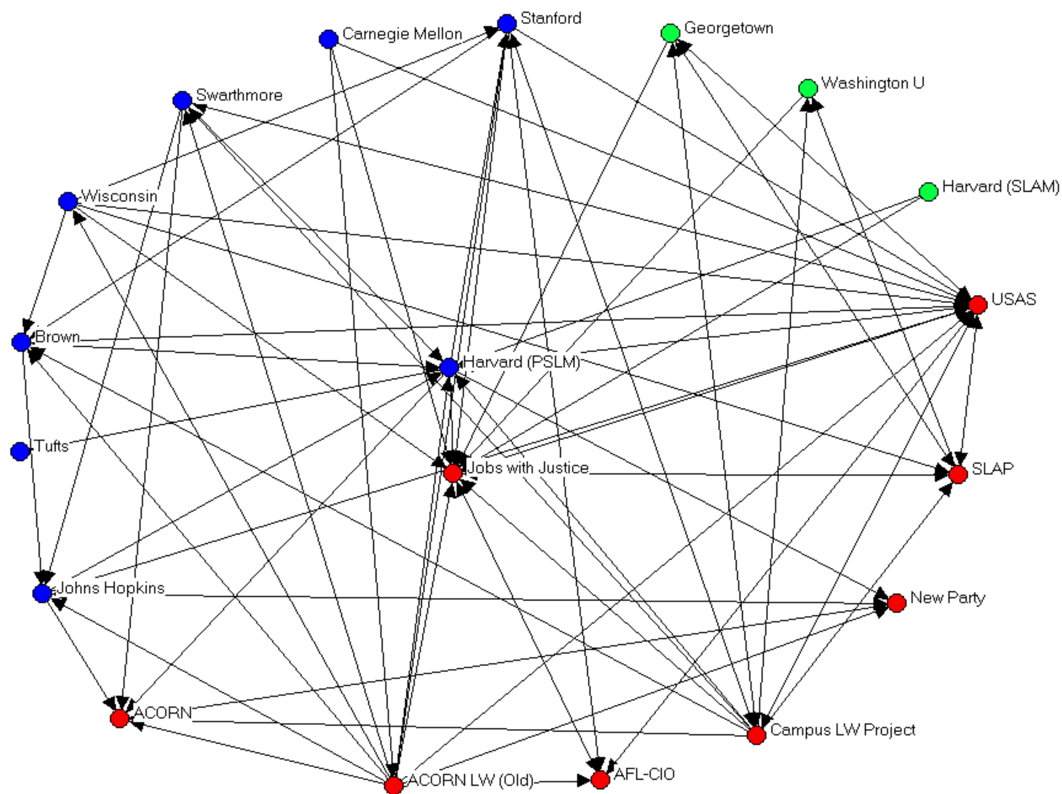


*Figure 9.* Harvard (PSLM) and Jobs with Justice Ego Network

Alumni from the earlier protest campaigns (Johns Hopkins, Swarthmore, and Harvard (PSLM) are in blue, student and alumni from more recent actions (Georgetown University and Washington University) are in green, while staff from non-campus organizations (USAS, CampusLWProject, and SLAP), are in red. Overall, the network was well-represented by the sample population. A brief biographical sketch of each participant and their involvement in the living wage campaign follows.

*Jane – Johns Hopkins University*

Jane was a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University from 1996 – 1999. She was involved with the Student Labor Action Committee (SLAC) prior to the building occupation in 2000. Jane considers herself a leader in the campaign, which was focused on building a coalition with local officials to achieve a living wage for Johns Hopkins campus workers. During her involvement, SLAC was focused on raising awareness and visibility through tactics such as holding rallies, petitioning, attempting to meet with administrators and even singing Christmas carols, in one case, with words re-written to intone the need for living wages.

In describing her work with SLAC, Jane recalls that, “there was a tremendous amount of respect and trust that developed—I think mainly through face-to-face meetings at which we strategized about what to do, combining concrete tactics discussions with more abstract aspirations toward good democratic process.” Jane’s interview took place using email.

*Diana and Sara – Swarthmore College*

Diana and Sara were undergraduate students at Swarthmore College from 2000 – 2004. They were involved with the Swarthmore Living Wage and Democracy Campaign (SLWDC) during this time, when the committee's early focus was educating the student body. Like many living wage groups, the SLWDC grew from an existing student organization that was focused on sweatshop labor abroad that shifted its focus more locally to campus workers. Later, the group turned to more visible tactics to put pressure on the college president. This involved petitions, rallies, meetings, and other public events. Diana believes that the SLWDC eventually demonstrated that the general college community was concerned about worker's wages on campus and "we weren't going to go away." The group claimed a victory when the board adopted a wage approximating a living wage, though Sara remains skeptical.

> They still have not signed on to the principal or committed to keeping it tied to inflation or cost of living. That's work that will have to continue. . .All told, it took 5 years from the start of the campaign to the board resolution.

Both Diana and Sara's interviews took place using AIM™ software.

*Hal – Harvard University (PSLM)*

Hal received his undergraduate degree from Harvard University in January 2003. During his junior year, he attended occasional rallies and meetings of the Progressive Student Labor Movement (PSLM), a group lobbying for a living wage for campus workers. A child of Harvard activists from 1970s, Hal quickly moved into an organizing role with the group, which had begun to plan an occupation of the main administrative building in the fall of 2000. His involvement included participation in disobedience

trainings, helping organize the list of things to bring to the sit-in, and working on the Web site.

PSLM is regarded as the largest visible living wage student action to date, generating massive support that led to notable successes. Hal and other PSLM members continue to get calls from current activists for advice on their campaigns. Hal's interview took place using AIM™ software.

*Gen – Georgetown University and Living Wage Action Coalition (LWAC)*

Gen was an undergraduate student at Georgetown University from 2001 – 2005. She was involved with the Georgetown Living Wage Coalition (GLWC) from 2003 – 2005. The campaign was started by students working against sweatshop labor who had developed relationships with workers on campus and realized that the local struggle for wages was just as important. A few of the students had been in contact with Harvard PSLM members and believed that similar activism would be appropriate at Georgetown. After a three-year educational campaign, the GLWC escalated their tactics to include rallies, teach-ins, and direct action leading up to a hunger strike in March 2005.

Gen first became involved her junior year and progressively contributed until her senior year when she took a more active role. During the hunger strike, she served as an organizer for the group. After graduation, Gen began working for the newly-formed Living Wage Action Coalition (LWAC) to help build and sustain the campus living wage campaign among existing and new student groups. Gen's interview took place using AIM™ software.

*Will and Wendy – Washington University in St. Louis*

Will and Wendy are current juniors at Washington University in St. Louis. They were both involved in the Student Worker Alliance (SWA) when the group held a sit-in in the admissions office in April 2005. SWA was formed in the fall of 2003, with the principle goal of attaining a living wage for contracted campus workers. Will started attending meetings the spring semester of 2004 after hearing about SWA that fall and subscribing to their email list. Wendy was a peripheral member of SWA, but participated in the sit-in when one of the organizers asked her to join them in the action.

An early victory for SWA was the formation of a campus task force in 2004 made up of students, faculty, and administrators that voted unanimously in favor of a policy working toward higher wages for contracted workers. Though the campaign prior to that point had been educationally focused, tactics escalated when the university rejected the task force recommendations in the fall of 2004. Amidst a testy political climate (a presidential debate between the republican and democratic nominees for President of the United States was held on campus that same semester), SWA continued working to educate the student body and appeal to the chancellor and board of trustees through more visible tactics. The following spring, the group began its sit-in on April 4th, coinciding with the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Both Will and Wendy's interviews took place using AIM™ software.

*Tom – United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS)*

Tom has worked for United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) since 2005. USAS has three major national campaigns that include supporting garment workers and student activists in the sweat-free campus movement, supporting Coca-Cola bottling

workers and student activists in campus boycott efforts, and working with the national living wage campaign. The latter encompasses assisting students, campus workers, and labor unions during labor organizing drives and contract negotiations. USAS was formed by student activists during the anti-corporate globalization movement. Today, students frequently contact the organization for advice, assistance, and training. Support can range from campus visits to national strategy conference calls, national conferences, and informative email lists. A vital function of the organization, according to Tom, is helping maintain campus movements. Tom's interview took place using AIM™ software.

*Adam – Campus Living Wage Project (CLWP)*

Adam is a graduate of Stanford University. During his junior year, he received a grant to study the campus living wage movement. He recalls that his desire to undertake the project came from "an interest in alternative expressions of general liberal values, etc. . .here were students caring about others and accomplishing a very tangible result." Adam began what would become the Campus Living Wage Project (www.clwproject.org) in the fall of 2002. The project consisted of in-person interviews with students at Harvard, Brown, and Swarthmore, as well as with Washington, D.C.-area activists and other individuals that were added later. The Web site now covers the early living wage movement through the sit-in at Washington University. Adam's interview took place using Google's™ Gmail™ "Talk" feature, an instant messaging application.

*Steve – Student Labor Action Project (SLAP)*

Steve is staff members for the Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) and has worked for the organization for the past three years. SLAP is a joint project of Jobs with Justice and the United States Student Association (USSA). Steve's current work involves

networking student activists in workers' rights and economic justice campaigns, and largely includes living wage actions. Specifically, he provides "trainings, research, organizing tools (manuals, etc.), on-the-ground support, and advice for groups engaged in living wage campaigns." His work takes the form of electronic communications and in-person site visits to campuses before, during, and after protest actions. Steve's interview took place using AIM™ software.

The remainder of this chapter reports the results of each interview, situated within the social network, online forms, and tactical innovation frameworks. Relationships between and among each institutional and non-campus participant are explored in the next section.

## *The Impact of the Living Wage Network*

Social network analysis is useful for revealing connections, or ties, among actors in a network (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). For this analysis, hyperlinks (ties) between Web sites (actors) were used to map associations among institutions and non-campus organizations. The resulting network diagrams suggested significant relationships between certain actors, but demonstrated that not all actors in the network were directly connected. The significance of these relationships is discussed in this section.

### *Relationships between Institutions by Institutions*

*Before.* Prior to a protest action, communication between institutions was infrequent. Students only contacted others for advice or assistance immediately before or during specific actions. Such contacts were built on prior relationships, as demonstrated by the call for help Hal recently received from a friend prior to her involvement in a building occupation at the University of Virginia. His advice was "long" and "rambling,"

though most importantly he remembered telling his friend to “make sure to get a bathroom.”

The students at Johns Hopkins were in contact with the Harvard PSLM members prior to the 2001 occupation, recalled Jane. She remembered that members of her student group, who had recently been part of a protest action on their campus, visited with the Harvard students at their request prior to the 2001 occupation to offer advice and discuss tactics.

In contrast, in his study of the living wage movement, Adam found that institutions had surprisingly little contact with each other. This was evident in the lack of “best practice” sharing that took place. Simply put, students at different institutions weren’t sharing the most efficient tactics during the planning phases prior to action.

*During*. Communication during protest actions were largely supportive, or solidarity, contacts in the earlier campaigns. Both Diana and Sara recall that at Swarthmore, they drew on the support of campuses in the area during major actions. Their group also hosted a member from the Harvard PSLM, but overall, the relationships between schools at that time were not as powerful as they could have been.

> To be honest, we had nowhere near the relationship with other schools we would have liked or would have been useful. Early in the campaign we did host and meet with someone from the Harvard living wage campaign (who was a [Swarthmore] alum at grad school at Harvard-- elite college connections ;o), who did, I believe, at some point meet with our Pres. as an alum advocating on our behalf. (Sara, student organizer, Swarthmore)

At Washington University, a more recent campaign, electronically-enhanced relationships became vital for decision-making during the occupation. Wendy noted that her student group emailed frequently with students from Harvard (SLAM) and Georgetown, who had recently completed protest actions, to seek advice. Will recalled a

specific relationship with Georgetown students during the sit-in at Washington University, when his group contacted Georgetown students for advice on escalating their tactics to include a hunger strike. Gen explained that this relationship began when the Washington University students contacted members of her organization in solidarity during their hunger strike. Notably, the relationships mentioned by the earlier groups were taking place in person, while the three later campaigns seemed to have been in more direct and immediate contact electronically.

*After.* Contacts between institutions after a protest action were again relationship-based. However, most connections were made through non-campus organizations, who often recruit student staff to build and maintain such associations. Institutions therefore became connected through individuals, but an intermediary non-campus organization was needed to introduce this relationship.

*Between Institutions by Non-campus Organizations*

The importance of non-campus organizations such as the Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) and United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) was critical for establishing and maintaining relations between institutions. Typically, students contacted such organizations after learning about them on the Internet for advice or contact information for other groups. Though this circumvented the student group Web sites (which for the most part had contact lists available), non-campus organizations kept more current information on campaigns and campus organizers at different institutions. When describing his work with SLAP, Steve reiterated this role:

> My current work entails networking student activists that are involved with or interested in getting involved in worker's rights and economic justice campaigns, including living wage campaigns.

Such relationships are initiated and maintained through email and telephones.

Diana recalled that during the early campaign at Swarthmore, non-campus organizations were not a noticeable presence, but believed that that has since changed. “I do think that this kind of mass networking among schools is getting better,” she said, “and I think especially with USAS, it's led schools to run better [and led to] more powerful campaigns with coordinated action.” Diana also discussed the monthly conference calls sponsored by USAS during her senior year to network and update campaigns at different institutions.

At Georgetown, students have maintained a strong relationship with USAS largely due to its close geographical proximity to campus. Their association with SLAP led to a strong relationship with Jobs with Justice, whose members were involved during the hunger strike at a time when USAS advised the students against the action, according to Gen.

*Central Units*

The hyperlink analysis revealed two central units, Harvard (PSLM) and Jobs with Justice, which were vital to maintaining the network. Without the two, the earlier campaigns were no longer visibly connected to the more recent movements. To evaluate this finding, participants were asked to name which schools and non-campus organizations were vital to maintaining the overall campus living wage network.

*Institutions.* Among institutions, Harvard (PSLM) was cited as the most important campaign. Adam found in his research that PSLM was significant in the living wage network both during and after the 2001 occupation.

> From my perspective, Harvard's campaign was MASSIVE. It involved so many people – on campus, non-campus, alumni, Hollywood, politicians, multiple student generations, and so on – that it left a huge footprint on the landscape. Even it's [sic] Web site was massive. It had so many press releases, collections of flyers, timelines, articles, and so on.

From USAS's perspective, Tom echoed the importance of Harvard PSLM's actions, but from a more encompassing point of view. "As far as living wage is concerned," he noted, "I'd say Harvard is clearly key because of their ability to sustain movement."

Though other institutional campaigns were mentioned, including Stanford, Johns Hopkins, and Swarthmore, Harvard PSLM was consistently the most prevalent campaign cited by all participants, confirming its role as a central unit in the network. In the future, both students and non-campus organization representatives predicted that Washington University and Georgetown University would become vital for holding the movement together. The University of Virginia was also mentioned.

*Organizations.* In the hyperlink analysis, Jobs with Justice was revealed as another central unit. Though several of the participants discussed the importance of the organization, USAS emerged as equally essential to building and sustaining the campus living wage movement. Steve noted that, "national organizations serve as an important network for these groups. Nationally, I think Jobs with Justice, United Students Against Sweatshops and ACORN have all been important resources for these campaigns." A quickly emerging contender for this role is SLAP, which was formed the year before the Harvard occupation as a joint project of Jobs with Justice and the United States Student Association (USSA). Though the work of each organization is similar, each seems to work together well and organizers "see themselves as partners rather than competitions," noted Diana, who worked with USAS as an undergraduate. Similarly, Will explained the

difference among the three prominent groups. From his point of view, “USAS is bigger but SLAP is better at working on living wages because it's closely affiliated with Jobs with Justice, which is key to any broad community support for a campus campaign.” As a central unit, Jobs with Justice still seemed important, but USAS and newcomer SLAP may have been underemphasized in the hyperlink analysis.

The impact of each organization varied from each participant’s perspective. In most cases, non-campus organizations served in a variety of roles depending on needs. This included everything from tactical trainings and advice to record-keeping. Overall, it seemed that the importance of outside groups to the living wage movement is to maintain momentum as students graduate and move on from their collegiate activist work.

