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Responding to Campus Racism: Analyzing Student Activism and Institutional Responses

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
Requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Katherine Soojin Cho

2020

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Responding to Campus Racism: Analyzing Student Activism and Institutional Responses

by

Katherine Soojin Cho

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Sylvia Hurtado, Chair

Scholarship on student activism describes how protests, demonstrations, and hunger strikes push higher education institutions towards progress and increased institutional accountability. However, cyclical demands, particularly from Student-Activists of Color regarding campus racism, suggest more complexity at the institutional level. In comparing the responses of two public higher education institutions from 2015 to 2018, this study explored the responses by senior-level administrators, faculty, and governing boards to determine how they align with students' concerns. Their multiple perspectives, competing demands, and layered dynamics complicate what are considered to be the institutional responses and how they are perceived by Student-Activists of Color.

Situating student activism through the Institutional Response Framework, this comparative case study employs document collection, archives, and interviews. Moreover, in the traditions of Critical Race Theory and Black Feminism, these responses are contextualized within the sociopolitical histories of each campus to further illuminate the roles of incrementalism, reputation, and trust. Through critical discourse analysis and thematic analysis, I

map these patterns, tactics, and considerations onto three dimensions of the Institutional Response Framework: control, demand, and institutionalized racism.

Findings reveal how responses minimize students' concerns, criminalize activism, co-opt initiatives, and only "claim diversity" through empty dialogues. Yet, responses also result in educational initiatives, new curricula, changes in institutional policies, and strategic ways to "protect" students. The decision-making rationales regarding morality, the university's "best interests," and peer group comparisons reflect the larger narratives of embedded whiteness, racism, anti-Blackness, and neoliberalism within higher education. The subtle and sometimes stark differences between these perceptions and responses demonstrate the positional pressures and competing goals of each of these groups, while still inching towards institutional improvement. The functionality of the Institutional Response Framework and mapping these differences serve as an analytical tool to inform actionable practices. The study's intersection of organizational theory and Critical Race Theory provides a unique interrogation of how racism and color-evasiveness materialize at the institutional level. Lastly, the research design offers an alternate methodological praxis that places under scrutiny an underexplored participant: the institution and its racialized dynamics.

The dissertation of Katherine Soojin Cho is approved.

Mitchell J. Chang

Valerie J. Matsumoto

Cecilia Rios-Aguilar

Daniel G. Solórzano

Sylvia Hurtado, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2020

DEDICATION

*To the generations who fought knowing that the futures dreamed
would not become realities in their lifetime*

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To the **committee.** I remember asking one of my committee members, how do I know who should be part of my committee? Is it shared interests? Similar theories or methods critiques? And what was shared was much simpler and more profound: find the people who you care about and who care about you. The socialization of academia in its ugliest manifestations can be dehumanizing and lonely. And yet for each of my committee members, they have served as the sites of resistance against this socialization. So, as they have each been the superstars in their own rights by changing their respective field and inspiring so many scholars (like me!), they have also transformed academia as a space to belong.

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been the first activists of my life. You fought for me when I was bullied as a kid for being in a predominantly white school. You fought against the schools who wanted to put me in ELL. You fought against patriarchal ignorance of strangers who said it would have been better had I been a boy. You also fought against the racism you experienced on the daily which you endured because you fought for a better life here, separated from our extended family.

In writing this dissertation, one of the most crushing themes is hearing how often Students of Color do not feel as though they belong in higher education. Belonging on a systemic level, belonging on an individual level. Belonging as an absence of love and of care. And while students might feel as though they belonged before these higher education systems through the love and support of their communities, once at college, the manifestations of whiteness, racism, and anti-Blackness chip away at that belonging. And so, in their activism and in their demands, what they are really asking is: are you on my side?

Mom, Dad, I have never doubted you two are on my side. Thank you for fighting for me, whether through advocating against systems and people, or in reminding me that these systems and people would never define my worth. Thank you for feeding me, for taking care of me, for showing and telling me how much you love me. Thank you being here, for reminding me I too can also be anywhere, and regardless have a place with you always. Your unwavering, radical, unconditional love cultivated the audacity to dream beyond what I thought was possible. I am here because you came first.

VITA

- 2010 Bachelor of Arts, Public Policy Studies
Duke University, Sanford School of Public Policy, Durham, North Carolina
- 2010-2011 Common Cents School Support Fellows
New York City Civic Corps Member, New York City, New York
- 2011-2013 Service-Learning Program Coordinator, Colin L. Powell Leadership and Service
City College of New York, New York City, New York
- 2013-2016 Program Manager, Colin Powell School for Civic and Global Leadership
City College of New York, New York City, New York
- 2013-2016 Instructor, Colin Powell School for Civic and Global Leadership
City College of New York, New York City, New York
- 2016 Masters of Arts, Sociology and Education
Columbia University, Teachers College, New York City, New York
- 2016 Gordon & Olga Smith Scholarship
University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California
- 2016-2019 Research Analyst, Higher Education Research Institute
University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California
- 2017 Master of Arts, Education
University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California
- 2018 Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Fellowship, Graduate Division
University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California
- 2018-2019 Graduate Research Mentorship Fellowship, Graduate Division
University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California
- 2019 The Faculty Award, Higher Education and Organizational Change Division
University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California
- 2019 Chair, Young Generation Technical and Leadership Conference
Korean-American Scientists and Engineers Association
- 2019-2020 Dissertation Fellowship
National Academy of Education/Spencer Foundation
- 2019-2020 Teaching Fellow, Graduate School of Education and Information Studies
University of California Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California

SELECT PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

- Cho, K. S. (2019). Policing protests: The coded language behind student expression policies. Paper presentation at annual meeting of the *Association of the Study of Higher Education*: Portland, OR
- Cho, K. S. (2019). Performing progress: Examining the ivory tower's organizational scripts. Paper presentation at annual meeting of the *Critical Race Studies in Education Association*: Los Angeles, CA
- Hurtado, S., Cho, K. S., Lopez, X., Winters, J., & Ruiz Alvarado, A. (2019). Unsung heroes: Identifying college strategies for improving low-income, first generation, and URM students' degree attainment. Paper presentation at annual meeting of the *American Education Research Association*: Toronto, Canada
- Cho, K. S. (2018). Lessons learned: Unpacking how students navigate, resist, and disrupt their (college) orientation. Paper presentation at annual meeting of the *Association of the Study of Higher Education*: Tampa, FL
- Hurtado, S., Ramirez, J. J., Cho, K. S. (2017). Latinx/a/o/ in higher education: Exploring identity pathways and success. In A. E. Batista, S. M. Collado, and D. Perez II (Eds.) *Latinx/a/o in Higher Education: Exploring Identity, Pathways, and Success*. (Chapter 1). Washington, D.C.: NASPA – Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education.
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- Hurtado, S., Cho, K. S., Ruiz Alvarado, A., Stewart-Ambo, T., Halualani, R., Ramirez, J. J. (2017). Organizing for equity and success: Exploring the Institutional culture of retention. Paper presentation at annual meeting of the *Association of the Study of Higher Education*: Houston, TX
- Hurtado, S., Ramirez, J. J., Cho, K. S. (2017). Summer bridge propensity score weighting methods. Paper presentation at annual meeting of *Association of Institutional Research*: Washington, DC

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“I’m sick and tired of being sick and tired.”

Fannie Lou Hamer spoke these words at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, as she highlighted the ongoing struggle the Black community and People of Color faced in the fight against racism and social injustice (Hamer, 1968; Hamlet, 1996). These words not only allude to the weariness of struggle, but also hint at the much deeper, systemic issue of how institutions maintain oppressive environments that harm People of Color.

Background of the Problem

Higher education has been intertwined with racism since its inception. Colleges and universities were built using the labor of slaves and on land forcibly taken from indigenous communities (Wilder, 2013). Policies like the G.I. Bill, which was meant to increase access to higher education, favored white veterans through more funding and college program options while funneling Veterans of Color to vocational programs (Museus, Ledesma, & Parker, 2015). Despite federal regulations like Title IV and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act that pushed for desegregation and outlawed discrimination, these mandates coexist with continued marginalization of Students of Color (as well as students from “*othered*” communities) on college campuses (Allen et al., 2007).

The list of racist manifestations at higher education institutions is both extensive and exhausting: from nooses on college campuses (Hurtado et al., 2015; Thorne, 2014), to students chanting “Build the Wall” (Darling-Hammond, 2017), to white fraternities and sororities celebrating the rejection of potential Greek-life People of Color (Davis & Harris, 2016; Pasque et al., 2017). Across college campuses, students continue to post on social media about the forms of racism they experience, whether through hashtag campaigns like #realUW about their lived

experiences at the University of Wisconsin, Madison (Magnus, 2016) or #ITooAmHarvard, spurred by Black students at Harvard University experiencing constant doubt about whether they were truly Harvard students (Butler, 2014).

Racism on college campuses matters and has serious consequences for Students of Color. Students' sense of belonging, as a predictor for college graduation, is intertwined with their experiences of discrimination, bias, and harassment (Hurtado et al., 1998). Students do not feel safe on their college campuses—feelings that have been heightened by the overt presence of white supremacists (Miller & Werner-Winslow, 2016), and the policies attempting to eliminate the rights of marginalized groups. This is particularly prevalent in the South, with its geopolitical context of slavery (Wilder, 2013), resistance to racial integration—particularly within education systems (Bell, 1980; Wilder, 2013), and rise of hate groups leading up to and during the 45th U.S. presidential administration (Carrier, 2017). The pervasive climate of racism in many American universities has prompted Students of Color to challenge institutional oppression through a wide variety of activism.

Purpose of the Study

Researchers often view student activism, such as protests, as phenomena and potential turning points for change and institutional accountability. In the 1960s, students protested and held demonstrations to demand the creation of Black Studies on college campuses (Joseph, 2013; Rojas, 2006). In the 1980s, students pushed their campuses to sever ties with corporations that supported the apartheid in South Africa (Soule, 1997). Within the past decade, the integration of #BlackLivesMatter on college campuses by students has led to new positions like Chief Diversity Officers and a greater emphasis on hiring Faculty and Staff of Color (Hoffman &

Mitchell, 2016). Student activism has been and continues to be a powerful force in pushing for positive change on campus.

But I suggest an equally important, alternative framing. When the University of Missouri's student group, *Concern Student 1950*, wrote their demands in 2015, they explicitly referenced the unmet demands from their alma mater's student activists in the 1980s (Jaschik, 2015). Similarly, the demands made by University of Virginia's Black Student Alliance referenced concerns from past documents issued in 2015, 2008, 1987, and 1969 (TFAAA, 1987; BSA, 2007; Harold, 2018b). The decades upon decades of similar concerns and similar demands suggest the need for deeper scrutiny of the complicated relationship among higher education institutions, Students of Color, and institutional accountability to address the racism so prevalent and embedded in college campuses.

Research Questions

This study scrutinizes the ways in which colleges and universities *respond* to student activism and focuses on the patterns and processes that drive the institutional responses to these student actions. The following questions guide this study:

1. Between 2015-2018, what student activism took place at two public flagship universities in response to campus racism?
2. What are the responses and actions that target institutions have made?
3. What are factors that guide administrators' responses to student activism at target institutions?
4. How do Student-Activists of Color make sense of institutional responses from target institutions?

Scope of Study

I situate this study at the intersections of student activism and organizational behavior within a racialized higher education system. Manifestations of racism also include the ways Students of Color feel unseen, unheard, and unanswered in voicing their concerns to those whom they view as institutional agents, often administrators and faculty (e.g. Stokes & Miller, 2019). Individual members of the campus community still exist within the organizational policies, structures, and power dynamics of the university. Institutional politics and the precarious juggling of multiple roles challenge and constrain the ability of administrators, faculty, and even board members to answer the concerns and demands expressed by Student-Activists of Color. Even further, these actions are situated within the meta-system of white supremacy, which translates as the protection and reification of whiteness as normative (Harris, 1993).

To examine how higher education administrators, faculty, and governing boards respond, if at all, I use the Institutional Response Framework (Cho, 2018). This multidimensional, conceptual model (see Chapter 2), maps institutional responses along three dimensions: the meeting or rejection of external concerns or demands (in this case, from Student-Activists of Color); the sharing of control and power through institutionalism, and the expression of institutional racism. The first two dimensions create a two-by-two matrix for four types of institutional responses (schisming, appeasement, co-option, and partnership), and the third dimension describes the extent to which institutions perpetuate the myth of being race-neutral organizations (i.e. color-evasive) or actively acknowledge and take steps to address their racist pasts (i.e. racially conscious; Cho, 2018). The definitions and constructions of these four terms and the two extremes of institutional color-evasiveness and institutional racial consciousness are refined through this study to explore the responses, their constructions, and their impact. Thus,

another aim of this study is to compare the hypothesized Institutional Response Framework with evidence derived from case studies of campus responses.

For the research design, I employ a comparative case study using document collection, archival materials, and interviews. Case study research ensures a deep exploration of both the phenomena in question and the surrounding context (Creswell, 2009; Yin, 2018), where I identify the phenomenon as institutional responses. Institutions are not singular entities and include many different facets like departments, units, offices, as well as campus community members like faculty, students, alumni, administrators, staff, and governing boards. As such, it is imperative not to create generalizations of “the institution” and instead, dig deeper into the responses from campus community members such as faculty, senior-level administrators, and boards of trustees. For the comparative case study, I identify two public four-year universities, both located in the South, with highly publicized and nationally-documented student activist cases during 2015-2018, and use archival data to longitudinally establish trends of past institutional responses. This prioritization contextualizes the significance of #BlackLivesMatter on college campuses, the increased usage of social media used by students, and the geopolitical complexities and intertwined tradition of the South’s history of slavery.

The study itself is conducted in three phases— the first of which focuses the student and institutional documents and archives. Drawing from student demands, university-branded statements from presidents and departments, student newspaper articles, social media posts, and minutes of governing board and faculty meetings between 2015-2018, I identify: students’ primary concerns, forms of activism, as well as ways faculty, senior-level administrators, and governing boards responded to these concerns. In addition, I utilize archives of university enrollment data, student newspapers annals, and campus presidential records to establish that

these demands and responses are ongoing narratives of historicized concerns. I then conduct semi-structured interviews with Student-Activists of Color, campus administrators, and faculty at each institution to understand the pressures, decision-making, implementation, and reflection of institutional responses. Robust case studies require multiple forms of data to triangulate conclusions, and in my quest to unravel how demands *and responses* are cyclical, I relied heavily on the aforementioned documents and these interviews as a way to capture the recorded range of progression *and regression* from institutional responses.

For analysis, as the third phase of the study, I create institutional reports of each campus. These reports start with the institution's origins, explore the experiences of the first Students of Color on campus and move to an exploration of the iterative concerns and demands from the 1960s onward. Within these reports, I included the organizational context of each campus, including board structure, composition, and campus demographics. In recognizing the ways public institutions heavily depend on their state legislatures, I also added information about contemporaneous local and state policies (such as those regarding freedom of speech) Using over 2000 documents, I establish a chronology of events, actions, and responses from 2015-2018 for each campus. This information served as the foundation for both my within and cross-case analyses, alongside the memos and matrices. Both cases identified emergent, comparative, and diverging themes within the embedded campus community units of governing boards, senior-level administrators, and faculty. Lastly, I visualize qualitative data along the Institutional Response Framework's three dimensions. Used in marketing and branding, this quantitative method reveals the proximities of patterns, similarities, and dissimilarities (Kruskal & Wish, 1988). While the method serves as a future quantitative direction of this work, I apply the principles of this method with interviews as a way to demonstrate how responses and perceptions

to responses differ along a multidimensional continuum. These multiple modes of inquiry attempt to shed light on how these responses are historically repeated and have both historical and contemporaneous similarities across both campuses.

The Driving Motivation

Prior to starting my doctoral program, I served as a college administrator in New York City where one of my roles included liaising with student groups during a series of student protests on campus regarding racial justice and inclusion. Concurrently, while pursuing an M.A. at Teachers College, Columbia University, I engaged in student demonstrations to push for curricular (racial) diversity with more inclusion of first-generation experiences, LGBTQ narratives, and asset-based framings. These dovetailing roles of administrator and student activist became both confusing and utterly maddening as each institution's changes seemed incremental at best and deflective at worst. I experienced first-hand how conversations felt less pivoted towards institutional change, and more focused on short-term appeasement and minimizing concerns until graduation— as racial crises to *manage*.

Fannie Lou Hamer's commentary on being sick and tired of fighting institutions and systems became my own mantra, the mantra of my students, and the mantra of my peers. As colleges and universities continue to contend with racism, multiple pressures, and student demands to do better (rightfully so), this study serves not as an indictment of my past self or fellow administrators, but rather as a call to action with language and tools to facilitate more productive, constructive conversations and responsive institutional steps to take in addressing campus racism.

Significance

Historically, student activism has spurred institutions to create new roles such as Chief Diversity Officers (Cole & Harper, 2017) and language to reflect new commitments to inclusion (Harris et al., 2015). Yet, institutions can mask old habits despite new language and new roles (Ahmed, 2012; Harris et al., 2015). Thus, this research concretizes a feedback loop for Student-Activists of Color and administrators to interrogate, evaluate, and improve responses for more constructive action. Already, colleges and universities can see the consequences of their institutional (in)actions, such as the decreased enrollment at University of Missouri following their campus unrest (Hartocollis, 2017). Addressing issues of institutional response will allow more insights into the intractable and endemic dynamic between student activism, demands, and responses related to campus racism. This research intends to become a mirror for higher education institutions and reflect who they *are*, and what they *could*, *should*, and *must be* in responding to students' demands for a better reality— a reality that no longer makes students feel sick and tired of trying to work against campus racism.

CHAPTER TWO: (RE)FRAMING THE NARRATIVE OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

The research on student activism, particularly on issues of campus racism, is extensive. And yet, this rich body of literature neglects several underexplored areas that pave the way for this study. In this chapter, I first provide an overview for context and key terms, which are critical for framing and grounding the research questions. Second, I explain the literature concerning student activism and campus racism, and discuss topics past studies have explored and also overlooked. Third, I reveal how these empirical studies demonstrate not only a topical gap but also a theoretical gap. I outline how these theoretical frameworks, while incorporated, are not fully integrated, and as a result, keep research agendas and theories siloed. In response, I introduce the Institutional Response Framework as a possible model to blend these theories (Cho, 2018).

Background and Current Context

Racism on college campuses illuminates a jagged system of segregation, discrimination, and oppression within higher education that existed long before the current wave of student activism. American colonizers in the 1700s used enslaved laborers to build what would eventually become the first colleges and universities on land forcibly taken from indigenous tribes (Wilder, 2013). Some of the earliest recordings of “education” were the erasure of indigenous culture, dress, speech, and history for forced assimilation (Wilder, 2013). Likewise, Carter Woodson’s indictment of American colleges for failing to serve Black Americans through their lack of diverse and relevant curricula reveals another way racial inequity is perpetuated in higher education (Rojas, 2006). This continued institutional neglect of diversity is evidenced by the teach-ins and Black Studies movement in the 1960s (Joseph, 2003), the walkouts and hunger

strikes for Chicana/o/x Studies in the 1960s and 1990s (Solorzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001), and the Experimental Colleges amongst Asian Americans in the 1970s (Lee, 2014).

The expansion of higher education also racialized access, as mentioned earlier with the G.I. Bill unequally distributing federal funding and pushing Veterans of Color towards more technical and vocational institutions compared to their white counterparts (Wilder, 2013). In the 1800s, the first of the Morrill Land Grant Acts enabled states to build colleges and universities, but Southern states limited access to only white students (Griffith & Hurtado, 2011; Parker, 2008). To expand access while maintaining segregation, the second Morrill Land Grant funded states to create a dual-postsecondary education system via Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs; Griffith & Hurtado, 2011). Yet separate was not equal; despite the federal mandates to integrate Traditionally White Institutions (TWI) via *Brown v. Board of Education*, states desegregated reluctantly and maintained the unequal treatment of students (e.g. Students of Color sitting outside of classrooms or without desks; Wilder, 2013). Further, *Ayers v. Allain* (in 1987), *Ayers v. Mabus* (in 1990), and *U.S. v. Fordice* (in 1992) illuminated the persistent comparative disparities of funding and resources between HBCUs and TWIs (Parker, 2008). The continuing 12-year lawsuit, filed in 2006 by Maryland's HBCUs against the Maryland Higher Education Commission suggests that this dual system of higher education remains rife with racialized systemic and systematic inequity (Douglas-Gabriel, 2019). Further, affirmative action cases such as *Grutter v. Bollinger* demonstrate how higher education institutions can and have sidestepped inclusive diversity through problematic conceptualizations of merit and rigor (Whit, Chang, Hakuta, 2003).

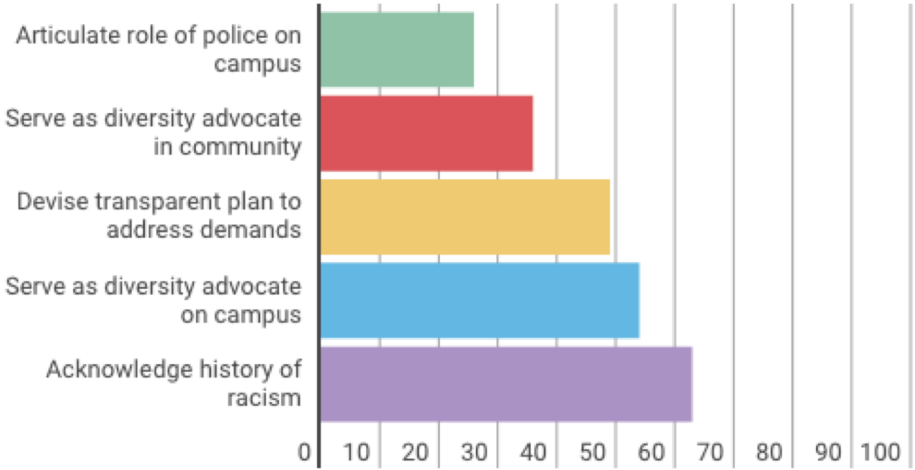
In the 2010s, student activists have highlighted how higher education institutions perpetuate racism on their campuses; this effort gained momentum through University of

Missouri’s student-activist group, Concerned Student 1950 (Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016).

Students engaged in protests, occupations, and die-ins, both in-person and through social media, to express their concerns about the silence around #BlackLivesMatter, police brutality, as well as minimal institutional responses to reports of experienced racism (Wong & Green, 2016). In

2015, the American Council on Education reviewed the student activism website,

TheDemands.org, which outlined what students/student groups from over 75 institutions across the nation wanted to see changed on their campuses (Chessman & Wayt, 2016). These demands included revising institutional policies and practices that impact Students of Color, increased training for faculty and staff, as well as appeals for campus leadership to acknowledge its history with racism:



One or more appeared on 89% of lists posted on www.TheDemands.org

Figure 2.1: Demands student activists have made for their college leadership, as outlined from TheDemands.org (Chessman & Wayt, 2016)

As seen in Figure 2.1, students have called for more transparency, advocacy, and articulation from campus leadership, and these concerns have not dissipated over the years. The

American Council on Education's 2017 survey of U.S. college presidents reported more than 50 percent of presidents at four-year institutions stating that their students have organized over an issue of diversity (Gagliardi, Espinosa, Turk, & Taylor, 2017).

Key Terms

Despite the frequent use of terms such as activism, racism, and institutionalization, these terms can have many different meanings and interpretations— nuances that are critical to the conceptualization of this study.

Student Activism

For this study, I use the term activism to encompass the various forms of action individuals and groups take to create change on campus and society. While some literature might use activism, protests, and demonstrations interchangeably, these words hold nuanced and significant differences— especially in how administrators and media coverage define them.

Activism describes the range of political action from civic engagement like voting and political campaigning to demonstrations, boycotts, and protests (Barnes & Kaase, 1979). The latter group of actions are differentiated by the degree of opposition; for example, protests, boycotts, occupations, and strikes have the political stance of dissent and disagreement, whether that be a policy change, action/non-action by an individual, group, organization, or corporate entity (Barnes & Kaase, 1979). Demonstrations, such as vigils, do not necessarily have an opposition. Oppositional action is also nuanced through confrontation; non-confrontational opposition includes boycotts, lawsuits, and petitions compared to confrontational oppositions like protests, sit-ins, die-ins, and other forms of occupation (Dodson, 2015). Some contend that non-confrontational opposition, because of its legal adherence, is viewed more favorably by the general public and considered more appropriate, compared to building- or transit-takeovers and

sit-ins that violate occupancy laws (Rojas, 2006; Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). Further, others argue that these various tactics and forms of activism not only result in different forms of policing and legal consequences, but that those judiciary and disciplinary measures are penalized more heavily against Black activists (Davenport et al., 2011).

Activism is not only these visible forms of action, but also the “behind-the-scenes” actions such as building communities of care that women often undertake (Collins, 2000b; Dodson, 2015). Thus, the efforts of activism on college campuses vary, whether that be through helping build a social (media) movement via (re)tweets on Twitter, tearing down public statues of slaveholders (Wong & Green, 2016), making signs, holding healing circles, or coordinating meetings.

Racism and Campus Racial Climates

Racism is “a multi-level and multi-dimensional system of dominant group oppression that scapegoats the race and/or ethnicity of one or more subordinate groups” (Horton, in press). Manifestations of racism include overt forms via harassment and violence, as well as covert forms of discrimination and bias (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Omi & Winant, 2015). Existing research highlights Students of Color describing the day-to-day microaggressions they experience both within and outside the classroom, whether that be Black and Pacific Islander students being mistaken for athletes (suggesting that that is the only way they could be admitted to the university), comments towards Asian and Latinx students about how articulate or well-spoken they are, and negative interactions that target minoritized groups (Hokowhitu, 2003; Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2015; Sue & Constantine, 2007).

These behaviors and perceptions are critically important in how they affect the racial climate of higher education institutions. Campus racial climates encompass the interpersonal

interactions, behaviors, and impressions between students, faculty, and staff, as well as the historical, political, social contexts of a college campus that influence its racial dynamics (Hurtado et al., 1998). Even further, the campus racial climate of institutions also extends to the very architecture and design of college campuses. Racism, xenophobia, and nativism — all things that create negative and even hostile campus racial climates— can be expressed through the visual representation and presence of buildings named after slaveholders and the statues of Confederate generals (Museus et al., 2015). As the population of college-going students grows ever more racially diverse (Deil-Amen, 2015), higher education institutions must wrestle with how Students of Color experience racism and perceive racial climates on their campuses.

Institutions as Normative Structures

While colleges and universities represent a variety of constituents— including administrators, faculty, staff, alumni, boards, and students— they also collectively represent an institutional brand (Ahmed, 2012). Organizational theorists point to how institutions carry their own routines, procedures, cues, and rules in ways that persist despite the turnaround of new hires (Bolman & Deal, 2008; Scott & Davis, 2006). In doing so, institutions almost manifest a life of their own— with necessary survival instincts in response to the threats of collapse, ruin, mergers, and co-option (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Even further, neo-institutional theorists point to how institutions, for the sake of their survival, do not necessarily make rational choices, and instead, change their operationalization, missions, and routines to gain legitimacy in the field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1989).

In that sense, institutionalization is not just the changes in policies and practices, but also the unspoken norms and actions of what institutions might consider as “second nature” (Ahmed, 2012, p.25). This process of institutionalization is critical because of how institutions, over time,

address external demands (Ahmed, 2012; DiMaggio & Powell, 1989), which in this case are the demands made by students in the wake of campus racism.

Institutionalized Racism

The ways in which colleges and universities respond, especially through their statements and policies, creates institutionalized racism, which often takes the form of color-evasiveness. Color-evasive racism serves to perpetuate “race-neutral” politics, where individuals claim they do not “see” color, and as such, problematically both normalize whiteness and minimize the concerns regarding racism (Anama, 2017; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; DiAngelo, 2011). Campus resources, for example, are racialized through lower levels of support for Women of Color who experience sexual assault (Harris & Linder, 2017; Voth Schrag, 2017). College memorabilia reveals racism through the invisibility of Black students in yearbooks and student newspapers (Stewart, 2019). Institutional racism reveals itself through the overrepresentation of Faculty of Color in non-tenure-line positions, primarily as adjuncts and lecturers (Croom, 2017). Thus, this study scrutinizes responses in hopes of revealing potential patterns of institutionalized racism.

Student Activism and Race/Racism Research

For the purposes of this study, the literature review’s scope is student activism that is race and/or racism-based. This review focuses only on previous studies where students act against or critique their own higher education institutions, compared to when students act on behalf of a cause outside of the control of their respective college or university. For example, while existing research honors the tremendous amount of student activism against the racism within South Africa’s apartheid system in the 1980s (Soule, 1997), these studies would be outside the scope of this literature review.