*Non-campus Organization Involvement*

*Before.* Prior to action SLAP provided trainings, research, organizing tools, in-person support and advice to students involved in living wage campaigns, according to Steve. Initial contact to the organization was made both by students and non-campus organizers. Prior to a protest action, USAS did not have a significant impact on institutional campaigns, but was more involved in sustaining the movement afterward. Such relationships are initiated and maintained today largely though email.

*During.* During campaigns, Jobs with Justice has played a prominent role in support and negotiation. During the Harvard occupation specifically, Jobs with Justice was an invaluable presence, noted Hal, who recalled that, “they were great to call for rallies. . .much more responsive [than Harvard students].” Additionally, Steve explained that Jobs with Justice functioned in other ways.

> Jobs with Justice has played an important role in these campaigns because it has often served as a middle ground where students can actually sit at a table with labor unions, community groups, and religious leaders in the fight for economic justice.

Local unions also generally support student labor campaigns, though Jobs with Justice, SLAP, and USAS largely provide critical support networks and intermediaries during living wage actions.

*After.* After a protest action, students from campus campaigns have been frequently asked to join the national staffs of non-campus organizations. Both USAS and Jobs with Justice have funded student travel to other institutions to assist with emerging campaigns. USAS-sponsored conference calls are also an important part of post-protest efforts to connect students among different institutions.

Recently, the Living Wage Action Coalition (LWAC) has emerged and its impact is yet to be determined. Formed by alumni from living wage protest actions at Washington University and Georgetown, the group's goals include outreach to campuses that might not already be part of the movement. The Internet plays a large role in this endeavor. As a staff member of the LWAC, Gen discussed ways in which the Internet played an important part in the start-up of the organization:

> New folks have found us through our website [sic] – which comes up pretty high up when you type in living wage in Google. . .we have done a lot of research online of old campaigns and use 'Google Alerts' to notify us anytime an article is published that uses certain words [which is] extraordinarily helpful.

*Maintaining the Movement*

The most important manner in which non-campus groups continue to be involved in campus living wage actions is in maintaining the movement. Though student groups created informative Web sites, the intent of even the most prominent, Harvard (PSLM),

was not to become a living wage repository. Hal, a webmaster of the original site, was surprised that the PSLM site was still so prominent.

> I had basically assumed the site was defunct and that it hadn't been updated for years. I thought the PSLM members themselves probably helped out with some good advice every so often, but had no idea that the website was still a resource, let alone that it had a major effect.

Maintaining the movement fell to non-campus groups, who have through various methods kept the momentum of the issue on campus. This has been accomplished by serving as a “hub” between institutional Web sites and the historical documents contained on them. In many ways, groups such as USAS function as a glue for the campus living wage movement.

> Student activism [has] a window of maybe 2-3 years tops per generation, there are times when we hold the institutional memory for a campus...like, we know a living wage campaign was attempted years ago, so when we meet newer activists at that same campus who don't know the history, we'll give them what we know and try to support them re-launching a campaign. (Tom, staff member, USAS)

This is possible, noted Tom, because national staff have more time to research, compile detailed files, and connect “generations” of alumni involved in the living wage movement on the same campus. The USAS Web site has also played an important role by holding resources and materials that students have written. In summary, groups such as Jobs with Justice, their SLAP project, and USAS have become vital to the continued living wage movement by sustaining it, despite student turnover.

Both student and non-campus participants cited Internet-related and cell phone technologies as the primary means of not only sustaining, but carrying out living wage protests. A discussion of electronically-enhanced forms of activism follows.

*Forms of Electronically-Enhanced Student Activism*

As part of a larger study on control and resistance among groups in relation to the Internet, Sandor Vegh (2003a, 2003b) proposed a classification system for forms of online activism. Vegh defines online activism as “a politically motivated movement relying on the Internet” (p. 71). Though the parent study detailed hacktivist tactics (which have been designated as Internet-based), Vegh developed the classification model in a subsequent analysis to discuss uses of the Internet that complement traditional activism tactics (which he designated as Internet-enhanced).

To apply Vegh’s (2003a) forms to an analysis of student protest tactics, revisions were included to accommodate the use of newer technologies used by students (Weblogs, Facebook, Instant Messenger). A major deviation is the inclusion of cell phones, which were not discussed in Vegh’s study of online technologies. To incorporate this addition, the term electronically-enhanced activism is exchanged for online activism.

Two important characteristics of Vegh’s (2003a) forms are particularly matched to this analysis. First, the emphasis on the direction of the initiative (send v. receive info, calls or is called upon, initiates or reacts to action) incorporates the network analysis. Second, the types of actions are set on a continuum from information seeking to hacktivism, and allow for overlap among forms. This is significant when considering the multiple uses of electronically-enhanced tactics by student activists. As noted in chapter four, Vegh’s classification system consists of three general categories:

1. Awareness/Advocacy. The Internet provides an alternative forum for information collection and dissemination. Examples include visiting relevant Web sites and email distribution lists. A second characteristic is that groups and individuals become part of a larger community that can later aid organization/mobilization efforts. Online lobbying and petitioning is also located in this category.

2. Organization/Mobilization. The Internet is used for organization/mobilization in three ways: (1) to call for offline action, (2) to call for immediate action more efficiently than can be done offline, and (3) to call for online action that can only be performed on the Internet, such as massive spamming.

3. Action/Reaction. The most prominent media-reported form of action/reaction is hacktivism. An example is EDT's FloodNet software, which overwhelms target servers and effectively slows or shuts them down, also called a DoS, or denial of service, attack. Another technique is to set up parody Web sites to confuse would-be consumers, or to deface Web sites altogether, which requires root access to the system. A third is to create and distribute computer viruses (pp. 72-84).

Among the documented living wage campaign actions, no examples of action/reaction, according to Vegh's designation, were discovered. In its place, a discussion of the connection of advocacy and mobilization is presented, as evidenced by student protest actions. Vegh discussed the importance of this intersection, noting that

> The primary uses of the Internet in online advocacy revolve around organizing the movement and carrying out action. . .Similarly, the process of online advocacy can focus on organizing and mobilizing a group of people for action, or actually carrying out an effort with a particular goal in mind. (p. 73)

The classification of each estudentprotest tactic form, as well as of the intersection of advocacy and mobilization, follows.

*Awareness/Advocacy*

Summarizing the awareness/advocacy form, Vegh (2003a) noted that, "only the Internet allows an activist to distribute a message to thousands of people all over the world at once and to publish information that is accessible from anywhere with virtually no cost" (p. 74). The following examples identify awareness/advocacy tactics utilized by student protestors and non-campus organizations in the living wage protest network.

*Gather information from the Internet (Web sites).* Students used the Internet for research on the living wage campaign at other institutions and outside of academia. Georgetown students "used the Internet tremendously for research about the issue but

also about targets and other strategic campaign stuff," according to Gen. Similarly at Swarthmore, students gathered information from the Web site maintained by Johns Hopkins students to help them in planning their own action.

> In both of those cases [Harvard and Johns Hopkins] we used info we found on their Web sites to help guide us since we were all really inexperienced and had no idea what we were doing. So I guess even though there wasn't a lot of contact with individuals, we did use whatever they could provide – which is also the theory behind us having a Web site. We never thought the Web site was going to get a lot of people's attention (although I think we hoped that alums would visit it and we thought that in the event of a sit-in or similar high-profile action that it would be our main way of communicating with the public) – we also wanted it to serve as a resource for other students at other colleges.

The importance of a Web site for students is demonstrated by Sara's revelation that after a major action, Swarthmore created its own Web site to similarly share information with others. For researching the broader movement, students from both older and more recent campaigns turned first to the Internet for information on the living wage, and then to non-campus organizations for contact numbers.

In retrospect, Sara noted, "I can't imagine how different it would have been without Internet and email. The Internet is where we found all of our first information on what a living wage is, who had passed one, and what the economists said about it." Without the Internet to gather information, the group would have been limited to a single book instead of the case studies and resources she was able to find online.

*Gather information from others using email.* Email was the primary communication method among student group members on campus, between students at different institutions, and between activists and non-campus organizations. It was used as the initial means of contact, and although cell phones become prominent once initial contact was made, email was still utilized to maintain relationships. In more recent

protest actions, such as at Washington University, students sought advice via email from Georgetown students who had participated in similar actions while in the middle of their sit-in.

In an innovative response to a recent sit-in at the University of Virginia, administrators cut off Internet access to student protestors occupying a building. This tactic, according to Steve, was done "in order to prevent students from being able to communicate with outside supporters; thus, disabling them from receiving any outside resources."

*Gather information from others using cell phones.* Cell phones were not widely used to gather information by the interview participants. Though off-campus organizers felt that talking in person was the most important method of communicating, students saw email as much more helpful.

*Gather information from others using Instant Messaging.* Instant messaging software was used by students at Washington University to gather information during their sit-in and hunger strike from former participants at in a recent action at Georgetown University. Among non-campus organizations, instant messaging software enabled Diana to stay in touch with schools in her region when she worked as a student coordinator with USAS.

*Create an informative Web site.* Seven of the ten participants discussed the importance of creating a Web space for their group. Among the early campaigns, a Web site was an essential means of "getting our perspective out there" making it "easy to help with communicating with press, other cities, or with students," noted Jane. Sara saw the Web site as a subsidiary feature of the movement at first, but came to realize its

importance as an archive and resource for others as time passed. When maintained, students universally agreed that the Web site became an important part of the campaign. Will noted that, "the Web site was really useful when we used it consistently. We keep worker testimonials, the original SWA White Paper, the main PowerPoint we showed to the task force, etc. on it."

Adam, a Stanford University graduate who researched the living wage movement while a student, created a Web site largely to fill a void he perceived in information-sharing among institutions. He quickly learned, however, that a Web site has to be part of a larger network to be effective. That, he explains, was how Harvard's (PSLM) site became so prominent. "As a researcher/public, sites like Harvard provided a crucial insight into the facts, the history, the current state, and accomplishments of campaigns," he observed, "without Web sites, many smaller campaigns (like Swarthmore) would not be noticed or recognized."

As one of the students involved with the Web site for Harvard (PSLM), Hal initially saw the site as a means to inform the general public and press about the actions taking place during the occupation. He thought that, "people would start Googling it if they saw the press coverage and it would be a good way to get our side of the story out and to give information to supporters." Hal did not anticipate the role that the site would play in the continued movement and was surprised to find out not only that it was still "[hanging] around," but had become a crucial resource for campus living wage activists.

*Create email distribution list(s).* Equally important to campus living wage participants are email distribution lists. Many of the students maintained a minimum of two distinct lists, one for informing the general public and one for inter-group

communication. All students interviewed discussed the importance of email lists in protest action – at the planning stage, during actions, and afterwards.

Email lists were handled systematically at Harvard, where student organizers requested various contacts from participants during the occupation and sent informative electronic mail-merges to target groups. These ranged from emails to parents letting them know that their child was well to correspondence sent to professors and others to cancel appointments. Another important component of this database, replicated by each living wage campaign since, was a contact distribution list for relating the latest onsite updates to local and national media sources.

> [We used] computers inside to write our message and keep in touch with lots of people on the outside and make them feel informed and involved and get their input. . .I don't think we really considered not using email for everything. That's just how we communicate to existing supporters, even if gaining new supporters requires a more personal touch. (Hal, student organizer, Harvard)

After protests, information was again distributed by email lists to preserve the movement, recruit supporters, and keep subscribers informed. At Washington University, students continue to rely on the list created for last year's sit-in for weekly meeting reminders.

*Create an informative Facebook group.* Facebook (www.facebook.com), social networking software created for students, has also been helpful for providing information to others about campus movements. Students at both Georgetown and Washington University created a Facebook group to generate publicity during the sit-in. This Facebook group, much like the other electronically-enhanced forms of communication mentioned in this section, later helped generate immediate mobilization for support by the Washington University sit-in participants.

*Organization/Mobilization*

Summarizing the organization/mobilization form, Vegh (2003a) noted that online forms of support have become essential tools for modern protestors.

> Protestors' conscious and efficient use of the Internet is exemplified by the centralized Web site and email distribution list that is set up for each major protest to bring together scores of participating activist organizations, coordinate their actions, and provide practical information ranging from accommodation and places to eat cheaply to methods of nonviolent resistance against police brutality. (p. 74)

The following examples identify organization/mobilization tactics utilized by student protestors and non-campus organizations in the living wage protest network.

*Organize/Mobilize action using email list(s).* Email lists created for awareness/advocacy became organizational tools for student activists. Students used lists for rally announcements, calls for help, and even email petitioning campaigns. During one of the early living wage campaigns, at Johns Hopkins, Jane found that emailing for these purposes was vital for connecting and mobilizing, though cautioned that without creating personal relationships first, she doubted that the communication would have been as effective. Among the newer campaigns, students at Washington University used their Yahoo!® Groups account to store files for quick distribution. It should be noted that several groups feared that their university communication was being monitored or intercepted, so as a precaution they used third party applications such as Yahoo!® Groups, mail.riseup.net, or Gmail™ to distribute information among group members.

Emailing for action was a consistent tactic for many of the students and non-campus organizations, who found that distributing decision-makers' email addresses to others led to a quick and accessible form of support for student protests. Groups such as SLAP and USAS work with students to manage electronic petitions and email

campaigns. Though the impact is impossible to gauge, at Georgetown University and Washington University, recalled Steve, "there were over 500 emails and phone calls made to decision-makers because of 'take action' emails. . ." In addition, Tom with USAS estimated that, "the targets of our campaigns are surprisingly moved by receiving 3,000 emails or so..."

*Organize/Mobilize action using a Web site.* Visitors to student group Web sites found ways to take immediate action. From online petitions to email addresses and phone numbers for institutional decision makers, students offered a variety of methods for supporters to take action. An example of this capability was an option for alumni to sign a petition electronically which was then sent to the chancellor at Washington University stating that they refused to donate if the university didn't pay its workers a living wage. Online petitions were also created for faculty, community members, and students to sign at Harvard and Washington University. Though Vegh (2003a) classifies online petitions in the awareness/advocacy form, both students and non-campus staff felt that posting links to petitions and distributing contact information on a Web site was a tactic intended to mobilizing action, rather than to advocate or raise awareness.

*Organize/Mobilize action using Facebook.* Both USAS and SLAP agreed that Facebook was an increasingly popular organizing tool for students. Because Facebook is a newer tool for activists, early examples only came from the Washington University campaign.

> We actually did use facebook somewhat, especially the night we were (implicitly) threatened with arrest and called everyone we could to get them to rally to prevent our arrest. People keep their phone numbers up on Facebook, so we just went through our entire lists of friends and called them all. (Will, student organizer, Washington University)

*Organize/Mobilize using cell phone or text messaging.* Using cell phones to quickly mobilize others was an important component of student action. The use of cell phones ranged from individuals calling friends from their contact lists then asking them to call others, to methodical approaches involving detailed database communications. Student organizers at Harvard are examples of the latter, who assigned only a few people to the massive task of calling others on their database for immediate help. At Swarthmore, students held a phone-in campaign, in which students armed with cell phones asked passers-by at Swarthmore to phone Harvard decision-makers in support of the PSLM occupation.

Text messaging is the latest form of mobilizing using cell phones. Though only recently becoming part of the student activists' tactical repertoire, students at Washington University found success mobilizing others for a quick rally. Both USAS and SLAP see this technology as become increasingly important in future campaigns.

*Strategize using email.* A form of online activism that did not appear in Vegh's (2003a) initial classification was using email for collective decision-making. Among student protestors, strategizing using email contributed to the success of their actions. At Swarthmore, as in the other campaigns represented, a private list was created and maintained specifically for this purpose. Diana recalled, "we had a list for the "core" members of the campaign (the approximately 10-15 folks who were very committed), and emails flew over that list like crazy more often than not." Similarly, Hal recalled that the Harvard students had a "secret group" that was entirely off the university server. At Johns Hopkins, Jane found that email lists were effective for debating, but actual decision-making was "difficult on any matters of principle." Discussing and debating

strategy at Swarthmore was much the same way, according to Sara, who added that opinions were difficult to gauge in text-only conversations.

> We always had to meet in person to truly resolve it, but email was a way for people to put their cards on the table, so that the meetings could be shorter or we could at least start knowing where most people stood – but in-person meetings were what worked for making sure everyone was on board – silence via email is much harder to read than silence in a in-person meeting.