Topics within Student Activism Research

The majority of student activism research centers on the actions, protests, hunger strikes, and demonstrations students engage to push for change at their institutions. Particularly, much of this research focuses on how student activists aided in the development of the Black Studies movement in the 1960s and 1970s and the creation of Chicana/o studies in the 1970s and 1990s (Aleman & Aleman, 2010; Joseph, 2003; Rojas, 2006). Additionally, affirmative action research credits the critical role of Student-Activists of Color in *Grutter v. Bollinger* and the fight for diversity in higher education (Allen & Solorzano, 2001; Witt et al., 2003). More recently, this literature has focused on the rise of student activism, in conjunction with movements like #BlackLivesMatter (Cole & Heinecke, 2018; Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016).

Within this body of literature, researchers highlight the tactics students undertook and the campus-specific contexts that drove student action (e.g. Hu-Dehart, 1995; Rhoads, 1997; Rojas, 2006) or how student activism (in all its forms) has prompted civic action/education, voting, civil disobedience, and student development (e.g. Rhoads, 1997, 2016). Additionally, much of student activism is positioned within the context of leadership— how activism encourages, develops, and reflects students’ leadership (e.g. Rhoads, 2016; Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016; Stewart & Quaye, 2019). Further studies have highlighted how participating in activism impacts students’ mental health, especially for Students of Color experiencing racial battle fatigue (Vaccaro & Mena, 2011), or the stress of enduring racism and microaggressions that result in physical, mental, and emotional strain (Smith et al., 2006).

How Student Activism Has Been Studied

In terms of empirical design, some research studies are built like case studies, with examinations of particular student groups, like La Raza Unida and MeCHA (Movimiento

Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlán) for the establishment of Chicana/o studies (e.g. Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) or colleges, such as San Francisco State University and the creation of the first-ever and only-existing College of Ethnic Studies in the United States (e.g. Hu-Dehart, 1995). These studies tend to be of narrative form, describing the actions students undertook, the challenges they faced, and their experiences. Others focus on specific groups of individuals like student presidents (e.g. Broadhurst, 2019) as well as the importance of geographical context like activism in the Midwest (e.g. Hernandez, 2013) to complicate student activism as a monolith.

Some studies incorporate methodologies like phenomenology (e.g. Rhoads, 1997) and narrative inquiry (e.g. Hernandez, 2013; Shi, Jimenez-Arista, Cruz, McTier, & Koro-Ljungberg, 2018) to further center the voices, thought processes, and lives of student activists. In doing so, existing research has pointed to how students' backgrounds, co-curricular/extra-curricular activities, and political beliefs have impacted their decisions to engage in activism on their respective campuses.

The Role of Administrative Allies and Institutional Documents

Alongside students, race-centered student activism literature describes the roles, responsibilities, and involvement of faculty and staff. Existing research points to how faculty and staff aid students as administrative allies and become pivotal players, mediators, and supporters (e.g. Chen & Rhoads, 2016; Cole & Heinecke, 2018; Linder 2019; Rhoads, 2016). Others describe how the racial battle fatigue and strains on mental health observed in students have similarly been observed amongst student affairs professionals (e.g. Husband, 2016). Additionally, literature has conceptualized the ways administrators can build trust with students to become better partners for accountability in their roles (e.g. Evans & Lange, 2019; Kezar, 2010; Kezar & Maxey, 2014). These studies have paved the way to reposition students in

relation to administrators, and rethink how administrators can work hand-in-hand with students. Yet, based on the cyclical racial concerns that students face at their respective campuses, these studies neglect to explore what is occurring at the institutional level.

Emerging literature within the past decade has explored various types of institutional documents, such as diversity statements (e.g. Ahmed, 2012; Harris et al., 2015; Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016) and college presidential statements (Cole & Harper, 2017; Pasque et al., 2017) that reveal the ways in which colleges and universities maintain racism. These studies, often using critical discourse analysis, point to the specific language used by organizational representatives to stress the mission of an organization, but not the reforms that will result in tangible change (Ahmed, 2012; Cole & Harper, 2017; Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016; Pasque et al., 2017). These studies surprisingly overlook and are divorced from the student actions and activism that often pushed for the creation of such documents. As a result, this study aims to fill an empirical gap by making visible the relationships between student activism, campus action in response, and the institutional documents that record commitments for change.

Framing Student Activism and Its Related Theories

Moreover, this study aims to address a theoretical gap in extant literature regarding the framing of student activism and racism on college campuses. Within the scope of this section, I highlight race-based theories as well as several institutional theories that are prevalent within higher education's framing of student activism. As a note, I want to recognize social movement theory as an important frame, but clarify that its theoretical contribution is outside the scope of the study. Social movement theory, as a body of thought, focuses on how protests form and the political process of coalition building (van Dyke, 2003). This body of theory is critical in

explaining how movements grow, but for the purposes of this study, I focus on established student-led movements and actions that require an institutional response.

Race and Racism as Center Stage

Much of this study's literature uses race-based theories to dissect the pervasive presence of racism that works against student demands, impacting their activism and potential for progress (Ahmed, 2012; Cole & Harper, 2017; Harris et al., 2016; Pasque et al., 2017; Stewart & Quaye, 2019; Truesdell, Car, & Orr, 2017). Two key theories that have shaped the scholarship in academia around race, and subsequently the framing of student activism on issues of race, are Critical Race Theory and Black Feminism.

Critical Race Theory (CRT), first derived from Critical Legal Studies, interrogates power, oppression, and resistance through a racial lens (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). With five tenets, CRT demands the centering of People of Color and the multiple marginalities/oppressions that intersect with race, which include gender, class, nativism, and xenophobia. Further, CRT's integration and specific focus on race within empirical research helps subvert dominant ideologies of whiteness or race-neutral myths about objectivity and rigor (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). By challenging objectivity through questioning and redefining knowledge, CRT both acknowledges and legitimizes the experiential knowledge of marginalized communities. CRT's fourth tenet describes the necessity of transformation and praxis— theory cannot merely be words on paper but must involve social justice action to change the realities of oppression (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Lastly, its interdisciplinary position of examining multiple and intersecting forms of oppression challenges ahistoricism and acontextualism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Empirical research that uses CRT as theoretical framing stresses these tenets, often in combination. As these studies tend to focus on Students of Color and their experiences as racialized and minoritized individuals, CRT's first tenet of centering their experiences is especially prevalent. Moreover, several studies reference interest-convergence— a concept within CRT. Interest-convergence describes how the dominant group agrees to racial justice initiatives only when it serves to benefit them (Bell, 1980; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). For example, the institutional framing of “diversity” is the commercial benefit of being more globally competitive rather than serving as an equity measure (Ahmed, 2012).

Further, in critically examining student activism, some existing literature and this study incorporate Black Feminism (BF). BF centers the narratives, complexities, and intersectionalities that Black women face in their survival, navigation, and resistance in the world (Collins, 2000a, 2000b; Crenshaw, 1989). In particular, Black Feminist epistemology posits how Black women, through their experiences, gain specific knowledge and a worldview that is separate from white Eurocentric socializations (Collins, 2000a). Student activism, particularly grounded in race justice, cannot theoretically be siloed from Black Feminism because of the pervasive presence of not just racism, but also specifically the anti-Blackness within the United States (Gillborn, 2015). Even further, much of student activism on college campuses has stemmed from Black student activists and Black student groups (Anderson & Span, 2016). Understanding the narratives of Black activism, and especially of Black women, aids in unveiling systematic structures and tensions also experienced by other minoritized communities (Collins, 2000b; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). The Combahee River Collective (1977) envisions Black Feminism as “the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of

color face” (Smith, 2013). The scholarship that frames student activism through BF reveals the resistance within Black and other minoritized racial and ethnic groups.

Further, BF grounds its work through the paradigm shift of thinking of multiple forms of oppression as inclusive and intersectional through a matrix of domination (Collins, 2000b). In doing so, individuals and groups can hold the varying tensions of being both oppressed and/or privileged through different intersections of their race, gender, class, religion, citizenship, and other marginalized social identities (Collins, 2000b). This domination is multilevel, since people’s oppression and resistance are not just individual but also present at the group/community, institutional, and systemic levels (Collins, 2000b). Both the matrix of domination and the multiple levels of domination frame the struggle, agency, and resistance Student-Activists of Color, and especially Black student activists, engage with through their actions.

Shifting to Organizations and Institutions

When examining the landscape of literature on student activism, few studies incorporate organizational theory and the decision-making within colleges and universities (e.g. Kezar, 2010; Pasque et al., 2017; Stulberg & Chen, 2013). Organizational theory examines how organizations behave, including how decisions get made, structures are created, resources are cultivated (and distributed), and culture is developed (Bolman & Deal, 2010; Scott & Davis, 2006). This field can be divided between two main schools of thought— institutionalism which speaks to the locality of decision-making, and neo-institutionalism which looks at the larger external forces that subvert organizations’ individual decision-making (Bolman & Deal, 2010; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). The few studies that use organizational theory to examine student activism, race, and institutions tend to focus on the latter school of thought.

Neo-institutionalism argues that while organizations balance external pressures, the need for resources, and the power dynamics amongst its members, their behaviors are influenced by broader sets of norms that can result in irrational decision-making (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). These norms include a greater emphasis on organizations gaining legitimacy, following scripts and/or routines to maintain that legitimacy, and placing greater value on classifications and rankings (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

Within neo-institutionalism, the most common concept when framing institutional change is isomorphism, or how organizations' structures and processes become similar to one another (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). For example, Stulberg and Chen's (2013) article on institutional change with affirmative action cases talks broadly about the landscape of higher education and how colleges and universities often mimic one another; higher education institutions adopted affirmative action policies, not because of racial equity, but because of the implications of appearing legitimate to the broader field. In doing so, higher education institutional responses and decision-making are no longer tied to the student activists and demands, but are more attuned to what the field is doing at large. As such, this type of decision-making is an example of interest-convergence, and how the passing of these policies is not related to racial equity, but rather focused on organizational interests to survive.

Power, Performativity, and Partnerships

A growing segment of literature has examined the institutional documents that colleges and universities produce. These studies tend to rely on critical discourse analysis (Ahmed, 2012; Cole & Harper, 2017; Harris, et al., 2015; Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016) and combine this methodology with race-based theories, like Black Feminism and Critical Race Theory. Additionally, as critical discourse analysis methodology is grounded in examining power, many

of the studies use Ahmed's (2006; 2012) conceptualization of how institutions adopt non-performativity. Derived from Butler's (1993) non-performatives, or how discourse only names but does not produce action, Ahmed expands and applies this idea to institutions and institutional documents that are created. These documents, which range from speech acts to policies, to even mission statements, are "taken up as if they are performative (as if they have brought about the effects they name), such that the names come to stand in for the effects" (Ahmed, 2012, p.117). These statements (e.g. those about antiracism, diversity, and inclusion) become powerful because of how they construct a commitment as if already in progress— which stalls future critiques (Ahmed, 2006, 2012; Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016). This is especially critical in the context of student activism, as some students have contended that institutions are merely providing "lip-service" and blank words (Arnett, 2015; Smith & Thrasher, 2015).

This research on non-performativity provides an alternative framing of existing research that conceptualizes and advocates partnership. Much of the practical implications for student activism call for a reimagining of and stress on partnership (Evans & Lange, 2019; Kezar, 2010; Kezar & Maxey, 2014; Linder, 2019). These recommendations range from discussing how to build trust (Kezar 2010), to how faculty and staff can raise students' consciousness (Kezar & Maxey, 2014), as well as improve communication of administrative responsibilities to students (Ropers-Huilman et al., 2015). However, outside of partnership and nonperformativity, there might be other conceptualizations of how institutions respond. As such, the purpose of this study is to bridge the empirical gaps in order to link student activism, administrative decisions, and institutional responses, as well as connect the theoretical gap to link the theories on race/racism, organizational theory, and actions beyond existing conceptualizations of partnership and

performativity. In doing so, I offer a multidimensional Institutional Response Framework as a potential theoretical model to bridge these siloed theories.

The Institutional Response Framework

The three-dimensional Institutional Response Framework (IRF) theorizes the gap within organizational theory that does not respond to localized, antiracism-centered student demands. In this section, I describe how the first two dimensions create a matrix with four types of responses, and then describe the third dimension. I conclude with some additional notes about the model's function and methodological purpose.

Demands, Dynamics, and Dimensions

The first two dimensions of the IRF theorize (1) the degree to which institutions adopt or deflect student demands; and (2) the degree to which institutions and students share power in decision-making (Cho, 2018). Organizations, including higher education institutions, vary in their responses to external demands. These responses can range from deflecting or resisting whatever external pressures they might face (i.e. buffering against; Honig & Hatch, 2004), to adopting and adhering to external forces (i.e. bridging; Honig & Hatch, 2004). In this case, with colleges and universities, students represent the “external” demands as the constituents who demand change, particularly on issues of racial justice, through their activism. The extremes of bridging and buffering, or adopting and deflecting demands, build the first dimension within the Institutional Response Framework (Cho, 2018).

Additionally, through the decision-making process, organizations face different power dynamics from varying constituent groups or dominant coalitions (Scott & Davis, 2006). These dominant coalitions wield their power through the various resources that organizations are dependent upon (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). For higher education institutions, these sources

include revenue streams from the federal government (via federal financial aid, loans, and research grants), the state government, alumni, philanthropic organizations (which include donations as well as grants), athletics, copyrights, endowments, and other resource providers (Mumper et al., 2016; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2016). Higher education institutions also depend on the revenue from students/parents (via tuition), which is related to reputation. As such, students' power dynamics might become amplified in how they harness social media to increase their reputational threat (McDonnell & King, 2013), which also can result in interest-convergence. This idea of power and control becomes the second dimension of the Institutional Response Framework, where institutions and students can ideally share control over solutions and implementation (i.e. offer a seat at the table), or institutions maintain control and power.

The Four Types of Responses

The extent to which colleges and universities meet student demands and share power in the decision-making process with them creates a two-by-two matrix for four types of institutional responses: schisming, appeasement, co-option, and partnership. (See Figure 2.2).

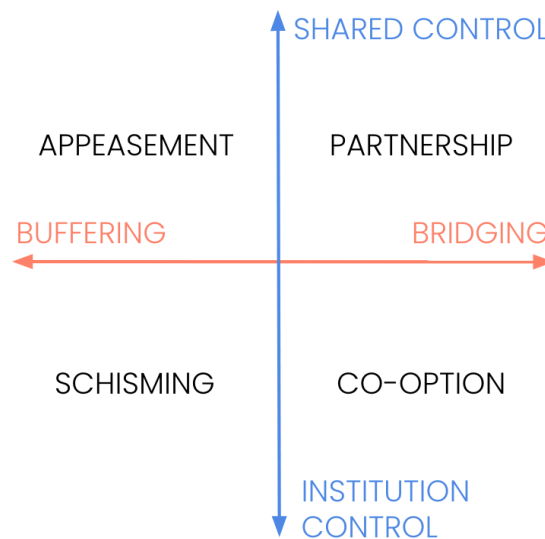


Figure 2.2: Dimensions of Demands and Control

Schisming refers to how institutions deflect student demands through exerting their positional power over students by (a) being apathetic or ambivalent toward student concerns, (b) disengaging and/or minimizing what students bring up, and even to greater extremes, (c) silencing students through criminalizing their activities. For example, in October 2017, the University of Wisconsin System's Board of Regents approved a policy for punitive measures against student activists who "disrupt the expressive rights of others" (Resolution 10952, 2017, p.28). Student-Activists of Color protested the policy, arguing that it is an institutional tactic targeting them to silence their voices and concerns (Kremer, 2017). The conceptualization of schisming boils down to the institution creating distance between their reputation and students' concerns—deflecting student demands while still maintaining control over the narrative, messages, or unfolding developments.

Appeasement still embodies institutional deflection but includes more shared power between students and their campus, whether that be when administrators invite students to lead an action committee or provide funds to create an initiative. In doing so, appeasement responses share power with students in selectively meeting their demands. However, these actions are often only temporary and small measures that do not require a great deal of institutional investment. For example, as students demand an increase in hiring Faculty of Color, colleges and universities appease students' concerns by hiring adjuncts, lecturers, and other non-tenured faculty without long-term investment (Nagel, 2016).

Higher education institutions respond through co-option when they incorporate (i.e. bridge) student concerns and demands but erase students' roles in creating policies, programs, or resources. A recent manifestation of co-option is the branding and narrative of the prison divestment movements in 2015. Despite Students of Color being the most vocal about colleges

and universities needing to divest from companies that support the prison industrial complex (Chan, 2015; Song, 2015), when Columbia University and the University of California system decided to divest, their statements minimized the roles and wealth of labor these students undertook to push for this decision (ASCRI 2015; UC CIO, 2016).

Partnership, a rarity, is the response of both meeting students' concerns and sharing control with students in the decision-making and execution. The scant literature that describes this concept is often more geared towards practical applications of how to better work with students through building trust (Kezar, 2010), rather than addressing the power structures and imbalances between administrators and students.

The Dimension of Institutional Racism

While for many, the two-by-two matrix of the Institutional Response Framework helps explain the ways institutions such as higher education respond to students' concerns and demands, this type of conceptualization reifies color-evasiveness. Originally coined by Bonilla-Silva (2014) as colorblindness, research in Critical Disability Studies has pointed to the latent ableism through this phrasing and suggest the alternative of color-evasiveness (Anama et al., 2017). I apply the same revisions with the original publication of the Institutional Response Framework from Cho (2018). Thus, a necessary element of the Institutional Response Framework is explicitly describing the dimension of race. The anchors of the dimension are then the ways institutions like colleges and universities respond through institutional racial consciousness or institutional color-evasiveness. Through this third dimension, the full model of the Institutional Response is seen in Figure 2.3.:

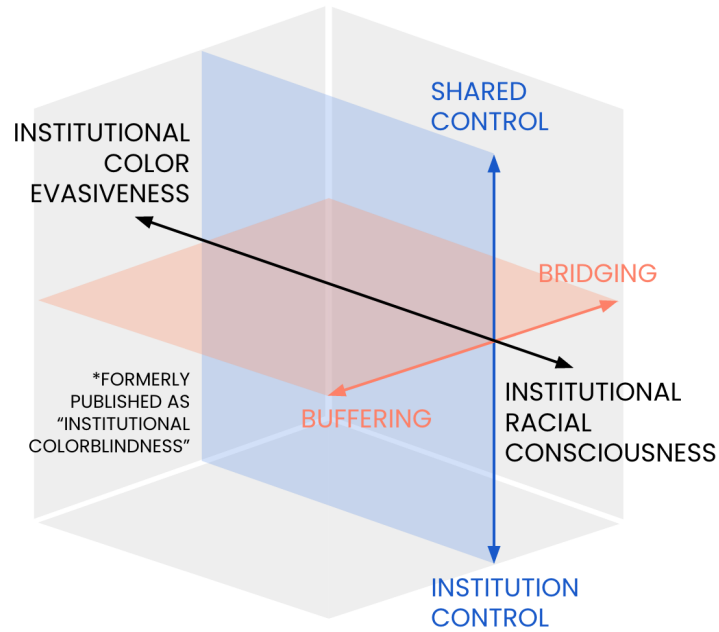


Figure 2.3: The Institutional Response Framework and Dimensions

Informed by Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1993), racial formation (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Omi & Winant, 2015), and organizational theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1979; Scott & Davis, 2006), IRF explicitly names race through the two extremes of institutional colorblindness and institutional racial consciousness (Cho, 2018). These two extremes describe how institutions act and perpetuate the myth of being race-neutral organizations (i.e. colorblind) or conversely, actively acknowledge and take steps to address their racist pasts (Wilder, 2013). Moreover, the Institutional Response Framework is both an indictment of and response to organizational theory and its lack of integrating racism within the field and the ways it minimizes race in the conceptualization of power (Squire, 2015).

Function and Testing IRF

The Institutional Response Framework, as a theoretical lens, captures and theorizes on (1) what the administrative actions are in response to student activism; (2) how these responses are tied to a sense of racial consciousness, power, and pressures found within colleges and

universities; and (3) how these decisions affect the conditions experienced and voiced by Student-Activists of Color. The definitions and constructions of these four terms (of schisming, appeasement, co-option, and partnership) along with the third dimensional extremes of institutional colorblindness and institutional racial consciousness will be refined through empirical work in this study. Moreover, one of the key features of the IRF is that the different quadrants and dimensions are meant to be dynamic, particularly in the wake of student activism. As such, I hypothesize that institutional responses move both within and across quadrants as they continue to engage with student activism.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

In what follows, I detail the connections between the qualitative comparative case study design and the research questions, explaining the criteria and site selection of each study site. I then describe each of the three phases of my research design: document collection, interviews, and then analysis with the Institutional Response Framework. I conclude this chapter discussing nuances with research design including anonymity, trustworthiness provisions to ensure confidentiality, positionality, and limitations. As part of an intentional practice of institutional accountability, I do not anonymize my case study sites, also because many of the documents I use are publicly available, which I expound upon in this chapter.

Comparative Case Study Methodology

Case study research, ultimately, attempts to “illuminate a decision or set of decisions; why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result” (Schramm, 1971, p. 6). The approach is uniquely positioned to corroborate and integrate a number of other methods, to cover both time and description to question the ‘what, how, and why’ of phenomena (Schramm, 1971; Yin, 2018). As such, this methodology provides a unique advantage of exploring the multiple facets of what is viewed as the “institution.”

I position my first two research questions as the case context. By examining the nature of student activism and demands regarding the manifestations of racism on campus at two public universities (RQ1), and the responses made by the target institutions (RQ2), I paint the backdrop for the phenomenon. More specifically, my third research question (RQ3) aims to understand the decisions made and actions taken by administrators who produce the institutional responses. Furthermore, these responses are not merely constructed and interpreted by administrators (who may also differ amongst one another), but are also received and perceived by students. These

different perspectives lean this case study design toward an epistemological positioning of constructivism in order to focus on “how their different meanings illuminate [the] topic of study” (Yin, 2018, p.16). Therefore, the fourth research question (RQ4) speaks to how Student-Activists of Color understand the responses made by the target institutions. Table 3.1 describes how the research questions outline the various components of case study design:

Table 3.1: The Relationship between the Research Questions and Case Study Elements

Research Question	Case Study Element & Purpose
[RQ1] Between 2015-2018, what student activism took place at two flagship universities in response to campus racism?	Understanding the context
[RQ2] What are the responses that target institutions have made?	Understanding the phenomenon of institutional responses
[RQ3] What are the factors that informed administrators’ responses to student activism at target institutions?	Understanding the phenomenon of institutional responses and specifically, the decision-making process
[RQ4] How do Student-Activists of Color perceive institutional responses on target institutions?	Incorporate multiple meanings and interpretations from a constructivist epistemology

Case Criteria

Within case study design, cases can focus on individuals, events, entities, and even processes (Yin, 2018). This study identifies the case as a college or university, with a selection criterion that they must be public institutions of higher education. Public institutions, in comparison to private institutions, generally have more transparency of institutional decisions due to their open records. These statements and records include board of trustees’ minutes and actions, university-wide or department-specific strategic plans, campus announcements, as well as videos from audits and social media posts by the college or university.

College and universities face demands regarding racism to which they *respond*. As a second criterion, each site must have experienced at least one form of student activism (whether

that be protest, demonstration, strike, or boycott) due to manifested racism on campus (which can include controversy over a Confederate statue on site, or a racially-based hate crime). While racism amongst college students exists both geographically off-campus as well as online, I limit the events of racism to on-campus events. Colleges and universities continue to wrestle with and negotiate the grey areas of off-campus, affiliated spaces, and cyberspace (McBain, 2008); by ensuring that the events examined are on-campus, the responsibility for the institution to respond is much clearer.

Timeframe

For the timeframe, I consider cases of student activism and responses from 2015 onward. I chose 2015 because of the increase of student demonstrations and protests against campus racism, as seen through The Demands (www.thedemands.org), which particularly highlight Black students' demands and concerns about systemic racism on their campuses (Cole & Heinecke, 2018). Additionally, November 2015 is a turning point within student activism when a series of protests led by the student group *Concerned Student 1950* precipitated events that led to the resignation of University of Missouri's Chancellor and President (Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016). Students were able to amplify their demonstrations and protests by harnessing national media coverage, connecting their concerns with the larger Black Lives Matter movement, and trending hashtags like #ConcernedStudent1950 #InSolidarityWithMizzou throughout social media (Workneh, 2015). I aim to examine this national attention in order to understand the pressures, if any, that administrators feel when students harness social and national media to create a *reputational threat* (McDonnell & King, 2013). Combining the site criteria with the additional research questions, I use the following sample parameters (adopted from Miles & Huberman, 2014) and outlined in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2: Sampling Parameters for Case Study Construction

Sampling	Parameter
Setting/Case Criteria	Public four-year university
Actors/participants	Student Activists of Color and administrators/faculty who were at the institution at the time of the activism (which also means they may no longer be at the institution at the time of data collection)
Events	Student-led activism within 2015-2018 that addressed racism on campus; list of student demands; must have received national attention
Processes	Construction and implementation of institutional responses following the student-led activism, which can include presidential statements, strategic plans, and task forces

The Approach of Replication and Embedded Case Units

Colleges and universities vary in their history, governance, size, Carnegie Classification, culture, and diverse student enrollments (Griffin & Hurtado, 2010). To better understand some of the potential differences and nuances across institutions that face similar challenges, I opted for a comparative case study analysis of two research-intensive universities influenced by southern cultural legacies. Multiple or comparative case studies can serve as either a literal replication with similar cases or theoretical replication for contrasting cases (Yin, 2018). I elected to narrow the case studies towards *literal replication*, where cases are designed to corroborate each other (Yin, 2018). In addition to the aforementioned variances, institutional dynamics and campus histories differ and can impact how decisions are made. By keeping as many institutional-level factors somewhat similar as possible, this study is able to nuance the subtle and not-so-subtle differences in how institutions make decisions.

Furthermore, within each case study, I use an *embedded, multi-unit approach* (see Yin, 2018). Compared to a single-unit analysis (generalizing overall), multi-unit or embedded case

analysis provides a pathway to explore a case study's numerous units or subgroups within the overall case (Yin, 2018), which is ideal in understanding the different facets of the "institution." Higher education institutions consist of many active constituents, including 1) students, 2) faculty, 3) senior level administrators such as the president or chancellor, provost and deans, and 4) the presiding/governing boards of each respective institution. These four groups serve as the embedded units within each case study site. As a note, I weave task forces and program offices into each of these four units, but recognize that institutional responses extend far beyond the confines of faculty, senior-level administrators, and governing boards. The campus community includes program offices and academic units, as well as student affairs units like residential life that I was unable to coalesce into a separate embedded unit due to the lack of publicly available data.

The Praxis of Anonymity

One of the intentional practices employed for this study is *not* anonymizing the institution. My rationale is twofold. First, all materials from the document collection are from public sources; online documents are searchable. To ensure the privacy of site institutions, I would have to limit the thick description of each institution, which would both decrease its validity (Creswell, 2009), and decontextualize the student protest— a critique of existing scholarship that employs organizational theory to analyze student protests. Or, I would have to change the original language of the documents, which goes against the execution of findings with critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2003).

Second, student activists, especially in this era of social media amplification, intentionally use strategies to publicize their concerns to a broader audience. With the historical habit of colleges and universities making decisions behind closed doors (Wilder, 2013), this

public view is all the more important for institutional accountability. This challenge and ethical dilemma of anonymization would result in the loss of contextual data, which may be critical to the research questions (Thomson et al., 2005). This study's focus on understanding institutional responses to student activism around campus racism *requires* the historical and present context of the university, which cannot be separated from its identity.

Case Study Sites

Based on the case study criteria, the two sites are the University of Virginia and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In what follows, I describe the case context of each institution as well as descriptions and dynamics of each embedded unit.

Campus Identities and Concerns

Both the University of Virginia (UVA) and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) serve as the flagship higher education institutions within their respective states. Their shared identity includes being research-intensive, public higher education institutions in the geographic South. An important distinction though is that UNC Chapel Hill exists within the larger University of North Carolina system, which creates an added layer of governance compared to UVA. Both are also traditionally and predominantly white institutions, with over 60 percent of their student body and faculty bodies identifying as white.

Within the 2015-2018 timeframe, both case studies received national media coverage for racist-related manifestations on campus. UVA made headlines due to police brutality (in 2015), white supremacy (in 2017), and struggles over Thomas Jefferson (also in 2017); UNC-CH's headlines centered on the Confederate statue, Silent Sam (through 2017-2018). In addition, both case contexts include strong alumni communities that potentially speak to and exert the external pressure that administrators needed to take into account during their processes for developing a

response. Moreover, each university's political dynamics included the resignation of their respective presidents, with top leadership stepping down within the year that student activism occurred.

The South and Confederate Tradition

The geographic location of UVA and UNC-CH both being in the South (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000) is an important factor. This regional context is a unique and critical similarity, situated in the South's complexity with (1) slavery where many of the states within this region aligned with the Confederate Army in the Civil War (Wilder, 2013); (2) its establishment of dual systems in higher education through the Morrill Acts to create HBCUs as a means to keep flagship institutions predominantly white (Parker, 2008; Wilder, 2013); (3) the reluctant integration despite federal court rulings such as *Brown v. Board* and *Ayers v. Fordice* that established that separate was not equal in education (Parker, 2008; Wilder, 2013), and (4) the historically present and growing public activities of contemporary racially-charged hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK; Carrier, 2017).