The power of email lists for strategy sessions was also prominent during breaks when decisions had to be reached.

*The Intersection of Advocacy and Mobilization*

Summarizing the intersection of advocacy and mobilization, Vegh (2003a) noted that, "the most effective way is to set up a Web site that provides information and influences the readers to adopt the desired point of view and prompts them to take action on the side of the cause" (p. 75). The following examples identify dual advocacy and mobilization tactics utilized by student protestors and non-campus organizations in the living wage protest network.

*Email with information and way(s) to take action.* Email lists made immediate impact possible. When Washington University students were threatened with a judicial summons, for examples, students sent massive calls for support via email which resulted in a successful rally to protest their removal from the building. Over 400 supporters had arrived by the 11:30 p.m. deadline (Biddix, 2006). Steve provided a similar call for immediate help from a student campaign in March 2006.

> [An] example is at the University of Miami. When students were sitting in, their university president didn't let them access restrooms. The students emailed the campus community via LISTSERVs immediately. That resulted in the president receiving over 300 phone calls and emails expressing disapproval.

In his study of campus movements, Adam found that email lists were vital for both informing others and generating support, especially when they provided specific instructions for getting involved.

> The email lists and petitions were THE way to find out about protests, and THE way to easily involve yourself in the campaign. At Harvard they used to send emails [sic] that said, 'Here are three things you can do' in order of commitment. Very slick.'

*Send announcements and reminders using email and/or cell phone.* Students at Johns Hopkins used email to announce last-minute actions, coordinate last-minute details, and remind others of upcoming events. In much the same way, non-campus organizations like SLAP and USAS used email lists to update subscribers on the national living wage campaign and offered ways of taking immediate action with email forms and electronic petitions. Cell phones were an important immediate means of contacting supporters and reminding them of where to be. Will even received a call during the interview, stating, "speaking of communication, that was a phone call making sure I could go to a rally at Peabody Energy's shareholder's meeting on Friday (they own coal mines that abuse workers' rights, frequently including unsafe mines)."

*Summary*

As demonstrated in the short span of time between early protests (pre-2001) to more current events, forms of electronically-enhanced student activism continue to evolve with new technological advances. Vegh's (2003a) forms, though slightly adapted, allow the flexibility to classify each new tactic, and can continue to be utilized even if students turn to more action/reaction tactics. Figure 10 is a summative graphical representation of the preceding results.

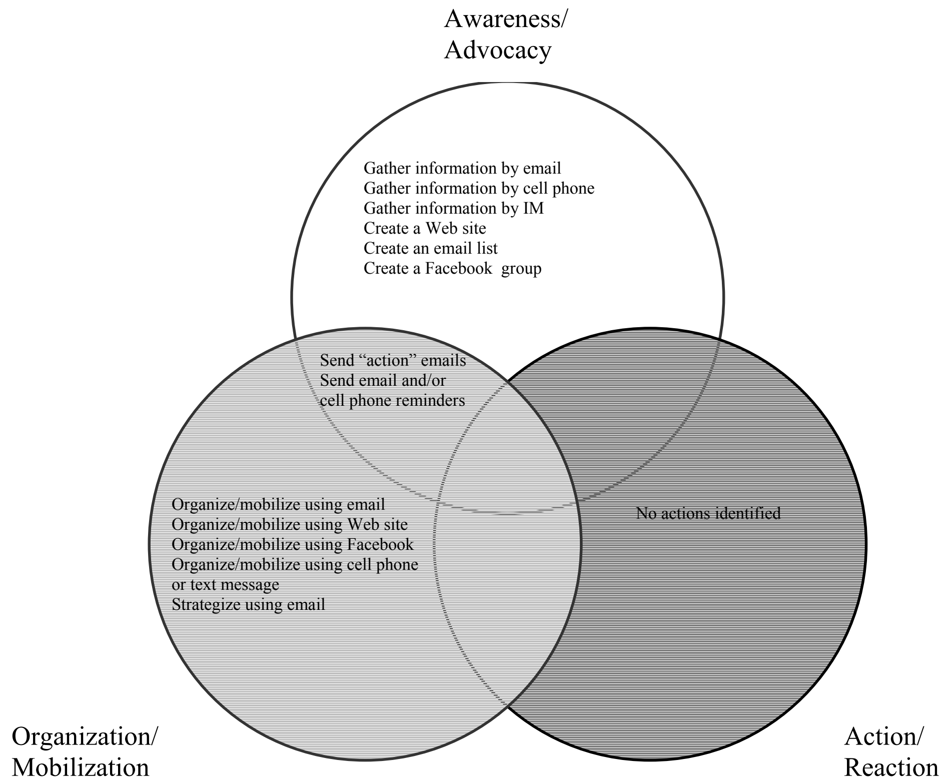



*Figure 10.* Electronically-Enhanced Protest Tactics (based on Vegh's Forms)

*The Challenges of Electronically-Enhanced Student Activism*

Though electronically-enhanced activism has augmented student action and non-campus support in many ways, significant challenges were also exposed. Students and non-campus staff cited a variety of issues with using Internet and cell phone technologies for protest, which have been grouped into four broad categories: 1) the persistent digital

divide, 2) development of relationships, 3) underutilization, and 4) other issues associated with too much access. Examples of these challenges follow.

*A Digital Divide Still Exists Among Workers and Students*

The living wage movement is fundamentally concerned with helping campus workers attain a minimum wage. For the movement to be successful, students and non-campus staff stressed the importance of campus worker involvement with student actions. Participants fear that as the movement turns increasingly to technology to coordinate efforts, workers can be left behind. Diana found that the students' reliance on technology was detrimental to personal relationships at Swarthmore. "So here you have a bunch of students who are fluent in technology, trying to do outreach and whatnot with campus workers, who are (in general) not as fluent," she observed.

Similarly at Washington University, Will concluded that the living wage movement "has to start with and be directed by workers (even if the space for that has to be created by students." Discussing a digital divide, he said that most campus workers don't have the financial capability or time to access the technologies.

> They simply don't do electronic technology. No money for a computer, no time to sit around writing emails or on conference calls. . . And really, until mass communication technology becomes affordable for workers, it's going to be a way to have organizers communicate, not members/participants.

From a more broad perspective, Tom believed that many valuable people have been excluded from labor rights activism resulting from a lack of access to online technologies.

> There are many people left out by the tech-dependent organizing sector who should have more of a voice in our campaigns by virtue of the fact that they're often from families that include the very workers we're attempting to stand in solidarity with – low-wage campus and garment workers, etc.

A digital divide among students at different institutions was also discussed. For Swarthmore students who were largely on campus and frequently checked email, technology made organizing easy. However, at commuter schools or at institutions with more working-class students, Diana surmised, there are similar issues for students who don't have as much available access or time.

*Technology is Detrimental to Building Necessary, Meaningful Relationships*

Reliance on technology compromised the in-person relationships that participants believed were important in the living wage movement, taking away from the personal side of organizing. Steve stated that due to a reliance on technology, "[students] don't properly recruit for events because they believe people will respond to emails; or they don't call reporters to pitch stories, they just email press releases."

According to Diana, more meaningful relationships necessary to building and sustaining the campus living wage movement were formed in-person.

> That was always hard for me – I like my computer, dammit! But organizing and activism is about people. . .I guess what I'm saying is that technology is a GREAT tool. I used the hell out of it when I was a student activist, and it was the medium in which a lot of work was done it made networking and research and all that stuff faster and easier but I think it made it easier for us to rely on the computer as the be-all and end-all. And so maybe we wouldn't talk to someone about Bob Pollin's speech on campus next Friday – because they would have gotten the email, right? But that's a mistake, because talking about this stuff and making the personal connections actually IN PERSON is crucial.

Similarly at Harvard, Hal was only motivated to participate in the movement after making personal connections with the workers and other student activists. Jane echoed this sentiment from her perspective at Johns Hopkins, noting that technology was crucial, "but without the relationships in person, I am not sure it would have been as effective."

Gen welcomed taking the Internet and cell phones away from student activists. For her, it would mean that students would “have to spend a lot more time talking to folks and seeing them face to face which means building relationships and personal connections which to me are the basis for all of this organizing.”

*Students are not Taking Full Advantage of Technology*

From Adam’s perspective, students have yet to fully tap the capabilities of the Internet for protest. His research pointed to valuable information from numerous sources that the majority of student activists were not accessing. He contends that, “the challenges are making communication between different campaigns, between different generations, and etc. more effective and part of the very structure of the activist campaign.” Recent campaigns relied more on instant access to information that was relevant at that moment, as demonstrated by the Washington University students’ instant messaging with Georgetown University students. The newly formed LWAC may be the solution to connecting movements, as their integration and frequent use of electronic technologies such as email, instant messaging, and a regularly updated Web site has already helped them become involved with students at over 50 schools, according to Gen.

*Too Much Access*

Interestingly, only students from the earlier campaigns identified additional issues associated with “too much access.” At Johns Hopkins, Jane felt that over-involvement in the broader movement, via Web research and contact with non-campus organizations, “brought attention and enthusiasm but a lack of discipline and analytical assessment of demands, etc.—which ultimately undermined credibility and effectiveness—it was easy

to get caught up in what was." At Swarthmore, the ability to quickly communicate within the group brought added challenges for Diana:

> The emails and opinions flew so fast that it was hard to take a step back. So if there is a downside, its that having so much access to communicate, sometimes we all said every little thing we thought, and it could be confusing and difficult to distill down what we really needed to think about.

From a broader perspective, Tom noted similar issues. He observed that, "I think we honestly get away with sloppier process at the local level because we can be effective without needing everyone to agree or building as-solid coalitions, which I see as the major drawback of our tech dependence."

## Conclusion

The results of this interview analysis reveal that as new technologies are available, students will continue to adapt them to their purpose. If the digital divide continues to close, the access division between students, workers, and students at different institutions may drastically affect the living wage movement. Though early campus living wage activists were not taking full advantage of new technologies, newer campaigns are demonstrating the benefits of mixing the latest electronic-capabilities with protest action. What this will mean to the relationships needed to sustain action remains unanswered. Also, is there such a thing as "too much access" and how will the development of new technologies influence activism? A discussion of the results of this study is presented in the next chapter. Implications for higher education administrators and suggestions for future research are included in the final chapter.

*This is a general debate in social justice movements over the last 15 years or so. Whether we need a single vision (think the Port Huron Statement or something) or whether our diversity of ideas and opinions lets us adapt more easily. . .that sort of thing. Basically it goes like this: 'If we don't focus, we'll never get anything done!' 'But we stand in solidarity with each other, so we're OK.' It's way broader than just forms of communication, but people have consistently cited the Internet as a model for the good and bad in a decentralized social justice movement. . .I think [technology] does affect solidarity. For me, anyway, reading about what's going on at other campuses (usually through e-mails like the Take Action ones that would be totally impossible otherwise. . .what, mass mailings that cost a fortune and arrive too late to do any good?) is really inspiring/challenging.*
*– Will, student organizer, Washington University*

# *CHAPTER EIGHT*

# REVIEW OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

## Introduction

April 4th, 2005, twelve students carrying sleeping bags, various items of food and clothing, and the modern student protestor's most valuable tools – cell phones, wireless laptops and a router, entered the Admissions Office at an elite private university to demand living wage pay and equivalent benefits for all campus employees. To aid their protest, they immediately set up a wireless Internet server and updated their Web site, started a Weblog, posted messages to their existent LISTSERV, created IM away messages that were constantly updated, created a Facebook group, and called and e-mailed media contacts. Most of this was accomplished before the administration knew a building takeover had been initiated (Biddix, 2006).

As this action demonstrates, access to outside resources via cell phone and Internet technologies has become an invaluable asset to today's student protestor. The isolation inherent in building occupation tactics is now mediated by access to outside resources – support, guidance, and immediate assistance. This example demonstrates the

modern evolution of student protest tactics, student use of electronic technologies for protest, or estudentprotest.

### *Overview of Chapter*

This chapter is divided into four sections. First, a review of the study, including a restatement of the problem, purpose, research questions, and mixed methods design is presented. Second, a summary of results from each chapter is provided. Third, a discussion of results, including those situated in the tactical innovation framework, follows. The final section details the limitations of this study.

## Review of the Study

This study used a variety of approaches to define and describe the tactics of estudentprotest. Chapter one reviewed contemporary student activism and student use of computer technologies, and introduced an approach at studying the intersection of the two. Chapter two contained an historical review of student activism, emphasizing the issues and tactics of student protest from 1636 to present. In Chapter three, relevant research literature was reviewed, and conceptual frameworks were introduced. Chapter four detailed the mixed research methods used in this study: statistical measures, social network analysis, and qualitative interviews.

Chapters five, six, and seven contained the results of each sequence of analysis. Chapter five contained a quantitative analysis of newspaper databases to inform contemporary trends in student protest, determined statistical predictors for protest action outcomes, and assessed the relationship between estudentprotest tactics and those who employ them. Chapter six presented a social network analysis of the living wage movement, as revealed though a hyperlink analysis. Chapter seven included the results of

student activist and non-campus staff member interviews from institutions suggested in the preceding analysis, using a classification scheme to describe specific tactics. This chapter presents a review of the study, summary of results, discussion, and limitations.

## Problem Statement

Contemporary studies on college students reported that both student activism and Internet use were among the fastest growing indicators of student engagement (Astin, 2004; Levine & Cureton, 1998). The 2004 Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) data demonstrated that students used the Internet in some capacity for a wide variety of activities in college, and it was hypothesized that student protest was also affected by Internet use. To date, no studies have assessed the intersection of student activism and Internet use on campus.

## Purpose

The purpose of this study was to identify and define electronically-enhanced student activism. More specifically, this study focused on student uses of Internet and other electronic technologies to support, aid, and accomplish protest actions to define and describe the tactics of estudentprotest.

### *Research Question and Objectives*

A central research question directed this study:

How do students use information and communications technologies (ICTs) to aid in student protest?

The specific objectives of this study included:

1. To identify the issues and tactics of contemporary student protest.
2. To define and describe the Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) utilized by college students for protest.
3. To determine the impact and significance of the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in college student protest.

### *Methods and Additional Research Questions*

A mixed-methodological approach, structured to complement the objectives of this study, was utilized. Additional guiding research questions, accommodating the strengths of this research design, were posed in each methodological sequence of this investigation, as related to the central question of this study. Figure 1 was an overview of the research design.

For this study, a sequential explanatory strategy (Creswell, 2003) was chosen, indicating that data were gathered in directed phases. A quantitative study first established the sample population, as well as suggested the issue of living wage protests and a population for further study through statistical measures. Since relationships between and among students and non-campus organizations were found to be significant predictors of protest action, these relationships were mapped using a social network approach. A limitation in both social network and qualitative analysis is sample selection bias, which was minimized by the preceding quantitative phase. For the final phase of the study, the social network analysis was used to suggest interview participants and further reduce selection bias. In this way each phase, or sequence, was contingent on the previous findings for sample selection and instrumentation.

## Summary of Results

The results of each method are summarized in this section. For clarification, research questions are presented in sequence by chapter.

*Chapter 5 Summary: Contemporary Trends in Student Activism*

1. *What protest events occurred on college campuses during the 2004 – 2005 academic year?*

Seventy-nine major protest events were reported on college campuses during the 2004 – 2005 academic year. Six categorized issues included: labor rights (n=23), governance issues (n=22), military (n=14), political issues (n=7), identity politics (n=7), and tuition and fee increases (n=6). Since labor rights were reported as a significant issue, a subset of these protests, the living wage campaign, was selected. Also, several news stories discussed collaboration between students at different institutions for major campus living wage events, indicating a much broader movement.

A second function of the newspaper search was to suggest a single issue for further analysis. The subsequent newspaper search consisted of six sequential searches from a variety of sources. Each source contributed to the final dataset. Figure 2 was a visual representation of the search, reporting the size of the dataset after each successive phase.

2. *Which antecedent features and characteristics predict specific student protest actions?*

   2a. *Among college students at four-year institutions, which antecedent features and characteristics predict non-disruptive living wage protest actions?*

A binary logistic regression analysis was conducted to predict the probability that a non-disruptive expression of dissent would occur. The logistic regression results found three predictive variables. Using a criterion of $p<.05$ statistical significance, a non-disruptive expression of dissent was more likely when undergraduate students and student groups were involved prior to the protest action. The involvement of campus

workers was also a predictive variable, though was not statistically significant using these criterion.