While the impact of slavery, efforts for desegregation, and presence of hate groups exist *across* the United States and *not just* within this region or at UVA and UNC-CH, the South has a special history with these tensions. Thus, many institutions in these states with a long history of segregation in higher education can learn from these case studies. It is not a coincidence that both UVA and UNC-CH contend with student activism whose demands include removing campus symbols representing slavery, the Confederacy, and eugenicists. Further explanation of each case study site's history and activism is found in chapters four and five.

The Embedded Case Units within UVA

Student-Activists of Color

UVA's student body includes over 23,000 graduate and undergraduate students. For Fall of 2015, the descending racial demographic of Students of Color was the following: 10 percent of students identify as Asian (non-Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander); six percent identify as Black; five percent identify as Latinx; four percent identify as Multi-racial. Of the 23,883 UVA students, 38 identify as Native American and 14 identify as Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, which is less than one percent. As a note, eight percent of UVA students identify as nonresident and five percent are marked as unknown.

Student organizations within UVA span specific departments, sharing concerns regarding gender, labor as well as identities like race/ethnicity, LBGTQ+, and religion. As corroborated in existing literature (see Linder et al., 2019), the identity of activists is complicated, yet one that my overarching definition of activism tries to encompass. Some of the key groups behind the activism in 2015-2018 at UVA were the Black Student Alliance, the Latinx Student Alliance, as well as the Asian Leaders Council. These three groups each wrote a set of demands between 2015-2018 along with campus context and recommendations for change.

Senior-Level Administrators

Campus leaders and senior-level administrators include UVA's president, provost, vice-presidents like the Vice President and Chief Officer for Diversity and Equity, as well as UVA's academic deans and the Dean of Admissions and Dean of Libraries. UVA also has an Office for Diversity and Equity (ODE), along with their Chief Officer for Diversity and Equity (with Dr. Marcus Martin from 2015-2017; Dr. Anne de Graaf for 2017-2019).

Within ODE, committees overlap and intersect with the LGBT Committee, Women's Leadership Council, Disability Advocacy and Action Committee, the Diversity Council, and the President's Commission on Slavery and the University. Their website includes the ability to

report both bias incidences as well as structural issues regarding access. Moreover, individual schools within UVA also have diversity committees, plans, and their own offices.

Board of Visitors

The University of Virginia's governance system includes its President, Board of Visitors, and its faculty. UVA's Board of Visitors (BOV) are 17 members, who are appointed by the governor and serve staggered four-year terms (AAUP 2013; Board of Visitors, 1970). The Board's terms are renewable for one additional four-year term, for a maximum service of eight-years. Of the 17 members, at least 12 must be UVA alumni. Additional stipulations include that at least 12 must be members of the Virginia commonwealth at large. Along with these 17 members are two additional non-voting individuals: a faculty representative and a student representative, each with a one-year appointment. Board responsibilities include the search for and selection of the university president (and election of several key administrative roles), fiduciary responsibilities (regarding the financial and general welfare of the campus), and upholding the values and traditions of the university.

The Board of Visitors meets approximately seven times a year. These meetings include an annual retreat as well as at least six regular board meetings (with the full board) within which different committees additionally meet, including the Finance Committee, Advancement Committee, Building and Grounds Committee, and the Academic & Student Life Committee. The BOV holds additional special meetings, when necessary, such as the ones for presidential nominations after Teresa Sullivan announced she was stepping down in 2017. The structure and roles within the Board include the Rector, who serves a one-year term as the chair of the Board, as well as committee chairs and members. Committees are both standing and ad-hoc and will occasionally be voted for structural change.

The political historical relationship between UVA's president and its Board of Visitors is important context. In 2012, the campus splashed into national controversy with the attempted removal of then-President Teresa Sullivan by UVA's governing board. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP), in their report detail the escalating tension between President Sullivan and specifically, Helen E. Dragas, the Rector of UVA's governing board and executive committee (AAUP, 2013). Following Sullivan's abrupt termination in 2012, students and faculty held a series of protests demanding her reinstatement. Ultimately, President Sullivan was restored to the position and served until 2018, whereas Dragas was removed from her Rector position. With this example, UVA serves as a broader case study on shared governance as well as how those tensions are malleable with pressure from alumni, students, and the rest of the campus community (AAUP, 2013). While many of the Board of Visitors have finished their terms and have new replacements, this context is important to remember in thinking through the different power dynamics, tensions, and pressures of governance. Moreover, through this experience, the larger UVA campus community has continued to critique the BOV on issues of transparency and a lack there-of.

Faculty

In 2015, the University of Virginia employed 1,575 tenure-track full-time faculty members (total faculty including non-tenure track was 2,573 instructors). Of the tenure-track faculty, 1,325 faculty members identified as white, which is approximately 84 percent of the faculty population (NCES, 2016; UVA Institutional Research and Analytics, n.d.). Tenure-track faculty span across the following 13 schools:

- College and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences
- Curry School of Education and Human Development
- Darden School of Business
- Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy
- McIntire School of Commerce
- School of Architecture
- School of Continuing & Professional Studies
- School of Data Science
- School of Engineering and Applied Science
- School of Law
- School of Medicine
- School of Nursing
- UVA's College at Wise

Figure 3.1: List of Academic Schools within UVA

Faculty at UVA participate in their Faculty Senate and many are involved with affiliated centers or campus programs like the Carter G. Woodson Institute for African-American and African Studies. The Faculty Senate meets approximately nine times during the academic calendar, with the following seven committees in action: Academic Affairs; Diversity, Inclusion and Equity; Faculty Grievance; Faculty Recruitment, Retention, Retirement, & Welfare; Finance; Policy; and Research, Teaching, & Scholarship.

The Embedded Cases within UNC-CH

Student-Activists of Color

The Chapel Hill campus of UNC serves a little less than 30,000 undergraduate and graduate students. For Fall 2015, the descending racial makeup of Students of Color during 2015 was the following: nine percent of students identify as Asian (non-Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander); nine percent identify as Black; eight percent identify as Latinx; five percent identify as Multi-racial. Of the 29,084 UNC-CH students, 144 identify as Native American and 56 identify as Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, which is less than 1 percent. Nonresident students at UNC-CH comprised five percent of the student population and three percent are marked as unknown. (NCES, 2015).

UNC-CH has a long history of student activism, particularly with the student group, *Black Student Movement*. Other key groups on campus who have released demands and opposed the UNC-CH administration have included the Latinx Unity Council, a coalition of Latinx and Hispanic student groups, as well as the Muslim Student Association. At UNC-CH, there is a fair amount of student activism related to labor and minimum wage; in fact, demands during 2015 included UNC-CH raising employees' minimum wage. UNC-CH's student activism has also included the digital sphere with students heavily protesting and amplifying their concerns on Twitter.

Senior-Level Administrators

Within this category, I determined that the senior administrators and offices that address issues of racism, inclusion, and diversity include the chancellor (equivalent of the president at UVA), the provost, as well as vice-chancellors and vice-provosts within campus units and/or offices like Student Affairs, the University Office of Diversity and Inclusion, and Campus Safety and Risk Management.

A critical detail for UNC-CH's senior-level administrators is the pressure that they face, not just from the Board of Trustees, but also from the Board of Governors of the system. UNC Chapel Hill is one of 16 university campuses along with the North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics, which compose the University of North Carolina System (The University of North Carolina, n.d., "About our system"). In addition to governance structures within UNC-CH, the university adheres to this larger system, which is determined by the Board of Governors, the President, and the Faculty Assembly. (As a note on terminology for UNC-CH, the campus leader is named chancellor and the University North Carolina system leader is called the president).

Throughout this study, when referring to the UNC-system, I use “UNC system president” and when referring to UNC’s leader, I use “UNC-CH chancellor” to avoid confusion.

Board of Trustees

The governing bodies of UNC-CH include the Board of Trustees, the Chancellor, and the Provost. The Board of Trustees (BOT) for UNC-CH consists of 13 members, eight of whom are determined by the system wide UNC Board of Governors, along with four who are selected by the North Carolina General Assembly and the UNC-CH student president as an ex-officio member (UNC Board of Trustees, n.d.).

The Board meets approximately six times a year, with an exception in 2018 when the Board held two emergency meetings following the toppling of a Confederate statue in August 2018. The structure of the meetings includes comments/remarks from the Board chair, chancellor, student body president, as well as resolutions, committee reports, programs, research presentations, and proposals. Some of the committees include the External Relations Committee, the Commercialization and Economic Development Committee, and the University Affairs Committee. Centers on campus that have been invited to present include the Carolina Women’s Center, Institute of Marine Sciences, Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History, and the Center for Banking and Finance. Research presentations within these meetings have ranged from discussing the framing of public policy to the language and usage of Blackness.

Faculty

In 2015, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill had 3,778 full-time faculty members (UNC-CH OIRA, 2016), with almost 80 percent of the faculty being white. The faculty at UNC-CH are in the following 14 schools:

- College of Arts & Sciences
- School of Government
- Hussman School of Journalism and Media
- Adams School of Dentistry
- The Graduate School
- School of Medicine
- School of Education
- School of Information and Library Science
- School of Nursing
- Eshelman School of Pharmacy
- Kenan-Flagler Business School
- School of Social Work
- Gillings School of Global Public Health
- School of Law

Figure 3.2: List of Academic Schools within UNC

UNC-CH has a robust structure for faculty governance—their Faculty Council. Created in 1950, the Faculty Council serves as a platform and space to ensure that faculty are part of the decision-making of the university. Of the 102 total members, 77 are elected from 18 university voting divisions. The Faculty Council meets eight times during the academic year. Committees are elected, appointed (by the chair), or ad hoc. Some of these committees include Community and Diversity (Appointed by Faculty Chair); Faculty Grievance (Elected); Scholarships, Awards and Student Aid (Appointed by Chancellor); Status of Women (Appointed by Faculty Chair); Open Access Review Task Force (Appointed by Faculty Chair); and Faculty Advisory Committee on the Confederate Statue (Appointed by Faculty Chair).

Data Collection & Analysis

Case studies require multiple methods of constructing and checking evidence (Yin, 2018). To build the case of each institution, I utilize three phases of data collection and analysis: drawing on archival documents, conducting interviews, and mapping the IRF. In what follows, I provide a detailed description of college and analysis for each phase.

Phase I: Document Collection

To better understand the contexts and catalysts of student demands, activism, and concerns, I utilized documents and archives. Documents, both printed and electronic,

contextualize particular phenomena (Creswell, 2009), and for student activism, these records serve as the historical legacies, footprints, and blueprints for future activism. I explain the process of document collection as two sections, the history until 2015 and then the time period of 2015-2018. The list of primary sources can be found in Appendix B.

Historical Documents, Archives, and Digital Repositories

To establish the historical context for each case narrative, I crafted an initial skeletal timeline of events using secondary sources (e.g. Nelson & Harold, 2017; Wilder, 2013), and then delved into archival records and online documentation. Archival documents include organizational records, census data, maps, and charts (Yin, 2018).

Student Newspapers. I examined student newspaper archives as primary sources to expand on student concerns and institutional responses. UVA's student newspaper, *The Cavalier Daily*, was established in 1890 and UNC-CH's student newspaper, *The Daily Tar Heel*, was founded in 1893 and began daily coverage starting in 1929. Newspaper issues and articles of *The Daily Cavalier* were part of Google's digitizing newspaper initiatives, which were sourced from the UVA Library Guides. Issues and articles of *The Daily Tar Heel* were available through the North Carolina Digital Heritage Center. Moreover, I looked at past campus archives for enrollment data, particularly as the first Students of Color attended each respective university.

With a research agenda specifically focused on student activism and campus racism, I emphasized the 1960s to understand the historical legacy of the campus racial climate (Hurtado, et al., 1998) and capture the slow dismantling of segregation at these traditionally white higher education institutions, acknowledging that desegregation did not necessarily mean a welcoming learning environment (Rojas, 2006), nor did it mean an integration given existing dual higher education systems with resource differences between traditionally white flagship institutions

(TWIs) and historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in each state (Wilder, 2013). Moreover, the 1960s encapsulated much of the student protest and campus unrest among Students of Color— particularly with Black students feeling silenced, marginalized, and tokenized (Museus et al., 2015). Corroborating this rationale, the racialized coverage regarding Students of Color began to appear more in student newspapers in the 1960s. In addition, for UNC-CH, I also looked at the student newspaper, *Black Ink*, which was first created in 1969 by UNC-CH’s Black Student Movement out of a critique that *The Daily Tar Heel* did not include coverage of Black students. The digital repository of *Black Ink* articles spanned 1969 to 2001; for articles after 2001, I reviewed *Black Ink*’s website.

Archives. In addition to student newspapers, I explored several archives at both UVA and UNC, specifically related to campus president responses to and communications regarding activism led by Student-Activists of Color. More often than not, the oppositional demonstrations and activism were organized by the Black students at each respective campus. Both universities also had archives of their largest Black student groups, the Black Student Alliance at UVA and the Black Student Movement at UNC-CH. The latter case study site also had an exhibit about Asian Americans at UNC-CH, which I also referenced for primary sources. The newspaper articles, letters, and images inform a profound narrative about the cyclical relationship between colleges and universities, their Students of Color, and responses to their concerns. While some boxes within these archives were publicly available to access, others required a request form, which I submitted. From there, I was able to access digitized letters, documents, and images. Table 3.3 shows the various archives and digital repositories I referenced for this study,

Table 3.3 Summary of Campus Archives and Digital Repositories Analyzed

Archive or Repository Name	Where is it Housed?	Types of Documents
Black Ink	UNC-CH and North Carolina Digital Heritage Center	Newspapers, Ads
Black Student Movement of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Records	The Wilson Library at UNC-CH	Demands, articles, photos, slides
Board of Visitors Archives of Minutes	University of Virginia Library Digital Repository	Minutes, remarks
Office of Chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	Wilson Special Collections Library at UNC-CH	Letters, Responses by Chancellor Sitterson
Office of the Registrar and Director of Institutional Research	The Wilson Library at UNC-CH	Reports of enrollment
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Administration of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	The Wilson Library at UNC-CH	Statistics enrollment numbers
Papers of Alice Jackson Stuart 1913-2011	Special Collections at UVA Library	Letters
Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History Records, 1984-2013	The Wilson Library at UNC-CH	Photos, letters, newspaper articles
The Cavalier Daily	Google Digitizing Newspaper; UVA Library Guides	Newspapers, Ads
The Daily Tar Heel	UNC-CH, North Carolina Digital Heritage Center	Newspapers, Ads
“The North Carolina Experience” from Documenting the American South	North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH	Books, Letters, Personal observations

Archives are built for specific audiences and with specific purposes. Cognizant of the potential bias of institutional reputation, I cross-referenced events by turning to non-campus digital repositories of newspapers, paying special attention to Black-owned newspapers and magazines in both Charlottesville, VA (for UVA) and Chapel Hill, NC (for UNC). This additional information provides a richer historical narrative of how colleges and universities began responding to student activism related to issues of race and racism, and how they coincided with the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power Movements (Joseph, 2013; Rojas, 2006; Wilder, 2013). Moreover, as student demands and concerns moved into the 1980s and early 2000s, these archives and digital repositories document the evolution and stagnation of institutional accountability, particularly through the eyes of the students on campus.

Document Collection for 2015-2018

For contemporary document collection, I specifically searched for three types of the documents: (1) those authored by students at each university; (2) those created by faculty, senior-level administrators, and/or boards; and (3) documents from either local or national publications. Overall, institutional documents are accessed by harvesting the various webpages and embedded documents within each institution's website. These documents are corroborated by webscraping techniques through the Web Scraper (<http://webscraper.io/>) program (an extension created by Google Chrome) to ensure that other documents have not been overlooked in the hierarchy and nesting of tabs within tabs. However, even with this program, I conducted manual searches due to differences in committee or file names. While some of these documents are within the governance/leadership section, such as strategic plans and other long-standing materials like the university's mission statement, other institutional responses like presidential statements are located in various updates or news-announcements on university websites. In what follows, I provide a detailed description of the process of collection for the embedded units and provide additional detail by institution, given that the processes were similar for both.

Student Publications. I conducted several rounds of documents collection searches. The first was looking at the primary respective student publications for each case study site, which, as described in the previous section, are *The Cavalier Daily* (for UVA) and *The Daily Tar Heel* and *Black Ink* (for UNC-CH). I bounded my searches to be between 2015-2018 and conducted several searches using terms like: "activism," "protests," "racism," "discrimination," "tension," and "rally." As a note, I did *not* limit my searches to materials that only mention racism, race, marginalization, or white supremacy. Past scholarship has indicated the reluctance, not only within research communities but also the larger society, to explicitly name racism and instead the

tendency to dilute or broaden it with replacement words such as “tension” (Harper, 2012). Thus, this study’s search parameter cast a wide net so that its methods do not replicate methodological color-evasiveness. In addition, I used search terms based on groups affiliated with Students of Color, for example, “Black Student Alliance” and “Minority Rights Coalition” for UVA and “Silent Sam Coalition” and “Black Student Movement” for UNC-CH. For full list of search terms and article distribution, please refer to Appendix L.

My exclusion criteria centered on whether the context was related to students and race. For example, in 2015, UVA had an ongoing case about sexual assault (after a now-retracted publication by *The Rolling Stone*), and UNC-CH was dealing with an ongoing case with the NCAA and academic cheating. While both cases included student concerns, most articles did not discuss racial critiques of how institutions were responding. If they did include a racialized lens, I included them as part of my document collection. In reading these articles, I then explored referenced links, if not already in my original search pools. I used a similar process with *Black Ink*, but without the search process and instead read through their semi-monthly issues, which totaled 17 between 2015-2018. Across these three sources, I examined a total of 1,837 articles for student concerns.

Senior-Level Administrators. To explore the complexities of wading through senior-level administrative responses, initial searches first started with campus messages authored by the president/chancellor of, some of which were identified through the student sources, while others were searched directly on the university sites. Most of these started with “A Message from the President” for UVA or “A Message from the Chancellor” for UNC-CH. I then expanded to look at other groups like UVA’s Office of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion and UNC-CH’s

University Office of Diversity and Inclusion. I also examined the academic schools to search for major- or academic field-specific responses from their respective deans.

Across these groups, I looked at their specific websites for newsletters, strategic plans, announcements, and updates. In addition, I searched for the original quotations from excerpts shared in student newspapers such as through interviews or a quote from covering an event. One of the limitations with senior administration, in terms of document collection, was that some of the communication occurred via email and not just through public-facing documentation. This is corroborated by student newspaper references to emails; the interviews I conducted with staff, faculty, and students; as well as my own professional experiences as a higher education administrator. In fact, as seen in the text message threads after the Silent Sam statue was torn down in August 2018, communication was also not just limited to emails. To help triangulate these messages, I additionally searched throughout *The Daily Cavalier* archives as well as message boards used within the UVA community (like Sabre), and contextualized these communications with the primary sources of strategic plans, task force updates, and minutes. Likewise, for UNC-CH, I looked at *The Daily Tar Heel* and *Black Ink* to glean messages beyond the public-facing documents.

Governing Boards. To examine the underlying tensions, challenges, and considerations of how governing boards address concerns around campus racism raised through student-activism, I examined several sources of data including meeting minutes and remarks. In addition, I searched through specific committees that would be related to student concerns and demands. I describe each embedded unit separately, due to the differences of their meeting minutes.

For UVA's Board of Visitors (BOV), I examined the meeting minutes, agendas, presentations, appendices, and dockets of the 21 regular meetings during 2015-2018. Related

committees included their Diversity and Inclusion Committee; the Academic and Student Life Committee, and the Building and Grounds Committee. If any of these meetings referenced an additional committee, I would examine those meeting minutes, agenda, and presentations as well. For example, the Diversity and Inclusion Committee referenced the speech delivered by then-Rector Martin during the Education Policy Committee meeting, which centered on Martese Johnson's arrest. Meeting minutes ranged from 7-30 pages for specific committees and 99-300 pages for full boards. In sum, my data draws from 73 documents with these parameters. Second, for the BOV full and committee meetings from March 2015 to February 2016, I was able to view and code the fully recorded videos. Of the 28 available videos, I looked at 14 that fit my parameters as either the full board meeting and/or a committee meeting recording. In addition, I looked at archives of past board meetings for the historical background of the Diversity and Inclusion Committee. Lastly, I identified, through UVA BOV archives, any additional statements that either the Board collectively or an individual Board member made.

For UNC-CH's governing board, the Board of Trustees (BOT), I looked through the archives of meeting minutes, remarks, appendices, and resolutions created and disseminated by UNC-CH's BOT. In addition, I searched and identified referenced reports, such as the "Recommendation for the Disposition and Preservation of the Confederate Monument" Report for the Board of Governors. In all, the total number of primary sources from the BOT were 88 documents, which were then also triangulated against the student reports, faculty council minutes, and reports from senior administrators. As a note, I examined only the Board of Trustees, given how the Board of Governors of the UNC-System have a much larger scope beyond just the UNC-CH campus. As I wanted to make sure to focus on the localized dynamics

of what was happening on campus, while I occasionally refer to the Board of Governors, the embedded unit of analysis is the BOT.

Faculty. For faculty, I examined minutes, transcripts, and resolutions from the Faculty Senate and Faculty Council at UVA and UNC-CH, respectively. Moreover, I also looked for op-eds, and articles penned by faculty from newspapers. I paid special attention for moments where a coalition of faculty wrote something together. For UVA, minutes from the Faculty Senate included 28 documents spanning February 2015 to December 2018. For UNC-CH, Office of Faculty Governance materials included 31 Faculty Council meeting minutes, dockets, and agendas from 2015-2018. Within UNC-CH's Faculty Council, I also looked at their resolutions, statements made by the chair of the Faculty Council, as well as statements and responses that were referenced. Relatedly, I examined the "Faculty Workshops on the Disposition of the Confederate Statue" report by the Office of Faculty Governance, which included meeting notes and minutes from 11 workshops held from October 3-10, 2018. Moreover, as faculty minutes and interviews referenced departmental statements, I was able to triangulate documents across, in addition to searching for involvement through student newspapers, whether it was a Letter to the Editor, a quote in the paper, or participation on an organized panel.

Additional Sources. For institutional responses, I also looked at the cultural centers at each site for statements, events, and/or programming that was created. For example, UVA's Office of African and African American Studies released a statement following the 2017 Charlottesville "Unite the Right" riot. Some programmatic events, outside of the cultural centers, were identified through the student newspaper, so I followed leads by searching for program events held by the campus. Moreover, I also searched on Google for Op-Ed publications for

additional perspectives, but limited the publications to those only authored by faculty, Student-Activists of Color, and or alumni from the campus.

Outside of these sources, when the political context referenced state legislature or city council, I would find the original motions, House Bills, and the minutes around them. For events during 2015-2018 which received national attention, I looked at frequently referred to mainstream news outlets like *The New York Times*, *The Atlantic*, *Huffington Post*, and *Washington Post*, as well as news outlets geared towards People of Color, like *Mother Jones* and *The Root*. I looked at these non-campus-affiliated media outlets for narrative comparison to the Op-Eds and narratives documented from the campus.

First Level Analysis

To analyze the collected documents, I first created institutional reports for each institution, noting the campus context, the historical background, and, based on Miles & Huberman (2014), developed an *events-listing matrix* format where I documented the campus, local, and national/macro layers of the historical context to create the chronology for each campus (see Appendices F and G). From there, I then transferred articles to the qualitative software Dedoose to code how students at each institution discussed their concerns. For some digital documents like newspaper articles from the 1960s and 1970s that were scanned, I printed and coded them by hand.

For documents, I employ content analysis and thematic analysis to identify emergent themes. For this analysis, I employ line-by-line *in vivo* coding (Saldaña, 2016) to capture the exact language used, paying particular attention to literary techniques like passive sentence structures, nominalizations, and morphological tactics such as the use of diminutives (van Dijk, 2003). Additionally, I utilize *versus coding* to help establish narrative distinctions that may

occur, not only between administrators and student demands, but also between different administrative units. The versus coding provides richer analysis for the construction of how each institution responded to student activism, regarding campus racism.

In addition, for select documents, I utilized critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) examines the ways text and dialogue enact, reproduce, resist and legitimize unequal power dynamics and inequality (van Dijk, 2003). CDA addresses the gap between the structural, institutional macro levels of dialogue with the microlevels of individual agency and interactions (van Dijk, 2003). With the power imbalance between higher education institutions and their students, particularly their marginalized Students of Color, CDA is a unique lens to explore emergent themes of not only *what* is being said, but also how the *actors appear to* influence *what is said*. For example, in the pilot study, I compared and contrasted how various administrators and student groups describe the actions of student activism, and the rationale of why these actions were taken. In doing so, I identified semantic differences that retold and justified the student activism in different ways.

Across both historical and contemporaneous documents, I applied CDA to those statements immediately released by the president or chancellor following a form of oppositional activism by students. Other documents where I applied critical discourse analysis included examining the exposé type of articles written by students that uncovered the racism of country club members (such as with UNC-CH). Documents in defense of the status quo (as determined by Student-Activists of Color) also warranted an initial examination through CDA. Within these documents, I paid special attention to presuppositions regarding institutional values. For example, when UNC-CH's Board of Trustees debated passing resolutions based on the rationale of what would be for the university's "best interests," I employed the CDA to interrogate the

assumption of “best” and explore what “interest” meant. The findings and analysis of Phase I become the foundation for the within-case analyses for each institution.

Phase II: Decisions and Perceptions

To better understand the pressures and constructions behind institutional responses, as well as perceptions around them, I interviewed five students, three faculty, and two administrators/staff. These interviews reflect the differences in perspectives, tensions, and actions that may have occurred behind the scenes.

Participant Criteria and Recruitment

To explore RQ3 and RQ4 regarding the guiding factors in creating response and perceptions of them, I interviewed students, faculty, and administrators/staff. My sampling criteria for students are those who identify as (1) one of the student-activists during the time of the cited activism, (2) a participant in the cited activism, and (3) a Person of Color, because they are disproportionately negatively impacted by campus racism. At the time of the interview, participants may have already graduated from their respective institution. In identifying students, one of the challenges is determining how involved they may or may not have been with the activism on campus and the creation of the student demands.

For non-student interviews, I aimed to identify mid-level and high-level administrators, faculty, and/or staff who were part of the institutional response, whether in creating an institutional document as part of a planning or response committee, or one of the liaisons working with the student groups. Interviewees do not need to currently work at the institution at the time of the interview, but must have been employed during the student activism and initial responses. While the goal of these interviews is to attain saturation of *what happened*, I also recognize that participants are not heterogeneous in opinion.

Interviews

For students, faculty, and administrators alike, semi-structured interviews were roughly 45 to 90 minutes via Zoom. Protocol questions for students (Appendix D) obtained information about their activism and demands, and targeted their perception of institutional responses, including asking them to identify and describe specific documents and actions they interpret as “a response.” Moreover, the questions asked about their interactions and involvement with administrators following their activism. Questions also asked about how they perceived responses and engagement, as well as other potentially related background information.

Protocol questions for faculty and administrators (Appendix E) sought to understand their positionality— for example, the number of years they have been in their position and at the institution, how their unit fits in with the larger university structure, and their roles and responsibilities both within and outside of the student activism. Furthermore, I asked participants to describe both the process as well as the internal and external pressures they faced in responding to students and other stakeholders, such as alumni or trustees. Interviews were recorded by me via Zoom and transcribed by Rev.com. Following each transcription, I reviewed the transcripts by listening to the audio to adjust for errors. To keep track of the data being collected, I will use a *case-level descriptive matrix* (see Miles & Huberman, 2014) that includes information about the interview, information about the interviewee, key points from the interview, and my initial reactions.

Challenges and Adjustments in Collection

Even prior to the onset of Covid-19 and the 2020 resurgence of Black Lives Matter, I experienced difficulty obtaining and coordinating interviews. Partly, one of the constraints was that I had determined both campus sites (based on my case criteria), without having first

established the necessary social and navigational capital to gain an “in.” The recruitment period for this study began in August 2019 and despite the numerous rounds of emails, I received less than 10 percent replies. However, of those, I was able to schedule a total of 19 interviews. Unfortunately, through this process, three were unable to record due to repeated scheduling difficulties, three potential participants petered out in their responses, and two had to withdraw due to Covid-19.

For this second phase of data collection, I conducted a total of 11 semi-structured interviews to examine the possible pressures, decision-making, implementation, and reflection behind these institutional responses. As a note, following one of the interviews, a participant withdrew from the study, citing increased concerns with cyber-bullying. I received permission to include this detail. Thus, the total count of interviews was 10 with each interview being held over Zoom. For triangulation and information about potential pressures and factors guiding institutional responses, I expanded my document searches. This decision led to the inclusion of governing boards as one of the embedded units, which became a fruitful addition to the study given their understudied role in campus decisions regarding conflict over student demands.