> 2b. *Among college students at four-year institutions, which antecedent features and characteristics predict disruptive living wage protest actions?*

A binary logistic regression analysis was conducted to predict the probability that a disruptive expression of dissent would occur. The logistic regression results again found three predictive variables. Using a criterion of $p<.05$ statistical significance, a disruptive protest occurring was more likely to take place when administrators, students at other institutions, and the president and or/trustees were involved prior to the protest action.

3. *Which antecedent features and protest events are related to the use of estudentprotest tactics?*

Correlations were calculated to evaluate the relationship of electronic tactics to the other variables in the sample. Uses of electronic technologies for protest were related to off-campus actors, events, and outsider involvement. A significant finding was the relationship between involvement with other institutions and estudentprotest tactics.

*Conclusion*

The primary function of this quantitative analysis was to recommend cases for subsequent analysis. The results from this investigation suggested that estudentprotest variables were features of living wage protests, though specific relationships could only be hypothesized with the available data.

*Chapter 6 Summary: Networks of Student Protest*

*Hyperlink Analysis*

It was hypothesized that the structure of the living wage campaign network would suggest important features of estudentprotest movements. Data were collected from inbound and outgoing hyperlinks from student group Web pages. The final dataset revealed 15 student group Web sites representing 14 of the total population of 32 institutions. To determine how campus Web sites were related to a larger, non-campus network, 12 Web sites from non-campus organizations were added.

*1. What relationships exist among Web sites in the living wage campaign network?*

Overall, Web sites of groups that participated in disruptive protest action were the most connected in the network. Links to non-campus organizations were more abundant than links among institutions, though the specific roles of such sites suggested further analysis. Graphic representations of the network offered further understanding of the whole network structure.

*Centrality measures.* The mean for all outbound links was 3.96, or an average of four links sent. Among individual actors, ACORN's old LW site (14), Campus LW Project (11), and USAS (9) linked to the most other sites. Among institutions, this fell significantly with Harvard (PSLM) and Stanford at six links each, followed by Brown, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins, Virginia, and Wisconsin each with five. Swarthmore, George Washington, and Carnegie Mellon included four links each to other sites.

The mean for all inbound links was also 3.96, or an average of four links received. Among non-campus organizations, USAS (15), Jobs with Justice (12), and ACORN (9) received the most links from other sites. Among institutions, Harvard (PSLM) and Johns

Hopkins (6) received the most links. Stanford and Brown followed, receiving four links from other sites in the network.

*Betweenness.* There was moderate degree of betweenness, a measure of influence, concentrated among three sites: USAS, Campus LW Project, and Harvard (PSLM). Expressed as a proportion of the overall possible shortest distance paths in the network, a connection between two sites must pass between USAS nearly 26% of the time, and between Campus LW Project and Harvard (PSLM) 13% of the time. The relationship of these sites to the network was significant, but further analysis was needed to evaluate this finding.

*Centralization.* Centralization is interpreted as the extent to which ties are directed to one (or few) nodes in the whole network. For this dataset, outdegree centralization was 40%. Similarly, indegree centralization was 44%. This indicated that one or a few nodes were the focus of several ties in the network, and this was confirmed by a visual concentration of links among Jobs with Justice, USAS, Harvard (PSLM), and ACORN."

2. *What are the central units in this relationship and which, if any, units connect individual campaigns in the network?*

An analysis of cut-points identified several significant Web sites that, if removed, fragmented the network. Among institutions, Harvard (PSLM) was influential. Similarly, the network dissolved into several sections without the relations maintained by several of the non-campus organizations – most notably, Jobs with Justice.

An analysis of bridges identified several significant ties that, if removed, fragmented the network. The relations between Campus LW Project, ACORN LW (Old), USAS, Jobs with Justice, Harvard (PSLM), and Johns Hopkins were found to be important in maintaining the structure of the overall network.

Finally, a graphical ego analysis demonstrated the importance of the Harvard (PSLM) site in maintaining the structure of the original campaign. Jobs with Justice also emerged as an important site. Both were essential to maintaining ties between the early and more recent campus living wage campaigns.

*Conclusion*

An examination of hyperlinks between student group and non-campus organization Web sites presented a limited view of the living wage campaign network. Primarily, the specific role/s that hyperlinks among Web sites signified remained unclear. Nonetheless, cases and specific questions for further study were generated by this analysis.

*Chapter 7 Summary: Electronically-Enhanced Student Activism*

*Participants*

Electronic interviews were conducted with a total of ten participants. Nine interviews took place using instant messaging software. One interview took place using email. Of the ten, seven participants were student activists, including five alumni and two current students; while the remaining three were representatives from non-campus organizations. An interview guide, allowing for question flexibility, was used.

*Research Questions 1 and 2*

Two of the research questions for this section were related to questions from the previous social network analysis. For clarity, social network questions were labeled SNA, while questions specific to this section were labeled QUAL.

*SNA. 1. What relationships exist among Web sites in the living wage campaign network?*
*QUAL. Do these relationships tactically contribute to action?*
*QUAL. If so, in what ways?*

*SNA. 2. What are the central units in this relationship and which, if any, units act as bridges between individual campaigns in the network?*
*QUAL. Why are these units important?*
*QUAL. Are they involved in subsequent campaigns?*

*Relationships between institutions by institutions.* Prior to a protest action, communication between institutions was infrequent. Communication during protest actions was largely supportive, or solidarity, contacts in the earlier campaigns. In more recent campaigns, electronically-enhanced relationships became vital for decision-making during the occupation. Most connections after protest events were made through non-campus organizations, who often recruited student staff to build and maintain such associations. Institutions therefore became connected though individuals, but an intermediary non-campus organization was needed to introduce this relationship.

*Relationships between institutions by non-campus organizations.* The importance of non-campus organizations such as the Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) and United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) was critical for establishing and maintaining relations between institutions. Typically, students contacted such organizations for advice, guidance, or training after learning about them on the Internet. Also, students contacted them to help establish relationships with other campaigns because non-campus organizations kept more current contact information than what was available on student group Web sites.

*Central units.* Among institutions, Harvard (PSLM) was cited as the most important campaign. Though several of the participants discussed the importance of Jobs with Justice among non-campus organizations, USAS emerged as equally essential to building and sustaining the campus living wage movement.

*Non-campus organization involvement.* Prior to protest actions, SLAP provided trainings, research, organizing tools, in-person support and advice to students involved in living wage campaigns. During campaigns, Jobs with Justice played a prominent role in support and negotiation. After a protest action, students from campus campaigns were frequently asked to join the national staffs of non-campus organizations.

*Maintaining the movement.* The most important way in which non-campus groups are involved in campus living wage actions is in maintaining the movement. Organizations such as SLAP and USAS request information from students to create records on individual campus campaigns and maintain these records for subsequent student reference and use.

3. *In what ways do students use Internet and cell phone technologies to aid in student protest?*

A classification system for forms of online activism (Vegh, 2003a) was used as a framework for categorizing student uses of technology for activism. Modifications were added to account for new technologies, and one form was not discussed by interview participants (action/reaction).

*Awareness/Advocacy.* The awareness/advocacy form describes activists' use of the Internet for information collection and dissemination. Students reported specific uses of the Internet and related technologies for these purposes and added cell phones as similarly important. Students used e-mail, cell phones, and instant messaging software to gather information from others; they also used Internet technologies to create informative Web sites, to create email distribution list/s, and to create informative Facebook groups.

*Organization/Mobilization.* The organization/mobilization form describes activists' use of the Internet in three ways: to call for offline action, to call for immediate

action more efficiently, and to call for online action that could only be performed on the Internet. Students reported specific uses of the Internet and related technologies for these purposes and again added cell phones as similarly important. Students used the Internet and cell phone technologies to organize/mobilize action using email list/s, to organize/mobilize action using Facebook, to organize/mobilize using cell phone or text messaging, and to strategize using email.

*The intersection of advocacy and mobilization.* Vegh described online forms of activism as fluid, suggesting a rigid classification system would not fit all tactics. In view of this, students used electronically-enhanced advocacy and mobilization in two ways, to email others with specific information and way/s to take action and to send announcements and reminders using email and/or cell phones.

*4. What are the challenges associated with using these technologies?*

Though students consistently described the forms of estudentprotest available to them as essential to protest actions, four significant challenges were also discussed. First, a digital divide threatened worker participation in the movement. Second, reliance on technologies was deemed harmful to forming the necessary, personal relationships among activists and workers. Third, while students were using many technologies, they were not efficiently taking advantage of existing and new capabilities. Finally, too much access created problems for some students, who felt that reliance on ICT to stay informed and connected to the broader campaign resulted in a loss of local movement focus.

*Conclusion*

The availability of new electronically-enhanced tactics influenced each campaign differently, though many common uses were evident. Among early campaigns,

technology was a helpful tool for gathering information, checking facts, organization and mobilization. As each new “generation” of students became more accessible via Internet and cell phone technologies, a reliance on and expectation of immediate assistance was identified.

## Discussion

The literature reviewed in this study incorporated a broad range of interdisciplinary research. From sociology, McAdam’s (1983, 1995) work on tactical interplay and innovation was reviewed. Social network theory (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994), whose roots can be traced to sociology and information science, was also utilized. Information science research also contributed, along with other fields, to the cyberactivism research (McCaughey & Ayers, 2003a). The integration of cyberactivism research and social network analysis yielded hyperlink analysis (Park, 2003; Park & Thelwall, 2003; Thelwall, 2003), which supplied a method for the study of Web relations. Sociology (Gamson, 1975), adolescent psychology (Lipset, 1972), American history (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997; Rudolph, 1990), and higher education (Altbach, 1973; Astin, Astin, Bayer, & Bisconti, 1975; Rhoads, 1998) contributed to the literature on student protest. American studies and online deviance lent a classification system for forms of online activism (Vegh, 2003a, 2003b). Finally, cultural studies (Rheingold, 1991), democratic theory (Dewey, 1926; Hamrick, 1998; Salter, 2003), and college student development literature (Astin, 1999; Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998) were incorporated for a practical framework and discussion of implications.

Together, this comprehensive review of literature and the contributing theoretical and pragmatic frameworks helped define and describe estudentprotest. This chapter

presents a discussion of results, framed primarily in the tactical innovation framework. Unexpected findings from the social network and interview analysis will also be discussed. The student activism, democratic theory, and student development literature supplies a framework for discussing implications for student affairs administrators in chapter nine.

### *Tactical Innovation*

McAdam (1983) discussed protest in terms of the pace, or interplay, between challengers (in this case students) and those in power (in this case the administration). The pace of insurgency is defined by the innovation of new tactical forms and the ability of those in power to adapt to, or counter those innovations. This study has revealed innovative ways in which students have used technology to accomplish protest actions. Applying McAdam's designation, innovation is defined in this discussion as a combination of tactical development, improvement, selection, and timing to achieve influence. The following discussion utilizes this framework to describe estudentprotest.

While not subversive by Vegh's (2003a) hacktivist designations, student protest tactics identified in the living wage network were certainly electronically-enhanced. The use of the Internet and cell phones before, and most notably during, protest actions provided a continued tactical advantage to students. Though administrators ultimately implemented effective counter measures, electronically-enhanced tactics certainly influenced the pace of insurgency in a variety of ways.

*"Networked" Localism*

A tactical innovation revealed in this study involved a shift in scope, facilitated by the use of Internet and cell phone technologies. Levine and Cureton (1998a) labeled 1990s student activism as "the new localism," a description encompassing the philanthropic actions of student activists looking to make a difference in local, rather than national or worldwide, affairs. This was a significant shift in the perspective of student activists, which involved relocating outward-focused campaigns, such as the divestment movement, to more isolated campus-based movements. Today's student activists, connected through the Internet and cell phone technologies, exhibited a "networked" localism that allowed campaigns to be locally-focused, yet simultaneously nationally coordinated and maintained. This allows students to maintain a local campaign, but also be in contact with students at other institutions for advice, assistance, and solidarity. Thus, a living wage issue can be part of a broader national campaign while maintaining a localism for the students and campus workers involved.

A distinct advantage of networked localism is the tactical network of support that electronic technologies have created. When a hunger strike happened at Washington University, one dean called the dean at Georgetown to find out how he handled the situation. By then, Washington University students had already launched a full media campaign, talked with doctors via cell phone, and discussed the next steps several times using instant messenger with the students at Georgetown. Tactical innovation, in terms of a network of support, and the ability to quickly and efficiently generate pressure, resides on the side of the student protester for the moment.

*Leverage Opportunities*

Student activists in the 1980s and 1990s utilized generally non-violent tactics – shantytowns, local rallies, occasional sit-ins, and/or educational campaigns to bring attention to their cause. For challenging groups to claim victory in a social movement, they have to apply pressure, through effective tactics, to gain leverage against those in power (Gamson, 1990). New types of tactical innovation permitted by electronically-enhanced tactics have created an array of leverage opportunities. For example, generating media attention can bring community and sometimes even national support, which in turn can create uncomfortable questions that those in power may not want to answer. Student activists have gained immediate advantage by being the first to get an attractive story to media outlets from their perspective. Prior to Internet and cell phone technologies, this could be difficult for student activists, especially those participating in occupations.

The students at Harvard who occupied the administrative building in 2001 demonstrated that by using the Internet and cell phones, they could generate the needed attention to gain support and leverage, without having to give up the physical space that they had taken over. This tactical innovation turned the administration's tactic of waiting them out into productive time for the occupants. Recalling Hal's words:

> You know, I used to think that administrators who cut off food or sent in cops were stupid and that Harvard was smarter to wait people out and ignore them (because they look bad in the media and polarize people). Then the sit-in happened and I realized how effectively we could use that "ignored" time to organize and get people to listen and think about an issue and that for that window, the press, alumni, faculty, and all the usually dormant potential allies begin to come on board and exert pressure.

Hal suggested that, “cutting off of the Internet and food may actually be the smarter strategy now, for recalcitrant administrators,” though later noted that new technologies would likely allow students to counter such tactics, as described in the next section.

*Tactical Interplay and Counter-Tactics*

Students at several of the institutions feared that administrators had read their email correspondence, and had taken necessary steps to prevent further interception. Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Swarthmore students set-up a third party email list for the group. Occasionally, Harvard students even sent false messages over university email to “test things,” according to Hal. Similarly, at Washington University, the students believed that some of their email was read by administrators, which prompted them to also create a third party list. Will recalled that a high level administrator mentioned something to a student she had written in an email from her campus address that she’d definitely not sent to him.

Two examples of counter-tactics by administrators come from recent campaigns. At Washington University, Will and Wendy recounted that the administration was able to quickly send emails to the entire community using the existing capabilities of their email infrastructure. This was a critical action for the students sitting in, who knew that they had to reach the same population with their perspective or risk losing community support:

> As far as countering the chancellor's email-everyone capability, a student who was good with computers did something that dug up every email it could and we just put a thing on the end of the email that said ‘to get off this list, reply to [an email address we set up for just this purpose] with ‘UNSUBSCRIBE’ in the subject.’ That sort of thing is legally required by anti-spam laws.

Administrators at the University of Virginia cut off Internet access to the building students were occupying. Steve commented that, the counter-tactic was meant “in order

to prevent students from being able to communicate with outside supporters; thus, disabling them from receiving any outside resources. They'd also want to prevent them from communicating with the general campus populace via list serves; etc.” It is not known how the students countered this tactic.

These examples of electronically-related tactical interplay and counter-tactics perhaps reveal the future of conflict between students and administrators. Administrators have begun to realize what students have known for some time; that control of the Internet and related technologies is essential in maintaining, or impeding, a protest movement. As administrators continue to restrict and even cut off Internet access to student protestors, students will no doubt discover alternate means for accessing this vital source of information, and the tactical interplay will resume. One only has to recall that today’s cell phones increasingly offer Internet capabilities. Some even offer Internet access to compatible laptops. Turning these off may prove more difficult if not impossible for administrators.

*Electronically-Enhanced Insurgency*

Internet and cell phone technologies continue to rapidly evolve. Student electronically-enhanced tactics in this study shifted significantly from information gathering to on-the-spot assistance between the Harvard occupation in 2001 and the Washington University sit-in in 2005. Though administrators have begun to discover tactical counters, the nature of changing technologies and the successive generations of students quickly adopting them suggests that students may remain at least one step ahead of administrators. After being asked his thoughts on the effectiveness of cutting off Internet access, Hal commented, “don't let them read your dissertation, or more will” but

then added that the time it will take to get the study out will be just in time “for Blackberries and such to make it irrelevant.”

One challenge revealed by this study threatens this control. Technology may be taking the personal out of protest. For students, worker involvement and the meaningful relationships they developed were the catalyst for action. Emails and cell phone calls to mobilize meant something because it was for someone. The digital divide, even if it closes a degree, will assuredly be kept open as students utilize new technologies to stay ahead of administrators. The next generation of student protestors will have to face and adapt to this new challenge to sustain the living wage movement.

### *Unique Findings*

The social network analysis and subsequent interviews revealed three unexpected findings in this study. First, the proliferation and role of non-campus organizations in the living wage network were surprising. Second, the classification of forms of online activism revealed a new example of organization/mobilization – strategizing using email. Third, the immediacy that technology has fomented among student activists was an unexpected revelation. A discussion of these unique findings follows.

#### *The Role of Non-Campus Organizations*

A fundamental characteristic of student activism in the Sixties was institutional denunciation. In addition to administrative authority and parental control, students also rejected ties to off-campus organizations and created campus-only chapters. A surprising finding of this study was that outside organizations have reappeared, yet with a much different role. One of the essential findings of the social network analysis of hyperlinks among Web sites was that several non-campus organizations seemed to hold the network

together. Interviews confirmed that without certain groups, the living wage movement would have faltered or perhaps have faded away. Certainly, the movement would not likely have proliferated for as long as it has.

Since the 1920s, outside organizations have long held national conferences and regional events to train and energize activists. Particularly in labor rights and other humanistic types of activism, non-campus groups have served as liaisons between students, unions, and institutions. Today's groups do all these things. The significant finding, however, is their role in maintaining the movement, exemplified by Steve's summary of USAS.

> USAS is a grassroots organization - we were founded by students during the upsurge of anti-corporate globalization movements that took off immediately post-Seattle WTO talks. But we also have had national staff and paid regional organizers for many years. Most often, we've gotten contacted by students and have some calls back and forth to let them know who we are (as people and organizers), what we can offer (workshops, conferences, teach-in materials, national strategy conference calls) and see if they want us to come visit. So I'd say [our role is to] support and maintain. But student activism having a window of maybe 2-3 years tops per generation, there are times when we hold the institutional memory for a campus...like, we know a living wage campaign was attempted years ago, so when we meet newer activists at that same campus who don't know the history, we'll give them what we know and try to support them re-launching a campaign.

Nearly every interview participant echoed a similar statement. The role of non-campus organizations in the living wage movement has been critical. Some referred to groups such as USAS, Jobs with Justice, and more recently SLAP, as the "glue" holding together the campaign. Nearly all of the communication, data storage, and preservation and dissemination of important files between students and such organizations takes place using Internet and cell phone, or estudentprotest, technologies. For students, activism without such relationships and the Internet to facilitate them was inconceivable. Joe

surmised that, “without the Internet. . .I don't know how we'd connect with national organizations and other campuses. I mean, once we had contact, it wouldn't be hard. But how would we make that contact?”

*Strategizing Using Email*

Students use email for a variety of functions. The ability to quickly and efficiently communicate with others, to send class assignments, to stay connected with home, and perform countless other functions with this technology ensures that students check their email compulsively throughout the day. Students in this study even maintained several addresses that they simultaneously checked – one for school and one or more for personal communication. Considering this, that students used email to enhance student protest was not surprising. The discovery that students used email to streamline decision-making through electronic strategizing, however, was novel.

Perhaps it is a sign of today’s overcommitted student, whose valuable “face-time” for meetings can be easily supplemented by partial online meetings? This was discussed by Sara during her time at Swarthmore.

> Strategy session[s] via email would happen when we were on vacations (winter and summer) and couldn't meet, or when things seemed to be changing so fast we couldn't get a handle on it, or when a split started to occur in the group regarding how aggressive to be with the administration, which seemed to happen in a cycle. We always had to meet in person to truly resolve it, but email was a way for people to put their cards on the table, so that the meetings could be shorter or we could at least start knowing where most people stood—but in person meetings were what worked for making sure everyone was on board—silence via email is much harder to read than silence in a in-person meeting.

Though an ongoing dialog is easily accomplished by two people replying and neglecting to erase previous replies, such an exchange between group members was a unique finding.

The proliferation of email distribution lists among student groups (usually a public and one or more private lists), coupled with the abundance of national and other group email lists that students belonged to, in addition to the two to three personal email accounts would seem overwhelming to unravel. Adding an ongoing and participatory group strategic planning list to this seems inconceivable. For Wendy, who noticed that especially after the sit-in she began getting even more electronic correspondence, the emails didn't make her any "less interested" because "its nice to stay afloat." She believed that this was part of being involved. For students, strategizing via email fit well within the organization/mobilization category, as it allowed them to work out issues without trying to accomplish the near impossible–scheduling a meeting time that would work for everyone.

*Technological Immediacy*

Though common technological uses existed among the earlier and more recent campus living wage campaigns, the availability of new electronically-enhanced tactics influenced each campaign differently. For example, technologies such as Web logs (blogs), Facebook, and text messaging made instant information and contact much more possible for the most recent campaigns. A reliance on technology was increasingly evident in each group, largely as a result of the introduction of new electronic aids. Harvard (PSLM) students, for example, had access to only two Internet connections, and therefore delegated online-related tasks to specific members. Students at both Washington University and recently at the University of Virginia accessed wireless networks that all students with a laptop could easily utilize. For Washington University

students, this resulted in frequent Web site updates, instant messenger advice, community and support emails, and electronic communication with countless media outlets.

For Johns Hopkins, Swarthmore, and Harvard (PSLM) students, technology was a helpful tool for gathering information, checking facts, organization, and mobilization. As each new "generation" of students became more technologically savvy and therefore accessible via Internet and cell phones, the availability of immediate assistance was introduced. A reliance on this support quickly followed. This was most recently demonstrated at Washington University, when students were able to execute a 19-day occupation of the admissions office with less than two weeks planning – most of which was accomplished though electronically-enhanced communication immediately before and continuously throughout, the protest action (Biddix, 2006).

## Limitations

The primary weakness of the sequential explanatory design is the length of time required to collect data in phases (Creswell, 2003). The sample was delimited to account for this limitation by allowing a detailed study on a small population. A second limitation to this design is the potential of data loss from transfer between phases. Though a primary dataset was created in the first phase and utilized throughout the study, transfer of qualitative to quantitative to social networks data may have resulted in the loss of some information. The population suggested by the sequential analysis consisted mostly of students from elite, private universities. Future studies should consider different student populations. In addition, because this study used multiple research methods, limitations are specific to each phase.

In phase one, the initial dataset was created using multiple databases and newspaper sources. By using incidents only reported in newspaper databases, it is inevitable that protests at smaller, less-publicized institutions were missed. To help minimize data loss, a multi-phase data collection strategy was utilized. Inaccuracy from transferring qualitative data to numerical data, then clustering and categorizing results for analysis may have resulted in data loss through coding errors. Predictors were combined to reduce a validity threat to the logistic regression analyses due to low case-to-predictor ratio, minimizing error anticipated with using the full dataset.

In phase two, the dataset generated from the quantitative analysis suggested Web sites for further study, minimizing a primary problem with social network analysis – selection bias. In addition, hyperlinks between Web sites were visually recorded to minimize bias created by using search engines to perform the task. Links were delimited to .edu and .org domains, and though this was not an issue in most cases (these two domains included most sites), some links between sites, such as commercial domains, were not added to the dataset. A limitation to using Web site data is the transitory nature of Web page maintenance and upkeep. Since the content changes from time to time, only the most recently updated functioning version of the site was used. In some cases, however, Internet Archive (http://www.archive.org/) was searched to account for broken links. The update most closely corresponding with the most notable visible action (from the quantitative dataset) was used.

In phase three, Web sites and relations from the previous phase were used to suggest individuals for interviews. This helped minimize bias associated with sample selection in qualitative studies. Another limitation is the subjective nature of opinions

generated in interview analysis. Interviews were conducted only with student activists and supporting organizations and not with administrators, though facts were cross-referenced between participant observations and newspaper sources. A third limitation involved the use of instant messaging software for data collection. Not all participants were comfortable with using the technology and therefore may not have provided as in-depth answers as in-person interviews may have generated. Finally, the results of this qualitative study may not be generalizable to all populations, due to a small sample and narrow focus. Comparison of data from the three phases of inquiry may help minimize this limitation.

## Summary

This chapter reviewed the results, discussed findings, and considered the limitations of the study. Chapter nine considers the significance of the study, implications for student affairs administrators, and suggestions for future research.

*[If I were conducting this study], I'd ask about the extent to which student-to-student personal relationships can actually be converted to activism. Like, can you communicate with someone largely through IM and Facebook and actually organize them to come out to an event and support it if they weren't already inclined to do so? Or is that still a process that happens almost exclusively in person? Because text can be a less emotionally engaging medium (although becoming more so), I would suspect that people can't move other people's politics. It certainly seems so from LISTSERV interaction - political discussion becomes relegated to flame-wars and polemicizing, not actual engaged discussion. Are there ways that this is shifting? At least, that's what I'd like to know. . .*
*– Tom, USAS Staff Member*

# *CHAPTER NINE*

# THE POWER OF ESTUDENTPROTEST

## Introduction

Today's student protest campaigns begin electronically well before the "real life" action takes place. The capabilities afforded by electronically-enhanced tactics allow students to plan, coordinate, mobilize, and execute actions. Perhaps most notably, the Internet and cell phones also allow students to extensively share tactics and assistance before, during, and after a significant action. This is the power of estudentprotest.

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the concept of estudentprotest. The results of this multi-method analysis have revealed the evolution, current uses, and challenges of student use of the Internet and cell phones for student activism. This final chapter begins with a definition of estudentprotest, then discusses the significance of the study, recommendations for student affairs administrators, and suggestions for future research.

## Defining and Describing Estudentprotest

Multiple pathways in this study have led to an operational definition of estudentprotest. Beginning with a discussion of student use of computers and of student

activism, the concept of students integrating ICT and protest action was hypothesized. An historical review of the tactics of student activism followed, tracing the tactical innovations introduced on college campuses from Harvard's founding until present. Contemporary literature utilizing Internet technologies was reviewed, including a discussion of the newly introduced cyberactivism terminology. After an analytical journey involving three distinct, but complementary methods, forms of electronically-enhanced student activism were identified. The impact of such tactics has been discussed and implications follow. This journey ends with the introduction of the term, estudentprotest.

In the terminology section of the introduction, student activism was defined as subject, while protest was viewed as the expression of that subject. Estudentprotest was temporarily defined as a tactic of student protest. This study further expanded this definition. Incorporating the results of this study, estudentprotest is defined as the following:

Estudentprotest:

> An electronically-enhanced expression of student activism to aid in student protest. The forms of estudentprotest may include 1) tactics that enhance or complement existing types of protest actions, 2) tactics that rely exclusively on the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs).

A discussion of the significance of estudentprotest follows.

## Significance

### *Overall*

An abundance of student activism research was reviewed, summarized, and discussed in this study. Analysis revealed that few works detailed the tactics of student protest. This study contributed an extensive historical and contemporary review of the

issues and tactics of student activism to the higher education literature. Additional practical and theoretical considerations suggested by this study follow.

*Practical*

National surveys on student engagement continue to reveal the variety of ways in which students utilize ICT in college. The use of Internet, cell phone, and related technologies creates unique expectations for administrators and others working with college students. Among these, this study revealed that students have become so reliant on electronic communications that they anticipate immediate replies when using such technologies.

This was a reasonable expectation for the students interviewed in this study, who were never far enough away from an Internet connection or cell phones to delay correspondence. The rest of the world is not yet this accessible, and life after college may prove frustrating for students in transition. As each new generation of students becomes more reliant on communication technologies to create and sustain relationships, the sense of immediacy may prove difficult. The practical significance of this study is a warning about the potential issues created by technological immediacy. The specifics of such issues can only be speculated.

*Theoretical*

Estudentprotest is merely one way in which students are using technology in college. National surveys on student engagement indicate that student activities – from studying to staying connected with family and friends – continue to go online. As traditional forms of student/student and student/institution associations electronically

relocate, the implications for institutional involvement, student development, and civic engagement may become more complicated.

Each new generation of students are more comfortable with the introduction and evolution of electronic technologies, easily adapting them to their daily lives. Since this study began, for example, the use of social networking software has become part of the culture of relationship-building among college students. In addition, personal online forums, such as Weblogs, now help students connect with each other and express themselves to the world. Student affairs administrators who are not adaptive to new technologies will have a difficult time communicating, engaging, and maintaining relationships as student reliance on technology grows.

## Recommendations for Student Affairs Administrators

This study suggests several recommendations for student affairs administrators, particularly those working directly with students. Recommendations are divided into two sections. The first section discusses the relationship of estudentprotest and student engagement, using a student development's recent classification of activism with democratic values as a frame for discussion. The second section is more generally focused, providing practical recommendations for administrators working with today's technologically-savvy students.

### *Developing Democratic Ideals*

Recently, higher education researchers have paired student political activism and student development theory for complementary study (Astin, 1999; Hamrick, 1998). Previous research had dismissed student activism as behavioral deviance, not as a developmental opportunity. In the past 15 years, however, researchers have begun

relating student expressions of dissent as democratic forms of civic engagement. Paired with the Internet's capability to "equalize" democratic processes by allowing mass participation (Rheingold, 1991), student activism using the Internet is a promising means for discussing the use of technology to promote democratic ideals and teach civic engagement.

The basic actions of protest movements – mobilizing others, forming consensus and advocating for issues that benefit the common good – according to Hamrick (1998), easily align with democratic principles. The capabilities of the Internet allow activism in many forms, from simply signing a petition to discussing strategy for major forms of expression. In either case, student affairs administrators have a developmental opportunity to teach democratic ideals by using student activism as a ready example.

Following Astin's (1999) call for higher education practitioners to be doing more to educate students on democratic ideals, conversations regarding the Internet and activism are a practical means of accomplishing this recommendation by relating it to activities that students already seem to be doing. Levine and Cureton (1998b) reported that 16% of students surveyed on protest tactics indicated that they had used email as a form of protest the previous year. Though some activists do not consider simply clicking a button as "real" activism, students believe that it is an expression of discontent. The motivations for protesting, especially using Internet technologies, could be discussed and applied to civic engagement.

Finally, discussing activism in electronic forms would help educators teach students how to evaluate participatory democracy. For example, does it count if it's not "real-life?" Researchers have shown that individuals who use the Internet for forms of

protest are more civically engaged in "real-life" democratic expression than those who do not use electronic technologies (Katz, Rice, & Aspden, 2001). Student affairs administrators have an opportunity to truly impact tomorrow's engaged citizenry by helping them understand the critical link between democratic values, expressions of dissent, and the use of the Internet as a future democratic change agent (Norris, 2001).

*What Goes Online*

Social network applications such as Facebook (www.facebook.com), coupled with personal Weblogs and Web pages have allowed students to create online identities to exhibit and supplement their "real-world" personalities. This study utilized all three technologies to study forms of estudentprotest. The amount of personal information students provided online was striking. The most secure of the three forms were Facebook profiles, which were only accessible with a .edu email address and generally only individuals from the same campus can view details without requesting them. Nonetheless, the information students provided was surprisingly revealing.

Students freely post pictures of themselves online engaging in a variety of illegal activities (from mild, such as smoking in the residence halls to more serious, such as binge drinking and/or marijuana use), seemingly without thought of consequences. Personal information such as cell phone numbers and addresses were also semi-publicly viewable. Student Web logs and Web pages, while generally not as explicit, but certainly more open for public viewing, also contained a variety of viewable images, words, and other personal information.