Given the lack of anonymity with institutions, I limit and modify the description of participant information, as a form of protection (which is still a necessary ethical practice that must be maintained; Ahmed, 2012). Towards the end of each interview, participants and I spent at least 10 minutes co-constructing the descriptive information they wanted to be made available. For each of the demographic columns, I asked participants how they wanted to be identified, providing examples such as Faculty of Color or merging departments as viable options for securing confidentiality. Following the demographic question, I would then read out the entire description to leave room for additional adjustments, if necessary. As seen in Table 3.4,

participant information is more generalized with redacted and intentionally vague elements.

While not “ideal,” the lack of (racial) diversity on campuses means that too many descriptions can easily point to an individual, particularly when considering the already hyper-scrutinized and surveilled experiences of People of Color and especially Black people. This process upholds both participant goals of anonymity and my goals of ethical protection and institutional scrutiny.

Table 3.4 Interview Participants

Pseudonym	Campus	Pronouns	Self-Identification	Department	Year/Rank
Stella Clark	UVA	She/Her	Non-Black Student-Activists of Color	Redacted	3 rd year
Travis L.	UVA	He/Him	Student-Activists of Color	Redacted	4 th year
Leila Nelson	UVA	She/Her	Black Student-Activist	Anonymized	Anonymized
Carla Stewart	UVA	She/Her	Faculty of Color; Former Admin	Humanities/ Social Sciences	Anonymized
Alex Davis	UVA	They/Them	Black Faculty	Humanities/ Social Sciences	Anonymized
June Lewis	UNC-CH	She/Her	Student-Activists of Color	Social Sciences	Alum
Mark Young	UNC-CH	He/Him	Student-Activists of Color	Redacted	4 th year
Jay Wilson	UNC-CH	He/Him	Faculty of Color	Humanities/ Social Sciences	Anonymized
Tanya Collins	UNC-CH	She/Her	Faculty of Color	Anonymized	Associate
Sarah Johnson	UNC-CH	They/Them	Staff (Race anonymized)	Student Affairs	Entry-Level

Analysis. Following the interviews, I employ qualitative analysis, using *in vivo* coding as my first round to focus on the words and language being spoken. Second rounds of coding use *values* and *versus* coding (Saldaña, 2016). Values coding helps explore the language around the mission, purpose, and messaging of the campus. For example, Ahmed (2012) points to how universities create value-statements to express their intolerance of racism. Additionally, versus coding looks at the narrative differences between the institution and its students— the “us vs.

them” type of language between the two. Yet, at the same time, this *versus* coding can be applied to the difference between intent versus impact, which might be unearthed when delving into student perceptions of institutional responses and actions. Versus coding aided in within-case analysis and disconfirming instances amongst the embedded unit. Similar to Phase I, Phase II uses Dedoose to manage codes and relationships.

After completing the initial within-case patterns, I built on the existing institutional reports from Phase I of the document analysis, adding onto the within-case analysis of emergent themes from the second round of coding. Moreover, I employed Yin’s (2018) analytic technique of *iterative explanation building* to weigh the analysis compared to preliminary theoretical propositions, which for this study, would be the dimensions of the Institutional Response Framework. The “what happened” and “how” from the iterative explanations are added to the narrative reports. A general outline of multiple-case study procedure can be found in Figure 3.3:

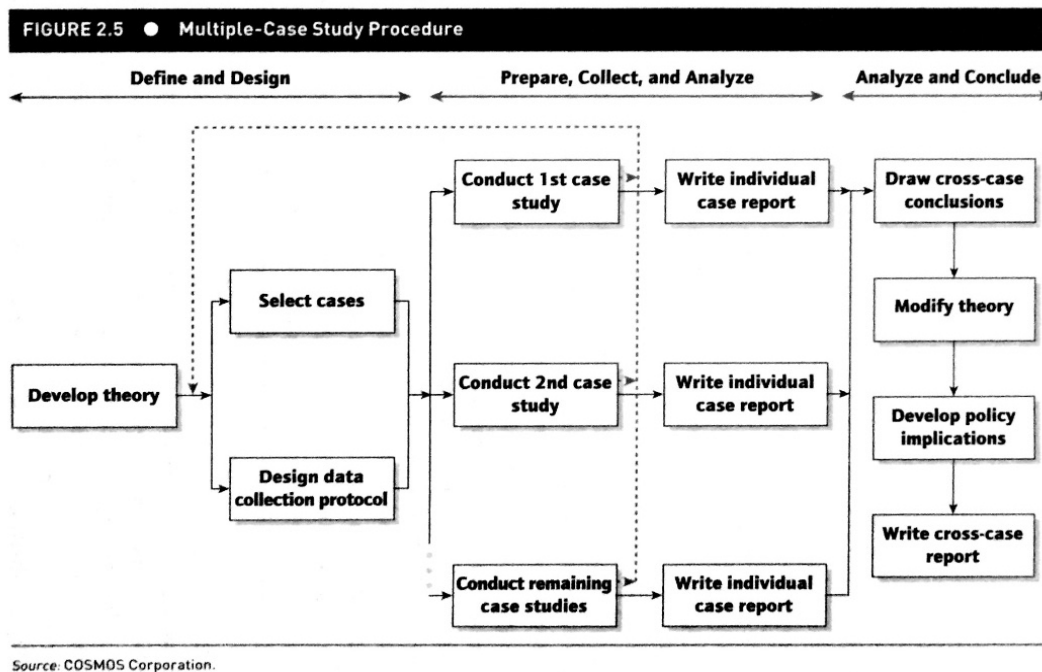


Figure 3.3: Multiple-case study procedure (from Yin, 2018)

After concluding the narrative report, I conduct cross-case analysis to examine emerging themes and whether there existed similar trends or what Yin (2018) describes as “plausible rival explanations” (p.172). For example, I look at how one case might be (literally) replicative of the other, and in places that it is not (e.g. different statements made by each institution’s respective president), would look for the how and why behind the divergence. Some of the areas that I especially focus on are similar and different power dynamics between students and administrators; how the campus is organized to respond to student activism (if at all); as well as the ways strategies were implemented or are still in the process of being implemented as compared to becoming non-performative or merely declarative statements. Given the embedded, multi-unit case study approach, I compare student activists’ themes and codes across the two campuses, and then did the same with faculty, senior-level administrators, and boards across the two universities, to detect similarities and differences. Yin (2018) and Miles & Huberman (2014) recommend creating matrices and networks to visually display coding structures, themes, and conclusions that might be drawn. I created several *variable-by-variable matrices* (see Miles & Huberman, 2014) to compare codes and provide at-a-glance overviews of the data.

Phase III: Analysis with the Institutional Response Framework and Member-checking

The original proposal of this study included a follow-up in March and April with participants, with initial principles from the quantitative technique of multidimensional scaling. Multidimensional scaling is the visualization of data through “representing n objects geometrically by n points, so that the interpoint distances correspond in some sense to experimental dissimilarities between objects” (Kruskal, 1964, p.1). Yet, the crucial uniqueness of MDS, compared to visually representing survey data, is “the analogy of distance and (dis)similarity. A map is created so that brands thought to be similar will be represented as points

close together on the map, and brands thought to be different will be further apart” (Iacobucci, 2018, p. 243).

Due to the global pandemic, I adjusted this portion of the study to instead, adopt the *principles* of multidimensional scaling by recoding responses and perceptions through similarities and dissimilarities. More specifically, through interviews and primary documents, I coded for phrases that were criticisms of institutional actions. For example, part of the concerns from both UVA and UNC-CH students were regarding the silence and lack of communication from senior-level administrators following a manifestation of campus racism. The students’ communication conveyed that silences and statements were dissimilar; and in fact, statements were better than silences, which developed into non-metric comparisons. In addition, in two of the student interviews I conducted in April, I asked participants questions about valuing certain responses over the other, to better understand their perceptions, and confirm these nonmetric comparisons and how they might map onto the dimensions along the Institutional Response Framework.

As a follow-up to interviews, I employed Harvey’s (2015) method of member checking by providing synthesized analysis so that participants can read their own reflections and thoughts. I provided high-level generalizations from the finding to ensure continued anonymity and minimize the risk of harm for other participants. This primes the potential for rich data in how individuals can “validate results by seeking disconfirming voices, yet it also provides opportunity for reflection on personal experiences and creates opportunities to add data” (Birt et al., 2016, p.1803). By doing so, participants are able to challenge the conclusions I have drawn so that I remain accountable to their perceptions of what was shared (Birt et al, 2016; Chouinard, 2013). Of the 10 interviewees, I sent eight follow-ups using this member-checking process. Two

were provided much simpler follow-ups due to time constraints. Of the eight, one replied with some comments and we continued an email exchange which helped me better address one of the quadrants within the Institutional Response Framework. My hope is to expand this study, incorporating multidimensional scaling and follow-up with a member-checking interview.

The analysis of generalized plotting provides visual explanations as well as increased conceptualizations of how responses differ both from one another and by individual. These multiple forms present the multiple truths of participants and their perceptions of the institution brand. This ability to identify institutional branding, in their responses, is one of the principles of multidimensional scaling, and the start of a much larger research agenda in the future where I can continue to map institutions on the IRF dimensions.

Trustworthiness and Credibility

Gaining and maintaining the trust of participants is critical. For that reason, the interview protocol includes an extensive section devoted to how participants would like to be represented in description. Moreover, I use a synthesized member-checking approach so that not only are participants able to see their own transcripts, but they can also provide additional counter responses or disagreements to the conclusions I have made. In doing so, I hope to provide another avenue for discourse and incorporation of divergent perspectives that not only better represent the opinions of participants, but also increases the trustworthiness of the study (Creswell, 2009). Moreover, to establish study credibility, I turn to peer-debriefing to check my assumptions, particularly with the application of codes and resultant analyses of themes (Miles & Huberman, 2014). Similar to the member-checking process, I shared quotes and passages to discuss the different dimensions of the Institutional Response Framework. Peers included two graduate students and two former student-activists with whom I had previously worked.

Challenges, Limitations, and Reflections

The strength of case studies is the ability to conduct multi-faceted data collection and analysis through a variety of methods (Yin, 2018). In reflection, one of the most difficult challenges was participant recruitment and the inability to conduct follow-up interviews, as well as the geo-spatial analysis originally designed to explore the geopolitical intentions of where students decided to hold their acts of activism. A possible reason for the difficulties I experienced with both case study sites might be one of timing. In 2019, both campuses were (still) experiencing changes in leadership with their president (for UVA) and their chancellor (for UNC-CH). Additionally, both UVA's and UNC-CH's equivalents of their chief diversity officers also changed and UVA's provost became the president of University of Connecticut. Even further, Student-Activists of Color were continuing to protest, especially at UNC-CH where the debates over Silent Sam continued well into 2020. Thus, for future studies, unless able to physically be on campus, I will likely reconsider how to approach the timing of when to engage an institution so quickly after a series of activist actions amid continued manifestations of racism. Furthermore, during an informal conversation, a colleague at UVA remarked that several activism-related studies were being conducted at the institution. Given the high-profile scrutiny both UVA and UNC experienced in their responses to students' activism, participants (both students and faculty/administrators) might be fatigued and/or unwilling to engage in yet another study trying to explore their experiences.

In addition to limited interviews, an obstacle of this study was the inability to incorporate the voices of staff/entry-level administrators. The document collection for each group, while present, was much less robust—likely due to the lack of institutional investment in creating formal structures for advocacy. While I conducted one interview with a staff member, the

conversation was the shortest at 35 minutes due to their work constraints. Future studies will explore the ways this group responds, and I am especially curious about the ways former Student-Activists of Color who are now in higher education positions navigate and conceptualize their roles and responses.

The complexities of accessibility posed a challenge for this study and future ones as well. For example, while I was able to locate demands from student groups at both UVA and UNC-CH, these selections already have the embedded bias of organizations having the resources and abilities to create and post these materials. Student groups that are more organized and have financial advantages might be able to create and maintain a website, which may overlook other groups doing this labor. For example, Covid-19 has further revealed how technology can both decrease but also very much increase equity gaps (Goldstein, 2020). Furthermore, given that institutional pages tend to be more established than the boom-bust cycle of non-.edu website domains (and how they are out-of-pocket financial burdens to students), student work and past websites may also no longer exist.

The use of multiple sources of data is aimed to both enrich the historical context of institutional responses and triangulate the situations. I borrow from the methodological rationale of historical analysis: this study is not meant to determine the *truth*, but instead highlight the existing tensions and complex background to uncover the *what* and the *why* as socially constructed by participants with different positionalities (Bricknell, 2011). Furthermore, the multiple and different cases of student activism, alongside the myriad responses, increases the validity of possible themes and generalizations made from the findings, so that one instance or response does not become *the* response of an institution and also demonstrates the dynamic nature of the Institutional Response Framework.

Positionality

Prior to the doctoral program, I served as a college administrator in New York City, where one of my roles was working with student groups during a series of student protests on campus regarding racial justice and inclusion. Concurrently, while pursuing an M.A. at Teachers College, Columbia University, I engaged in student demonstrations to push for a racially diverse curriculum more inclusive of first-generation experiences, LGBTQ narratives, and asset-based framings of institutional practice. In these dual roles, I experienced first-hand how conversations were less pivoted towards institutional change, and more focused on short-term solutions and minimizing damage or concerns until graduation—that is, as crises (i.e. problems) to *manage*.

These experiences spurred curiosity and motivation that eventually led to both my theoretical framework and my dissertation research agenda. I came to this study, intrigued by the power dynamics I dually experienced as both administrator and student-activist. My own awakening as an activist occurred long after college, during my time in New York as I advocated against domestic violence and learned how these issues of reporting, violence, and policing were so-closely tied to gender, race, immigration status, language ability, and privilege. These *-isms*, further exacerbated by institutions, required incredible navigational capital to identify, access, and utilize resources— capital that most individuals did not possess.

The frustration at not knowing how to navigate “the system” serves as the catalyst for this dissertation. During my time in the MA graduate program, my peers and I collectively questioned the “progress” that stalled, seemingly at every corner as we argued against the (lack of) response. For every meeting we secured, we left with more red tape to finesse. Yet, in working on the administrative side, I came to understand more of the complexities, tensions, and pressures behind decisions. The one-dimensional villainy I wanted to paint turned out to be a

much more complicated portrait of the decision-making behind these institutional responses. Likewise, this dissertation and my positionality offer a critique of proposed partnership: We are not *partnering* with our students. Their cyclical demands are the proof that something else is happening, and my dual roles and experiences help tease the “what else” to move beyond the “what now.”