Overall, it seemed that students do not consider who is easily able to view online profiles. At institutions, administrators can access Facebook pages as means of verifying

students' well-being. Recent news stories in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (Read, 2006; Troop, Birchard, & Rainey, 2006) have revealed students facing reprimand for the illegal activities documented on their profiles that administrators have discovered. Also, students seemed unaware that potential employers could easily view Web pages or read Weblogs by simply searching the Internet. Even if information is removed, things have a way of "sticking around," as Hal put it, on the Internet even after individuals have stopped updating them.

More seriously, students were posting personal identification information that could be dangerous if the wrong person became interested. For example, stalking would be very easy to accomplish by viewing a profile that contained phone numbers, addresses, and even class schedules. College student administrators need to be aware of what students are putting online. They should help students understand the potential issues associated with publicly revealing so much information about their personal lives.

*Helping Students Unplug*

Students should be made aware of the implications of online-only communication. Several interviewees feared that increased use of technology, coupled with a persistent digital divide, was preventing them from forming meaningful relationships with the workers whom they were fighting for. This certainly has repercussions for other areas as well.

Several students interviewed for this study could not imagine life without the Internet or cell phones. How would they communicate? How would they meet others? How would they maintain relationships? Such questions are not exclusive to student activists, and perhaps foretell a future of tech-reliant graduates that will have difficulty

working with others in offline, or real-world capacities. Administrators working with students should answer emails with phone calls, or suggest in-person meetings to discuss issues.

Today's college students are among the most connected population, increasingly using the Internet and cell phone to supplement activities that once took place in person. Colleges and universities can operate in isolation – students can conceivably get food, shelter, transportation, and make friends in such closed institutional societies. The world is much more open. Administrators will do a great service to students by helping them understand that, with few exceptions among wired communities (Wellman, 1999), not everyone is reliant on immediate communication to conduct business and maintain relationships.

The continual evolution of technology was already creating a divide between students in the early 2000s and contemporary students (many of the earlier students had never logged onto Facebook, much less thought of using it for activism). As new generations are increasingly technologically fluent and adaptive, administrators should help ground student in "real-world" relationships by suggesting personal, non-electronic forms of communication.

## Suggestions for Future Research

Future research on estudentprotest should consider several suggestions. Following the previous recommendations, developmental theorists should incorporate estudentprotest into research on student activism and democratic ideals. As the activities of college students (as well as graduates) continue to go online, an inclusive theoretical framework should be developed.

Future studies should include other protest issues and student populations. As indicated, student protest issues were varied during the 2004 – 2005 academic year. Further research should use similar assessment procedures on other issues to incorporate different student populations.

As new forms of technology are introduced, the tactical forms of estudentprotest will need to be adjusted. Further studies should seek to include new technologies as they are introduced, or to modify Vegh's (2003a) existing classification to incorporate such tactics.

Similarly, although forms of action/reaction or hacktivist tactics were not uncovered in this study, it is probable that online-based protest attacks have been perpetrated against institutions. Though perhaps difficult to discover, information technology administrators could be sampled to help locate such forms.

The perspective of administrators was not included in this study. A subsequent study could use similar techniques to map a network of counter-tactics among administrators. Such actions were mentioned by students, but not explored in this study.

Finally, methodologically, future studies of estudentprotest using social network data could incorporate online documents, rather then hyperlinks, to map associations among students and off-campus organizations. Also, off-line associations could be assessed using a survey instrument, and then compared with the results of this study.

## Conclusion

This study was intended as a contemporary follow-up to Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti's (1975) study of student disruption, *The Power of Protest*. Though methodologically different, the two studies are conceptually related by their

comprehensive evaluation of the tactics and outcomes of student activism. For Astin et al., the power of protest was its impact on the students, faculty, and the institution. In this study, the power of estudentprotest may be its impact on the future. The explosion of Internet and cell phone technologies, coupled with the evolution of electronic-enhanced and electronic-exclusive forms of activism suggests that this is merely the beginning of the estudentprotest era. The success of student protest is only limited to the tactics that students utilize and the counter-tactics that administrators employ. The promise of estudentprotest is its potential as a democratic educator, demonstrating the power of electronic protest to create and sustain democratic change.

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# APPENDICES

Appendix A. Total population of reported student protests for the 2004 – 2005 academic year

| Date | Institution | Issue | News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 09/14/04 | Numerous | Republican National Convention | USA Today |
| 09/20/04 | University of California - San Francisco | Enrollment policy changes (would hurt minority enrollment) | San Francisco Chronicle (CA) |
| 09/20/04 | University of California - Berkeley | Enrollment policy changes (would hurt minority enrollment) | San Francisco Chronicle (CA) |
| 09/21/04 | Colorado State University | Alcohol at sporting events ban | Denver Post |
| 09/24/04 | Atlanta Area Colleges and Universities | Statewide tuition increase | Atlanta Journal - Constitution |
| 10/01/04 | Lesley College in Cambridge | Presidential election (RNC, specifically) | Boston Globe |
| 10/08/04 | Augusta State University | Statewide tuition increase | Augusta Chronicle, The (GA) |
| 10/08/04 | Georgia State University | Statewide tuition increase | Augusta Chronicle, The (GA) |
| 10/09/04 | University of Georgia | Statewide tuition increase | Atlanta Journal - Constitution |
| 10/14/04 | Cal State San Marcos | Michael Moore visit | North County Times (Escondido, CA) |
| 11/04/04 | California college students | Presidential election results | San Francisco Chronicle (CA) |
| 11/23/04 | Georgetown University | Politics in Darfur | Washington Post |
| 11/23/04 | George Washington University | Politics in Darfur | Washington Post |
| 11/23/04 | Colgate University | Politics in Darfur | Washington Post |
| 12/05/04 | Boston Area Colleges and Universities | War in Iraq | Boston Globe |
| 12/12/04 | Hofstra University | Coca Cola presence on campus (human rights policies) | Daily News (New York, NY) |
| 12/22/04 | St. Lawrence University | Computer policy change (to allow review & monitor of files) | Watertown Daily Times (NY) |
| 01/02/05 | American University | College president misspending | Washington Post, The |
| 01/03/05 | University of Michigan | Presidential inauguration | Washington Post, The |
| 01/20/05 | Villanova University | Administrative decision to honor deceased professor | Philadelphia Inquirer, The |
| 01/21/05 | Numerous | Presidential inauguration | Chicago Tribune |
| 01/28/05 | Howard University | Presidential visit (policies surrounding) | Washington Post, The |
| 02/11/05 | University of Southern California Law School | Military recruitment discriminatory policies | Los Angeles Times |
| 02/12/05 | UC's Hastings College of the Law (SF) | Military recruitment discriminatory policies | San Francisco Chronicle |
| 02/16/05 | UNC Charlotte | Affirmative action opinions | Charlotte Observer, The |
| 02/16/05 | New York Medical College | Administrative policies preventing a gay student group | New York Times |
| 02/18/05 | Yale University | University's treatment of women and minorities | Hartford Courant, The |
| 02/25/05 | Yale University | Financial aid policy reform | New York Times |
| 03/02/05 | University of Wisconsin-Whitewater | Ward Churchill visit | Chicago Tribune (IL) |
| 03/09/05 | San Francisco State University | Military recruitment discriminatory policies | San Francisco Chronicle |
| 03/09/05 | Kentucky Wesleyan College | Administrative decisions affecting academics & athletics | Messenger-Inquirer (Owensboro, KY) |
| 03/14/05 | University of Missouri-Columbia | President Bush's social security plan | Columbia Daily Tribune (MO) |

Appendix A. Total population of reported student protests for the 2004 – 2005 academic year, cont.

| Date | Institution | Issue | News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 03/21/05 | Georgetown University | Living wage for campus workers | Washington Post |
| 03/22/05 | Washington University in St. Louis | Taco Bell wage practices | St. Louis Post - Dispatch |
| 03/25/05 | Diablo Valley College | Plans to cut faculty pay | San Francisco Chronicle |
| 03/25/05 | Georgetown University | Living-wage campaign | Washington Post, The |
| 03/27/05 | Colorado State University | Lessening of state sanctions for marijuana | Denver Post |
| 03/27/05 | University of Colorado | Lessening of state sanctions for marijuana | Denver Post |
| 03/29/05 | Columbia University | Graduate student right to unionize | Christian Science Monitor |
| 04/06/05 | Swarthmore College | University investments in Darfur | Boston Globe |
| 04/06/05 | Harvard University | University investments in Darfur | Boston Globe |
| 04/07/05 | University of Massachusetts at Boston | Administrative hiring practices (discriminatory) | Boston Globe, The |
| 04/07/05 | Columbia University | Academic freedom (due to Middle East conflict) | Christian Science Monitor |
| 04/08/05 | Howard University | Living-wage campaign | Washington Post, The |
| 04/08/05 | University of Mary Washington | Higher wages for contract and classified employees | Washington Post, The |
| 04/14/05 | Emerson College | Faculty right to unionize | Boston Globe, The |
| 04/15/05 | University of California campuses | Stagnant wages & unfair university spending practices | San Jose Mercury News |
| 04/18/05 | University of Illinois at Chicago | Military recruitment and war | Chicago Tribune |
| 04/18/05 | Washington University in St. Louis | Living wage for campus workers | St. Louis Post - Dispatch |
| 04/19/05 | University of Pennsylvania | Graduate student right to unionize | Philadelphia Inquirer, The |
| 04/19/05 | Kentucky Wesleyan College | Administrative decisions affecting academics & athletics | Messenger-Inquirer (Owensboro, KY) |
| 04/19/05 | Washington University in St. Louis | Better pay for the school's lowest-paid employees | Christian Science Monitor |
| 04/20/05 | Yale University | Graduate student right to unionize | Philadelphia Inquirer, The |
| 04/20/05 | Columbia University | Graduate student right to unionize | Philadelphia Inquirer, The |
| 04/20/05 | UC Santa Cruz | Campus worker pay, campus fiscal policies, war in Iraq | San Francisco Chronicle |
| 04/20/05 | Boston College | Gay rights on campus (nondiscrimination policy) | Boston Globe |
| 04/28/05 | San Francisco State University | Anti-military rally | San Francisco Chronicle |
| 04/30/05 | Laney College | Local policies concerning police | San Francisco Chronicle |
| 05/04/05 | San Jose State University | Student fee increases | San Jose Mercury News |
| 05/05/05 | University of Massachusetts - Amherst | Admissions and recruitment policies (too selective) | Boston Globe, The |
| 05/14/05 | University of Minnesota - General College | Regent changes to academic programs | Saint Paul Pioneer Press (MN) |
| 05/20/05 | Cal Poly - San Luis Obispo | City council noise ordinance | The Tribune, San Luis Obispo |
| 05/20/05 | Calvin College | President Bush's social & political policies | The Dallas Morning News |
| 05/23/05 | Calvin College | President Bush's social & political policies | New York Times |

Appendix A. Total population of reported student protests for the 2004 – 2005 academic year, cont.

| Date | Institution | Issue | News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 05/23/05 | Baruch College in New York City | Arab-Israeli conflict | New York Times |
| 05/23/05 | Calvin College | President Bush's social & political policies | Washington Times, The |
| 05/23/05 | Calvin College | President Bush's policies and war in Iraq | Washington Post, The |
| 05/24/05 | University of Massachusetts | Racial bias in chancellor hiring | Boston Globe |
| 05/26/05 | University of California System | UC's involvement in nuclear weapons R & D | San Francisco Chronicle |
| 05/28/05 | University of Washington - Seattle | Military recruitment (aggressive) | Irish Times |
| 05/28/05 | Seattle Central Community College | Military recruitment (aggressive) | Irish Times |
| 04/19/05** | Yale University | Better pay for the school's lowest-paid employees | Christian Science Monitor |
| 04/19/05** | Columbia University | Better pay for the school's lowest-paid employees | Christian Science Monitor |
| 04/19/05** | University of Massachusetts | Better pay for the school's lowest-paid employees | Christian Science Monitor |
| 5/3/2005* | San Francisco State University | Military recruitment and war | USA Today |
| 5/3/2005* | University at Albany | Military recruitment and war | USA Today |
| 5/3/2005* | University of Wisconsin-Madison | Military recruitment and war | USA Today |
| 5/3/2005* | Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh | Military recruitment and war | USA Today |
| 5/3/2005* | Seattle Central Community College | Military recruitment and war | USA Today |

*Reporter noted protest had occurred on these and other campuses since January 2005

**Reporter noted that similar protests were expected at the following institutions

***Reporter noted protest had occurred in December 2004

Appendix B. Initial U-Wire Search

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10/27/97 | University of Southern California | 384 | Daily Trojan |
| 04/20/98 | University of Virginia | 379 | Cavalier Daily |
| 11/13/98 | University of Texas-Austin | 374 | Daily Texan |
| 05/03/99 | Harvard University | 311 | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/12/99 | Harvard University | 307 | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/18/99 | Harvard University | 305 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/22/99 | University of Southern California | 294 | Daily Trojan |
| 11/04/99 | Harvard University | 279 | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/11/99 | University of Utah | 277 | Daily Utah Chronicle |
| 11/17/99 | Harvard University | 270 | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/17/99 | Brown University | 271 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 12/01/99 | University of Virginia | 269 | Cavalier Daily |
| 03/03/00 | Johns Hopkins University | 251 | The Johns Hopkins News-Letter |
| 03/03/00 | Harvard University | 252 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/27/00 | Brandeis University | 247 | The Justice |
| 04/05/00 | Stanford University | 238 | The Stanford Daily |
| 05/01/00 | Harvard University | 228 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/10/00 | University of Pittsburg | 202 | The Pitt News |
| 12/07/00 | University of Massachusetts at Boston | 193 | The Daily Free Press |
| 12/08/00 | Harvard University | 192 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/15/01 | Harvard University | 188 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/13/01 | Harvard University | 182 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/19/01 | Brown University | 181 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 04/05/01 | Brown University | 178 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 04/10/01 | American University | 174 | The Eagle |
| 05/04/01 | Northwestern University | 149 | Daily Northwestern |
| 05/17/01 | University of California-Los Angeles | 135 | Daily Bruin |
| 05/25/01 | University of Connecticut | N/A | The Chronicle of Higher Education |
| 06/04/01 | University of California-San Diego | 133 | The Guardian |
| 06/05/01 | Harvard University | 131,132,136,139,165,171 | Harvard Crimson |

Appendix B. Initial U-Wire Search, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 06/07/01 | University of California-San Diego | 130 | The Guardian |
| 10/03/01 | Tufts University | 120 | Tufts Daily |
| 10/11/01 | Harvard University | 117 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/18/01 | Tufts University | 116 | Tufts Daily |
| 10/19/01 | University of Wisconsin | 115 | Badger Herald |
| 10/25/01 | Harvard University | 114 | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/15/01 | Tufts University | 111 | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/29/01 | University of Pittsburg | 107 | The Pitt News |
| 12/03/01 | Harvard University | 104 | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/03/01 | Harvard University | 105 | Harvard Crimson |
| 01/18/02 | Harvard University | 102 | Harvard Crimson |
| 01/23/02 | Harvard University | 101 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/25/02 | Stanford University | 98 | The Stanford Daily |
| 02/25/02 | Harvard University | 99 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/25/02 | Harvard University | 99 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/27/02 | Harvard University | 95 | The Daily Free Press |
| 04/08/02 | Morehouse College | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/08/02 | Michigan State University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/08/02 | Duke University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/08/02 | Case Western Reserve University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/08/02 | University of Pittsburg | 93 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/11/02 | Swarthmore College | 90 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 05/30/02 | Stanford University | 84 | The Stanford Daily |
| 06/17/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 80 | The Pitt News |
| 06/26/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 81 | The Pitt News |
| 10/07/02 | Tufts University | 77 | Tufts Daily |
| 11/01/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 75 | The Pitt News |
| 12/10/02 | Carnegie Mellon University | 72 | The Tartan |
| 03/09/03 | Harvard University | 338 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/12/03 | University of Virginia | 70 | Cavalier Daily |

Appendix B. Initial U-Wire Search, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3/18/2003 | Harvard University | 69 | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/23/03 | University of Virginia | 65 | Cavalier Daily |
| 06/04/03 | Stanford University | 62 | The Stanford Daily |
| 06/25/03 | University of Pittsburgh | 61 | The Pitt News |
| 04/05/04 | George Washington University | 53 | The GW Hatchet |
| 04/07/04 | George Washington University | 52 | DC BUREAU |
| 05/24/04 | Stanford University | 45 | The Stanford Daily |
| 05/27/04 | Stanford University | 45 | The Stanford Daily |
| 10/05/04 | University of Virginia | 43 | Cavalier Daily |
| 10/11/04 | SUNY-Binghamton | 41 | Pipe Dream |
| 10/18/04 | Swarthmore College | 59 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 11/05/04 | Swarthmore College | 40 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 11/19/04 | Stanford University | 38 | The Stanford Daily |
| 03/17/05 | University of California-Los Angeles | 33 | Daily Bruin |
| 04/12/05 | Texas A&M University | 22 | The Battalion |
| 04/25/05 | Washington University | 14, 23, 26 | The Student Life |
| 05/06/05 | Kent State | 12 | Kent Stater |
| 05/12/05 | Georgetown University | 10, 25, 29 | The Georgetown Voice |
| 11/17/05 | University of Virginia | 2, 31 | Cavalier Daily |
| 12/01/05 | University of Virginia | 1 | Cavalier Daily |

Appendix C. Additional College Newspaper Search

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 10/27/97 | University of Southern California | 384 | Daily Trojan |
| 04/20/98 | University of Virginia | 379 | Cavalier Daily |
| 11/13/98 | University of Texas-Austin | 374 | Daily Texan |
| 03/03/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/08/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/09/99 | Harvard University | 338 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/26/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/19/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/03/99 | Harvard University | 311 | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/12/99 | Harvard University | 307 | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/18/99 | Harvard University | 305 | Harvard Crimson |
| 06/23/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 09/27/99 | University of Virginia | Newspaper Web site | Cavalier Daily |
| 10/22/99 | University of Southern California | 294 | Daily Trojan |
| 10/25/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/04/99 | Harvard University | 279 | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/11/99 | University of Utah | 277 | Daily Utah Chronicle |
| 11/17/99 | Brown University | 271 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 11/17/99 | Harvard University | 270 | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/01/99 | University of Virginia | 269 | Cavalier Daily |
| 12/02/99 | University of Virginia | Newspaper Web site | Cavalier Daily |
| 12/10/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/18/00 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 03/03/00 | Harvard University | 252 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/03/00 | Johns Hopkins University | 251 | The Johns Hopkins News-Letter |
| 03/27/00 | Brandeis University | 247 | The Justice |
| 04/05/00 | Stanford University | 238 | The Stanford Daily |
| 04/07/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/28/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/01/00 | Harvard University | 228 | Harvard Crimson |

Appendix C. Additional College Newspaper Search, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 05/06/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/26/00 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 10/10/00 | University of Pittsburgh | 202 | The Pitt News |
| 12/01/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/04/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/07/00 | Boston University | 193 | The Daily Free Press |
| 12/07/00 | Emerson College | Newspaper Web site | The Berkeley Beacon |
| 12/08/00 | Harvard University | 192 | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/19/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 01/25/01 | University of Utah | Newspaper Web site | Daily Utah Chronicle |
| 02/01/01 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 02/15/01 | Harvard University | 188 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/15/01 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 3/1/2001 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 03/12/01 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/13/01 | Harvard University | 182 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/19/01 | Brown University | 181 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 03/21/01 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/01/01 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 04/02/01 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/05/01 | Brown University | 178 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 04/05/01 | University of Connecticut | Newspaper Web site | The Daily Campus |
| 04/10/01 | American University | 174 | The Eagle |
| 04/27/01 | Northwestern University | Newspaper Web site | Daily Northwestern |
| 05/03/01 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 05/04/01 | Northwestern University | 149 | Daily Northwestern |
| 05/25/01 | University of Connecticut | N/A | The Chronicle of Higher Education |
| 06/04/01 | University of California-San Diego | 133 | The Guardian |
| 06/05/01 | Harvard University | 131,132,136,139,165,171 | Harvard Crimson |
| 06/07/01 | University of California-San Diego | 130 | The Guardian |

Appendix C. Additional College Newspaper Search, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 09/01/01 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 09/27/01 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/03/01 | Tufts University | 120 | Tufts Daily |
| 10/11/01 | Harvard University | 117 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/18/01 | Tufts University | 116 | Tufts Daily |
| 10/19/01 | University of Wisconsin | 115 | Badger Herald |
| 10/22/01 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 10/25/01 | Harvard University | 114 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/25/01 | SUNY-Binghamton | Newspaper Web site | Pipe Dream |
| 10/29/01 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 11/15/01 | Tufts University | 111 | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/15/01 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 11/29/01 | University of Pittsburgh | 107 | The Pitt News |
| 12/03/01 | Harvard University | 104 | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/03/01 | Harvard University | 105 | Harvard Crimson |
| 01/18/02 | Harvard University | 102 | Harvard Crimson |
| 01/23/02 | Harvard University | 101 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/04/02 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/13/02 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 02/21/02 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 02/25/02 | Harvard University | 99 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/25/02 | Harvard University | 99 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/25/02 | Stanford University | 98 | The Stanford Daily |
| 02/27/02 | Harvard University | 95 | The Daily Free Press |
| 03/20/02 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 04/05/02 | Johns Hopkins University | Newspaper Web site | The Johns Hopkins News-Letter |
| 04/05/02 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 04/08/02 | Case Western Reserve University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/08/02 | Duke University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/08/02 | Morehouse College | 92 | DC BUREAU |

Appendix C. Additional College Newspaper Search, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 04/08/02 | Michigan State University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/11/02 | Duke University | Newspaper Web site | The Chronicle |
| 04/11/02 | Swarthmore College | 90 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 04/18/02 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/30/02 | Stanford University | 84 | The Stanford Daily |
| 06/17/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 80 | The Pitt News |
| 06/26/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 81 | The Pitt News |
| 09/13/02 | Boston University | Newspaper Web site | The Daily Free Press |
| 10/01/02 | Northeastern University | Newspaper Web site | The Daily Free Press |
| 10/07/02 | Tufts University | 77 | Tufts Daily |
| 10/21/02 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/24/02 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 11/01/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 75 | The Pitt News |
| 11/15/02 | Johns Hopkins University | Newspaper Web site | The Johns Hopkins News-Letter |
| 12/10/02 | Carnegie Mellon University | 72 | The Tartan |
| 03/12/03 | University of Virginia | 70 | Cavalier Daily |
| 03/18/03 | Harvard University | 69 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/21/03 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 04/04/03 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 04/23/03 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 04/23/03 | University of Virginia | 65 | Cavalier Daily |
| 06/04/03 | Stanford University | 62 | The Stanford Daily |
| 10/23/03 | American University | Newspaper Web site | The Eagle |
| 11/18/03 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 03/08/04 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 03/08/04 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 04/01/04 | George Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The GW Hatchet |
| 04/01/04 | George Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The GW Hatchet |
| 04/05/04 | George Washington University | 53 | The GW Hatchet |
| 04/05/04 | Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The Student Life |

Appendix C. Additional College Newspaper Search, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 04/07/04 | George Washington University | 52 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/13/04 | University of Virginia | Newspaper Web site | Cavalier Daily |
| 04/20/04 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 04/23/04 | Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The Student Life |
| 05/03/04 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/18/04 | Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The Student Life |
| 05/23/04 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 05/24/04 | Stanford University | 45 | The Stanford Daily |
| 05/27/04 | Stanford University | 45 | The Stanford Daily |
| 10/05/04 | University of Virginia | 43 | Cavalier Daily |
| 10/18/04 | Swarthmore College | 59 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 10/21/04 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 11/05/04 | Swarthmore College | 40 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 11/19/04 | Stanford University | 38 | The Stanford Daily |
| 02/01/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 02/04/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 02/11/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 03/17/05 | University of California-Los Angeles | 33 | Daily Bruin |
| 03/18/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 03/28/05 | Duke University | Newspaper Web site | The Chronicle |
| 04/06/05 | Georgetown University | 25,29 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/11/05 | Texas A&M University | Newspaper Web site | The Battalion |
| 04/14/05 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 04/15/05 | Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The Student Life |
| 04/22/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 04/25/05 | Washington University | 14, 23, 26 | The Student Life |
| 05/06/05 | Kent State | 12 | Kent Stater |
| 09/16/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 09/29/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 09/30/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |

Appendix C. Additional College Newspaper Search, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10/11/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/21/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/22/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 10/31/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/01/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/02/05 | University of Virginia | Newspaper Web site | Cavalier Daily |
| 11/17/05 | University of Virginia | 2, 31 | Cavalier Daily |
| 12/01/05 | University of Virginia | 1 | Cavalier Daily |

Appendix D. Chain-Sampled College Newspaper Search, by Institution

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 04/10/01 | American University | 174 | The Eagle |
| 10/23/03 | American University | Newspaper Web site | The Eagle |
| 03/27/00 | Brandeis University | 247 | The Justice |
| 04/05/01 | Brown University | 178 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 03/19/01 | Brown University | 181 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 11/17/99 | Brown University | 271 | Brown Daily Herald |
| 12/10/02 | Carnegie Mellon University | 72 | The Tartan |
| 04/08/02 | Case Western Reserve University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 03/28/05 | Duke University | Newspaper Web site | The Chronicle |
| 04/11/02 | Duke University | Newspaper Web site | The Chronicle |
| 04/08/02 | Duke University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/07/04 | George Washington University | 52 | DC BUREAU |
| 04/05/04 | George Washington University | 53 | The GW Hatchet |
| 04/01/04 | George Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The GW Hatchet |
| 04/01/04 | George Washington University | | The GW Hatchet |
| 04/06/05 | Georgetown University | 25,29 | DC BUREAU |
| 02/11/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 03/21/03 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 02/01/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 04/22/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 02/04/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 03/18/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 04/04/03 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 10/22/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 09/30/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 09/16/05 | Georgetown University | Newspaper Web site | The Hoya |
| 11/01/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/31/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/21/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/11/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |

Appendix D. Chain-Sampled College Newspaper Search, by Institution, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 09/29/05 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/03/04 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/18/03 | Harvard University | 69 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/21/02 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/18/02 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/27/02 | Harvard University | 95 | The Daily Free Press |
| 02/25/02 | Harvard University | 99 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/25/02 | Harvard University | 99 | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/04/02 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 01/23/02 | Harvard University | 101 | Harvard Crimson |
| 01/18/02 | Harvard University | 102 | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/03/01 | Harvard University | 104 | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/03/01 | Harvard University | 105 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/25/01 | Harvard University | 114 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/11/01 | Harvard University | 117 | Harvard Crimson |
| 06/05/01 | Harvard University | 131,132,136,139,165,171 | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/02/01 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/21/01 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/13/01 | Harvard University | 182 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/12/01 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 02/15/01 | Harvard University | 188 | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/19/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/08/00 | Harvard University | 192 | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/01/00 | Harvard University | 228 | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/04/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/01/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/06/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/28/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/07/00 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/03/00 | Harvard University | 252 | Harvard Crimson |

Appendix D. Chain-Sampled College Newspaper Search, by Institution, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11/17/99 | Harvard University | 270 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/25/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 12/10/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 11/04/99 | Harvard University | 279 | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/18/99 | Harvard University | 305 | Harvard Crimson |
| 06/23/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 04/19/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/12/99 | Harvard University | 307 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/26/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/08/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/03/99 | Harvard University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 05/03/99 | Harvard University | 311 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/09/99 | Harvard University | 338 | Harvard Crimson |
| 03/03/00 | Johns Hopkins University | 251 | The Johns Hopkins News-Letter |
| 11/15/02 | Johns Hopkins University | Newspaper Web site | The Johns Hopkins News-Letter |
| 04/05/02 | Johns Hopkins University | Newspaper Web site | The Johns Hopkins News-Letter |
| 05/04/01 | Northwestern University | 149 | Daily Northwestern |
| 04/27/01 | Northwestern University | Newspaper Web site | Daily Northwestern |
| 10/01/02 | Northeastern University | Newspaper Web site | The Daily Free Press |
| 11/19/04 | Stanford University | 38 | The Stanford Daily |
| 04/14/05 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 10/21/04 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 05/24/04 | Stanford University | 45 | The Stanford Daily |
| 05/27/04 | Stanford University | 45 | The Stanford Daily |
| 04/23/03 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 06/04/03 | Stanford University | 62 | The Stanford Daily |
| 05/30/02 | Stanford University | 84 | The Stanford Daily |
| 02/13/02 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 02/25/02 | Stanford University | 98 | The Stanford Daily |
| 02/18/00 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |

Appendix D. Chain-Sampled College Newspaper Search, by Institution, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 05/26/00 | Stanford University | Newspaper Web site | The Stanford Daily |
| 04/05/00 | Stanford University | 238 | The Stanford Daily |
| 03/08/04 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 03/08/04 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 05/23/04 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 04/20/04 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 11/18/03 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 04/01/01 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 09/01/01 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Tufts Daily |
| 09/27/01 | Tufts University | Newspaper Web site | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/07/02 | Tufts University | 77 | Tufts Daily |
| 11/15/01 | Tufts University | 111 | Harvard Crimson |
| 10/18/01 | Tufts University | 116 | Tufts Daily |
| 10/03/01 | Tufts University | 120 | Tufts Daily |
| 09/13/02 | Boston University | Newspaper Web site | The Daily Free Press |
| 12/07/00 | Boston University | 193 | The Daily Free Press |
| 10/22/99 | University of Southern California | 294 | Daily Trojan |
| 10/27/97 | University of Southern California | 384 | Daily Trojan |
| 04/25/05 | Washington University | 14, 23, 26 | The Student Life |
| 04/15/05 | Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The Student Life |
| 05/18/04 | Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The Student Life |
| 04/23/04 | Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The Student Life |
| 04/05/04 | Washington University | Newspaper Web site | The Student Life |
| 04/08/02 | Morehouse College | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 11/05/04 | Swarthmore College | 40 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 10/18/04 | Swarthmore College | 59 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 10/24/02 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 04/11/02 | Swarthmore College | 90 | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 02/01/01 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 02/15/01 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |

Appendix D. Chain-Sampled College Newspaper Search, by Institution, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 3/1/2001 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 05/03/01 | Swarthmore College | Newspaper Web site | Swarthmore Phoenix |
| 12/07/00 | Emerson College | Newspaper Web site | The Berkeley Beacon |
| 05/06/05 | Kent State | 12 | Kent Stater |
| 04/08/02 | Michigan State University | 92 | DC BUREAU |
| 10/25/01 | SUNY-Binghamton | Newspaper Web site | Pipe Dream |
| 04/11/05 | Texas A&M University | Newspaper Web site | The Battalion |
| 03/17/05 | University of California-Los Angeles | 33 | Daily Bruin |
| 06/07/01 | University of California-San Diego | 130 | The Guardian |
| 06/04/01 | University of California-San Diego | 133 | The Guardian |
| 04/05/01 | University of Connecticut | Newspaper Web site | The Daily Campus |
| 05/25/01 | University of Connecticut | N/A | The Chronicle of Higher Education |
| 04/05/02 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 03/20/02 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 11/29/01 | University of Pittsburgh | 107 | The Pitt News |
| 11/15/01 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 02/21/02 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 10/10/00 | University of Pittsburgh | 202 | The Pitt News |
| 10/29/01 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 10/22/01 | University of Pittsburgh | Newspaper Web site | The Pitt News |
| 11/01/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 75 | The Pitt News |
| 06/17/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 80 | The Pitt News |
| 06/26/02 | University of Pittsburgh | 81 | The Pitt News |
| 11/13/98 | University of Texas-Austin | 374 | Daily Texan |
| 11/11/99 | University of Utah | 277 | Daily Utah Chronicle |
| 01/25/01 | University of Utah | Newspaper Web site | Daily Utah Chronicle |
| 12/01/05 | University of Virginia | 1 | Cavalier Daily |
| 04/13/04 | University of Virginia | Newspaper Web site | Cavalier Daily |
| 11/17/05 | University of Virginia | 2, 31 | Cavalier Daily |
| 11/02/05 | University of Virginia | Newspaper Web site | Cavalier Daily |

Appendix D. Chain-Sampled College Newspaper Search, by Institution, cont.

| Date | Institution | LexisNexis™ Case # | Campus News Source |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10/05/04 | University of Virginia | 43 | Cavalier Daily |
| 04/23/03 | University of Virginia | 65 | Cavalier Daily |
| 03/12/03 | University of Virginia | 70 | Cavalier Daily |
| 09/27/99 | University of Virginia | Newspaper Web site | Cavalier Daily |
| 12/02/99 | University of Virginia | Newspaper Web site | Cavalier Daily |
| 12/01/99 | University of Virginia | 269 | Cavalier Daily |
| 04/20/98 | University of Virginia | 379 | Cavalier Daily |
| 10/19/01 | University of Wisconsin | 115 | Badger Herald |

Appendix E. Composite Variables for Campus Living Wage Protest Regression Analyses

| Composite Variable | Category Label n = 12 Predictor; n=2 Outcome | Percentage | Feature (n = 62) | Incidence (n = 158) Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| rq_2wage | Wage concerns | 91.8 | Wage concerns | 145 | 91.8 |
| rq_3laborben | Labor policies/benefits | 55.7 | Labor policies/benefits | 66 | 41.8 |
| | | | Workers rights | 33 | 20.9 |
| rq_4conrr | Contract renewal/renegotiation | 13.9 | Contract renewal/renegotiation | 22 | 13.9 |
| rq_5fac | Faculty | 35.4 | Faculty | 56 | 35.4 |
| rq_6admin | Administrators | 36.1 | Administrators | 57 | 36.1 |
| rq_7cwork | Campus workers | 36.1 | Campus workers | 57 | 36.1 |
| rq_8studot | Students, other institutions | 18.4 | Students (other institutions) | 18 | 11.4 |
| | | | Involvement with other institution/s | 26 | 16.5 |
| rq_9prestr | President and/or Trustees | | President or Chancellor | 39 | 24.7 |
| | | | Trustees | 14 | 8.9 |
| rq_10pol | Police | | Campus Police | 19 | 12.0 |
| | | | Local Police | 8 | 5.1 |
| Rq_11offsi | Off campus support/involvement | 49.4 | Community | 19 | 12.0 |
| | | | Labor union/s (local) | 33 | 20.9 |
| | | | Politician/s (local and/or state) | 18 | 11.4 |
| | | | Labor union/s (national) | 7 | 4.4 |
| | | | Politician/s (national) | 5 | 3.2 |
| | | | City council | 8 | 5.1 |
| | | | NGO/s (local and/or national) | 13 | 8.2 |
| | | | Workers Rights Consortium (WRC) | 8 | 5.1 |
| | | | American Rights at Work (ARW) | 1 | .6 |
| | | | Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) | 10 | 6.3 |
| | | | AFL-CIO | 5 | 3.2 |
| | | | Jobs with Justice (JWJ) | 10 | 6.3 |
| | | | United State Student Association (USSA) | 5 | 3.2 |
| | | | ACORN | 2 | 1.3 |

Appendix E. Composite Variables for Campus Living Wage Protest Regression Analyses, cont.

| Composite Variable | Category Label $n$ = 12 Predictor; $n$=2 Outcome | Percentage | Feature ($n$ = 62) | *Incidence* ($n$ = 158) Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| rq_13enondis | Electronic non-disruptive expression of dissent | 13.9 | Web site | 14 | 8.9 |
| | | | Email communication (not list) | 8 | 5.1 |
| | | | Petition or support (online) | 6 | 3.8 |
| rq_12emobi | Electronic mobilization or information gathering/sharing | 12.0 | Email mobilization | 6 | 3.8 |
| | | | Phone mobilization (cell) | 4 | 2.5 |
| | | | Weblog | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | | Instant messenger | 2 | 1.3 |
| | | | Facebook | 3 | 1.9 |
| | | | Internet research | 5 | 3.2 |
| | | | Electronic how-to manual/materials | 6 | 3.8 |
| | | | Electronic mailing list | 13 | 8.2 |
| dv_1nondis | 1. Non-disruptive expression of dissent | 92.4 | Awareness | 50 | 31.6 |
| | | | Submit report | 11 | 7.0 |
| | | | Present demands | 10 | 6.3 |
| | | | Student government resolution | 1 | .6 |
| | | | Petition (non-electronic) | 21 | 13.3 |
| | | | Letter writing campaign | 5 | 3.2 |
| | | | Activity week | 4 | 2.5 |
| | | | March | 38 | 24.1 |
| | | | Fast | 4 | 2.5 |
| | | | Rally | 66 | 41.8 |
| | | | Vigil | 6 | 3.8 |
| | | | Demonstration | 38 | 24.1 |
| | | | Invite outside speaker | 8 | 5.1 |
| | | | Other educational event | 18 | 11.4 |
| | | | Conference | 1 | .6 |
| | | | Teach-in | 14 | 8.9 |
| | | | Solidarity action | 16 | 10.1 |
| | | | Phone mobilization (non-cell) | 1 | .6 |
| dv_2disr | 2. Disruption | 22.8 | Hunger strike | 4 | 2.5 |
| | | | Sit-in/building occupation | 13 | 8.2 |
| | | | Tent city | 6 | 3.8 |
| | | | Speaker/meeting disruption | 14 | 8.9 |
| | | | Strike | 1 | .6 |
| | | | Stop traffic | 3 | 1.9 |

Appendix F. Estudentprotest Hyperlinks Dataset (espLinks)

| | Campus LW Project | LivingWageNow.com* | ACORN's new LW site | ACORN's old LW site | USAS (Sweatshops) | USSA | Jobs w/Justice | SLAP | ACORN | WRC | AFL-CIO | New Party | Harvard (PSLM) | Harvard (SLAM) | Stanford (SLAC) | Tufts (SLAM) | Brown (SLA) | Swarthmore (SLW&DC) | Georgetown (GSC) | George Washington (PSU) | Carnegie Mellon (PWR) | Johns Hopkins (SLAC) | Boston University (SAS) | U Pitt (SIS) | UVA (WSU) | Wisconsin (SLAC) | Washington University (SWA) | **Outdegree Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Campus LW Project | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | **11** |
| LivingWageNow.com* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **0** |
| ACORN's new LW site | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | **3** |
| ACORN's old LW site | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | **14** |
| USAS | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | **9** |
| USSA | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **1** |
| Jobs w/Justice | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **2** |
| SLAP | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | **5** |
| ACORN | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **1** |
| WRC | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **1** |
| AFL-CIO | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **3** |
| New Party | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | **2** |
| Harvard (PSLM) | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | **6** |
| Harvard (SLAM) | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **2** |
| Stanford (SLAC) | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | **6** |
| Tufts (SLAM) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **0** |
| Brown (SLA) | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | **5** |
| Swarthmore (SLW&DC) | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | **4** |
| Georgetown (GSC) | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **5** |
| George Washington (PSU) | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **4** |
| Carnegie Mellon (PWR) | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **4** |
| Johns Hopkins (SLAC) | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **5** |
| Boston University (SAS) | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **1** |
| U Pitt (SIS) | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **1** |
| UVA (WSU) | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | **5** |
| Wisconsin (SLAC) | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | **5** |
| Washington University (SWA) | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **2** |
| **Indegree Total** | **4** | **1** | **5** | **1** | **15** | **4** | **12** | **6** | **9** | **6** | **5** | **4** | **8** | **0** | **4** | **1** | **4** | **3** | **3** | **0** | **0** | **6** | **0** | **1** | **2** | **1** | **2** | |

Appendix G: Informed Consent Documentation and Institutional Review Board Approvals

University of Missouri - St. Louis
One University Boulevard
St. Louis, MO 63121
Phone: (314) 516-5109
E-mail: patrick.biddix@wustl.edu

**Informed Consent for Participation in Research Activities**
**The Power of *estudentprotest*: A study of student activism and the Internet**

Investigator: J. Patrick Biddix — HSC Approval Number: **060214B**
Faculty Advisor: Joseph L. Polman, Ph.D. — PI's Phone Number: 314.935.7984

**Why am I being asked to participate? What is the purpose of this research?**

You are invited to participate in a research study about student use of the Internet for protest conducted by J. Patrick Biddix, Ph.D. Student in Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. This research is intended to explore Internet use among student activists in specific protest events. You have been contacted due to your involvement in a recent protest action.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the research. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with your university or the University of Missouri – St. Louis. If you decide to participate, you may refuse to answer questions or participate in any aspect of the research that you do not want to, and are free to withdraw entirely from the research at any time without affecting that relationship.

**What procedures are involved?**

If you agree to be in this research, I will ask you to participate in a brief interview (preferably using electronic communication software). It is anticipated that you will interact with the researcher once or twice for a total of 1-2 hours. Approximately 30 total students may be involved in this research at up to four different universities.

**What are the potential risks, discomforts, and benefits to taking part in this research?**

Your participation in this study will allow the researcher to gather data about student protest and the Internet. As a participant in this study, you will be assigned a false name (pseudonym) by the researcher for record keeping purposes. All communication between you and the researcher will be likewise stored on a secure, password-protected hard drive and backed up by a password-protected computer. The only identifiers reported in the study or recorded on interview transcripts will be gender and institution information. It is important to be aware of the possible risks involved with participation in this study.

First, using university or workplace-owned computer equipment or software (university e-mail account, etc.) to communicate with the researcher creates the risk of your university or workplace acquiring the data transmitted from their equipment and/or servers. There is a chance that your university or workplace could seize and use any information involving illegal action (against the university judicial code or civil law) against you. Two suggestions are offered to protect against data transfer and possible interception:

[continued]

**What are the potential risks, discomforts, and benefits to taking part in this research?, cont.**

1. Use a non-university or non-workplace computer, with a non-university or non-workplace Internet connection, to communicate with the researcher. The risk of using instant messaging software versus e-mail would seem to reduce this risk, even if on university or workplace equipment, as it is third-party software and less accessible than a university or workplace e-mail account.

2 Alternately, if you do not have access to a non-university or non-workplace computer or Internet connection, or you do not feel comfortable using instant messaging software, the interview may take place via non-university or non-workplace email account or telephone.

Second, many universities and workplaces have specific computer-use polices and/or restrictions in place (for the University of Missouri – St. Louis, see http://www.umsl.edu/technology/policy/acceptable.html). The disclosure of university or workplace-computer use for non-approved activities could result in negative consequences.

Third, the information that you divulge about the electronic communications structure or structures involved in the protest action you participated in may be described and defined, consistent with the stated purposes of this study. You are advised to speak with your student group before revealing such information. Prior to your consent, a representative of the student group was provided with a copy of this consent form, detailing the potential risk of revealing this information, and asked to discuss it with the group. Your participation in this study suggests that the group agreed to member participation.

**What about privacy and confidentiality?**

Only the researcher will know that you are a participant. Additionally, only information regarding your university will be included when the results are discussed. As stated, you will be assigned a false name (pseudonym) for identification in the discussion of the subsequent results.

**Who should I contact if I have questions?**

You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact the researcher at:

Phone: 314.935.7984
Email: patrick.biddix@wustl.edu
AOL Instant Messenger: wugreekhouse

You will be given a copy of this form for your information and to keep for your records.

---

**If you agree to participate, please copy the following statement and send it via email to**

**patrick.biddix@wustl.edu**

**"I have read the above information and have been able to express my concerns, to which the investigator has responded satisfactorily. I believe I understand the purpose of the study, as well as the potential benefits and risks that are involved. By sending this back to the researcher with an affirmative response, I give my permission to participate in the research as described in the Informed Consent Document." Name______________________**

# OFFICE OF RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION

## Interdepartmental Correspondence

The UM-St. Louis Human Subjects Committee reviewed the following protocol:

Name: J. Patrick Biddix

Title: The Power of estudentprotest: Student Activism and the Internet

This proposal was approved by the Human Subjects Committee for a period of one year starting from the date listed below. The Human Subjects Committee must be notified in writing prior to major changes in the approved protocol. Examples of major changes are the addition of research sites or research instruments.

An annual report must be filed with the committee. This report should indicate the starting date of the project and the number of subjects since the start of project, or since last annual report.

Any consent or assent forms must be signed in duplicate and a copy provided to the subject. The principal investigator is required to retain the other copy of the signed consent form for at least three years following the completion of the research activity and the forms must be available for inspection if there is an official review of the UM-St. Louis human subjects research proceedings by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office for Protection from Research Risks.

This action is officially recorded in the minutes of the committee.

| Protocol Number | Date | Signature - Chair |
|---|---|---|
| **060214B** | 3-23-06 | [signature] |

Washington University in St.Louis

**Hilltop Human Studies Committee**
**FWA00002284**

April 28, 2006

J. Patrick Biddix
Greek Life Office
Campus Box 1068

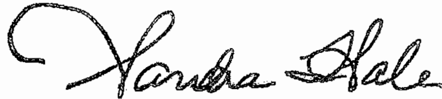
RE: HHSC number: U06-10
Project title: "The Power of 'estudentprotest:' Electronic Student Activism and the Internet"
Funding Source: No funding stated.

Dear Patrick:

The above-referenced study was reviewed by the Washington University Hilltop Human Studies Committee ("HHSC") and it was determined that this study is not subject to HHSC oversight. Although you are currently a Washington University employee, you have indicated that your research activities will be conducted solely under the auspices of your dissertation work at the University of Missouri-Saint Louis. The HHSC is aware that you will be recruiting Washington University students to participate using the methods described in your research proposal on file with the HHSC.

If you have any questions, please contact the HHSC Office at 935-6950 or by email at hhsc@msnotes.wustl.edu.

Sincerely,



Sandra S. Hale, Ph.D.
Chair, HHSC

cc: James E. McLeod, Faculty Sponsor

Washington University in St. Louis, Campus Box 1054, One Brookings Drive, St. Louis, Missouri 63130-4899
*Phone:* (314) 935-8698; *Fax:* (314) 935-5862; *E-mail:* hhsc@msnotes.wustl.edu

Appendix H. Interview Guide

## Interview Guide (Semi-Structured)

This interview format is categorical, intended to focus on themes. Each theme is represented in the following suggested format. This format is intended to allow for exploration, yet to ensure that relevant topics are discussed.

Brief Demographic Information

- Sex
- Race/Ethnicity
- Class Standing
- Previous Activism Experience
- Campus Involvement (Group Memberships)

Internet Use

- Comfort with/Level of Competence
- Frequency (per day/week/history, etc.)
- Types of Activities

Protest Involvement

- Summary/Narrative
- The Issue/s
- The Tactics
- Your Role
- Successes
- Challenges/Failures
- Lessons Learned

The Internet and Protest

- The Nexus (Role/s of the Internet in Protest)
- Tactics Used/Discussed
- Importance of the Internet
- Your Role
- Role of Others (Campus, NGOs, Other Campuses)
- Successes
- Challenges/Failures
- Lessons Learned
- Future of Student Protest

Appendix I. Institutions Reporting Living Wage Protests (1997 – 2005)

| | Institution | Number of Protests |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | American University | 2 |
| 2 | Boston University | 2 |
| 3 | Brandeis University | 1 |
| 4 | Brown University | 3 |
| 5 | Carnegie Mellon University | 1 |
| 6 | Case Western Reserve University | 1 |
| 7 | Duke University | 3 |
| 8 | Emerson College | 1 |
| 9 | George Washington University | 4 |
| 10 | Georgetown University | 11 |
| 11 | Harvard University | 47 |
| 12 | Johns Hopkins University | 3 |
| 13 | Kent State | 1 |
| 14 | Michigan State University | 1 |
| 15 | Morehouse College | 1 |
| 16 | Northeastern University | 1 |
| 17 | Northwestern University | 2 |
| 18 | Stanford University | 13 |
| 19 | SUNY-Binghamton | 1 |
| 20 | Swarthmore College | 8 |
| 21 | Texas A&M University | 1 |
| 22 | Tufts University | 12 |
| 23 | University of California-Los Angeles | 1 |
| 24 | University of California-San Diego | 2 |
| 25 | University of Connecticut | 2 |
| 26 | University of Pittsburgh | 11 |
| 27 | University of Southern California | 2 |
| 28 | University of Texas-Austin | 1 |
| 29 | University of Utah | 2 |
| 30 | University of Virginia | 11 |
| 31 | University of Wisconsin | 1 |
| 32 | Washington University in St. Louis | 5 |
| | Total | 158 |