CHAPTER FOUR: ROOTED IN RACISM, A PROLOGUE

In interrogating how colleges and universities have responded to student activism regarding racism on their respective campuses, it is evident that these webs of relationships and institutional racial dynamics do not occur in a vacuum. Student activism, demands, and concerns are rooted in the historical efforts of communities before them, and are also intertwined with the political and organizational dynamics of the institution. As a prologue to inquiry, I use this chapter to provide the geopolitical history of each case study site. I first sketch the origins and geography of each campus, then provide a chronological exposition of students' concerns and institutional responses that then set the stage for some of the enduring themes presented in the next chapter.

Legacies of Historical Exclusion

The University of Virginia

Founded in 1819 by slaveholder Thomas Jefferson, the University of Virginia's relationship with racism and slavery is not only firmly fixed in its buildings, roads, and landscapes (Wilder, 2013), but is historically rooted in their school colors. Virginia seceded from the United States in 1861, and originally, students of UVA selected red and gray for their school colors, in honor of the blood shed by Confederate soldiers during the war. It was only because of a dye shortage that they acquiesced to their temporary (now current) colors of blue and orange (Thelin, 2011).

The University of Virginia's first Student of Color is Yan Huiqing, also referred to as W.W. Yen, the first international student who graduated from UVA in 1900 (Sullivan & Xue, 2019). However, Huiqing's admittance and the continued exclusion of other Communities of

Color, more specifically Black Americans and Indigenous Natives, speak to malleable definitions of and debates about who “passes” as white (Lee, 2016; Haney López, 2006).

Desegregation at UVA’s campus began prior to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (though the state continued to be embroiled in lawsuits regarding their resistance to integration; Eaton & Meldrum, 1996). The first Black graduate student admitted to the university was Gregory Hayes Swanson in 1950, following the legal success of *Swanson v. Rectors and Visitors of the University of Virginia* by order from the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for Virginia (Kendi, 2012; Picott, 1958). In 1935, Alice Jackson (a Black woman) was denied admission (Papers of Alice Jackson Stuart, 1913-2011; Strayhorn, 2006). Twenty years later, UVA admitted its first three Black undergraduate students, Robert Bland, George Harris, and Theodore Thomas in 1955 and Bland was the first to graduate in 1959 (Slater, 1996). In 1961, Amos Leroy Willis was the first Black student living on The Lawn, which would serve as the first desegregated living quarter at UVA (Dillard, 2010). For 1968-1969, Alex Cintron became the first Latino student to serve as Student Council president, followed by James Roebuck who served as the first Black student from 1969-1970 (Newman, 2019). That same year in 1969, UVA’s then-president Edgar F. Shannon Jr. hired their first Black admissions officer to increase minority recruitment (Gates, 2018b).

The Enduring Legacy of Jefferson’s University

An overview of UVA’s history would be remiss without describing its founder, Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States. His ideas about university life and learning remain embedded in both the curricular and social threads woven within UVA (Thelin, 2011), but he also enslaved Black people until his death in 1827 (Wilder, 2013). Moreover, Thomas Jefferson promoted ideas of scientific racism and racial inferiority, describing a lack of trustworthiness of

enslaved Black Americans and turning to “science” for explanation (Wilder, 2013). To satisfy his curiosity, Jefferson instructed his enslaved laborers to unearth graves and excavate human remains from neighboring indigenous lands to investigate the racial differences of both enslaved Black Americans and Native Americans, eventually leading to his appointment at William and Mary’s medical program. His work encouraged the continued dissection of Communities of Color and the tradition of a “distinct southern science” that laid the foundation for eugenics (Ellis, 1998; Leonard, 2003; Wilder, 2013). While Jefferson argued that this supposed inferiority should not impact or impede the rights of enslaved laborers (Leonard, 2003), this dichotomy between racial oppression and democracy in his beliefs and actions continues as an area of controversy given his celebrated role as UVA’s founder.

Thomas Jefferson’s legacy is deeply embedded within the University of Virginia. Aside from his statue on the Grounds in front of the Rotunda Dome, remnants of his influence include the residential quarters “The Lawn,” which is historically the location of Jefferson’s “Academic Village” that is the birthplace of UVA. The UVA logo, which includes a sketch of the Rotunda Jefferson, in part, designed, with a dotted globe to signify how learning will impact generations to come (UVA Brand, n.d., “logo”). UVA’s color palettes are described as “Jefferson Blue” and “Rotunda Orange” (UVA Brand, n.d., “palette”). UVA’s annual celebratory “Founders Day,” is held every April 13, in honor of Jefferson’s birthday (UVA Office of Major Events, n.d.), and Jefferson has been referenced, in some capacity, during every convocation or commencement address since 2005. The University of Virginia’s tension regarding its founder has been longstanding. Student demands from 2007, 2015, and 2017 have all recommended some form of contextualization regarding Jefferson’s history as a slave-owner and father of eugenics.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) was first chartered in 1789 by Presbyterian slaveholders and missionaries (Wilder, 2013) on land originally owned by Chickasaw Indians (p.119). Noted as the nation's first public university (Wilder, 2013), UNC-CH used enslaved Black labor for its construction as did UVA (Wilder, 2013). Further, historical anecdotes and documentation of UNC-CH include how its students, faculty, and administration vandalized, terrorized, and belittled enslaved Black laborers; though to be clear, pervasive violence was not just limited to this campus (Kemp, 1831-1919).

For the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, one of the first attempts to break the “color line” for desegregation came in 1933 by the NAACP and Black graduate Thomas Hocutt to gain admission to UNC-CH's School of Pharmacy, the only one in the state (Kendi, 2012). However, as a note, UNC-CH's first Asian American student, Albert Bunker, attended the university from 1878 to 1880 (Kim, 2016b). Later in the 1950s, UNC-CH would play a key role in supporting Japanese American students (re)matriculating to college, alongside the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council. Following the unlawful incarceration of Japanese Americans in camps during and after World War II (Daniels, 2005), Kei Kaneda and Shizuko Hayashi were the first Japanese American students to enroll at UNC-CH (Ito, 2017; Kim, 2016a). With the Supreme Court of the United States' (SCOTUS) decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, the state of North Carolina slowly began integration, and UNC-CH admitted its first Black undergraduate students in 1955; its first Black undergraduate to receive a bachelor's degree was David M. Dansby, Jr. in 1961 (Slater, 1996). Integration in schools across North Carolina continued to remain slow, with less than 30 black graduate and undergraduate students enrolled at UNC-CH, compared to the total enrollment of more than 7,500 students by

1959 (Central Office Records, 1958-1959). By 1974, African American students made up just over five percent of UNC-CH's student population (Minority Statistical Data, 1970-1975).

Campus Geography, Landmarks of White Supremacy

Both the universities of Virginia and North Carolina at Chapel Hill have important geographies, including distinct landmarks that serve as pivotal sites of activism. At UVA, the 1,682-acre campus's most well-known landmark, The Rotunda, sits at the intersections of "The Grounds" and "The Lawn." Though a common moniker for the campus at large, "The Grounds" most commonly describes the space occupying one of the central entrances of the campus and Jefferson's statue. This space would later be the backdrop for a white supremacist march in 2017. On the opposite side of the Grounds behind The Rotunda is "The Lawn," which serves as a residential living space. Living in dormitories on the Lawn is viewed as one of the greatest honors for selected UVA students as they reside in Jefferson's originally designed and constructed "Academic Village" (Reid, 2017). Across from The Lawn is Old Cabell Hall, which serves as the bookend to The Rotunda. These five campus landmarks— the Grounds, The Lawn, The Rotunda, Jefferson's statue, and Old Cabell Hall— serve not only as central locations for the campus, but also as pivotal sites for student activism.

UVA's history of racism includes both historical and contemporaneous implications. UVA's support for the Confederacy included installing the Confederate flag on the Rotunda Dome during the Civil War (Gates, 2018b), and it was only in 2018 that UVA's governing board decided to create a more balanced history by removing its Confederate tablets decorating the inside of the Rotunda. Beyond Jefferson, campus symbols include several buildings named after eugenicists such as Jordan Hall, Lewis Hall, Alderman Library and the Barringer Wing at the UVA Medical Center West Complex (Reynolds, 2020; Rosenthal, 2019). While having now

been renamed, UVA's campus past also indicates the local and state trends of Confederate monuments. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center's database (2020), Virginia has over 230 symbols of the Confederacy—the most of any state.

At the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, the 729-acre campus is split into two central quads: Polk Place and McCorkle Place. The latter is named after Reverend Samuel E. McCorkle who wrote the charter for what would be the UNC Chapel Hill campus (Kemp, 1831-1919). McCorkle Place, the former location of the bronze statue nicknamed "Silent Sam," has continued to serve as a central meeting ground for demonstrations and activism. The majority of attention that UNC-CH garnered, particularly in 2017 and 2018, has centered on the removal of a bronze statue that was nicknamed "Silent Sam" in 1954, which was formerly located at McCorkle Place, one of the central locations on campus. The statue, erected in 1913, is a memorial for the sons or "boys of Chapel Hill" who went to fight for the Confederacy (Hull et al., 2004; Graham & Moore, 2020).

The university's buildings and landmarks tied to slavery and racism include not only the Silent Sam statue, but also Saunders Hall, Aycock Residence Hall, Cameron Avenue, Spencer Residence Hall, and Caldwell Hall. Moreover, statues like those of Silent Sam were not limited to just one campus but for students, represent a wealth of Confederate celebration across the state. Of the over 83 Civil War monuments in North Carolina, well over half depicted a Confederate soldier, symbolizing white Southern male bravery, and 72 out of North Carolina's 100 counties have some form of a Confederate monument (McRae, 2017b).

Institutional Racial Histories of Student Activism

As more Students of Color enrolled at both UVA and UNC, the increased diversity in representation did not translate into a greater sense of belonging. The events and activities

described in this brief overview are selected as pivotal moments that have shaped the conversations and dynamics during the 2015-2018 period. These stories are part of the historical legacy of racism, exclusion, and moments of inclusion.

The University of Virginia: A Fight for Belonging

In 1969, Black students protested on UVA's campus, arguing the case for a Black Studies program and for better efforts to be made by the university for racial integration. By 1970, Black students at UVA formed Black Students for Freedom which would eventually become UVA's student group, Black Student Alliance (Faulders, 1969; Gates, 2018a; Harold, 2012). With the changing campus demographics in the 1970s, UVA students created a forum to discuss minority affairs (Harold, 2018a). The Black Student Alliance (BSA) wrote a letter to the president and Board of Visitors, calling for better minority recruitment and the necessity for increased Black faculty. In addition, the letter specifically outlined the psychological strain of attending a predominantly/historically white institution (PTWI), a call to develop a Black studies program, and a proposal to create a Minority Affairs Office. In 1974, *The Cavalier Daily* divulged that then-president Frank Hereford, several members of the Board of Visitors (UVA's governing board), and 24 deans and department chairs held memberships with the Farmington Country Club, which excluded People of Color and Jews. Following months of protests, including protests about censorship, the Office of African American Affairs (OAAA) was established in August of 1976 (Gates, 2018b; Nelson & Harold, 2018). Five years later in 1981, UVA's African American and African Studies (AAAS) program was created, but still remains a site of student concern as the program has yet to become recognized as a department. In terms of historical significance, the Carter G. Woodson Center for African American and African Studies, which houses the AAAS program, partially rests on the land previously owned by Catherine Foster, a

free Black woman in Virginia (Harold, 2012; Slater, 1996). The Foster family sold the land in 1906 and in 2016, the land was designated in Virginia's Landmarks Register for historical sites (Heuchert, 2016). However, the university's senior leaders' and Board of Visitors' resistance to desegregation would be a continual theme. During the June 2, 1978 Board of Visitors meeting, the "Summary of Goals and Timetables" drew sharp criticism as the Board members stated,

"The commitment to attempt to increase the number of female, minority and black employees in the University of Virginia is *just that--a pledge to action* [emphasis added]. As such, the University's commitment means only that a *good faith effort* [emphasis added] will be undertaken to meet these objectives.

After *The Cavalier Daily* reported the meeting, students continued their protests, arguing that UVA's governing board had no authentic commitment to desegregating. For UVA students, especially Black students on campus, their concerns included a running theme of experiences with racial hostility and inequitable treatment. In 1984, UVA's then-President O'Neil charged the Task Force on Afro-American Affairs (TFAAA) to conduct a self-study of the university (Poe et al., 2017; TFAAA, 1987). The final report, created by a 16-member bi-racial committee and published in 1987, described the troubling and disproportional representation of Black staff members in maintenance and service positions as well as the experiences of students feeling marginalized and racially discriminated against (TFAAA, 1987). Ten years following the report's publication, student activists (including Student Activists of Color) held demonstrations and protests, following the Office of Equal Opportunity Programs (OEOP) release of the *Muddy Floor Report* and its troubling findings of discrimination, inequitable hiring, evaluation, opportunities, and sanctions that differed among Black/Staff of Color and white employees (OEOP, 1996). The series of protests would later provide the groundwork for the Living Wage

Campaign and sit-ins during 2006 at UVA (Nelson & Harold, 2018). With ongoing student protests and anger around a series of racial incidents during 2003, then-president John Casteen created the Commission on Diversity and Equity, which recommended the appointment of a Chief Officer for Diversity and Equity (Nelson & Harold, 2018; PCDE, 2004; Poe et al., 2017). In 2005, William B. Harvey was hired as UVA's first Vice President and Chief Diversity Officer (Bromley, 2006).

Two years later, in 2007, UVA's BSA published "An Audacious Faith II" (AAFII) as a student-created continuation of the original 1987 document (AAFI). The authors titled the report to show that "we, the Black student body, find that first it is necessary to revisit that [original] report and consider the recommendations that remain un-addressed and second, to update the concerns and recommendations of the 1987 report [AAFI]" (BSA, 2007, p. 6). The document includes an initial assessment of the original recommendations, with updated statistics on demographics and funding support (or lack thereof). Within these reports and expressed concerns, both from UVA students as well as reports created by the institution, were recommendations about reconciling UVA's history with slavery *and* honoring the erased histories and labor of People of Color on campus. For state context, the Virginia General Assembly (or the legislative body of the state), passed a joint resolution in 2007 "acknowledging with profound regret the involuntary servitude of Africans and the exploitation of Native Americans, and calling for reconciliation among all Virginians" (HJ728ER, 2007, p.1). Following the General Assembly's resolution, UVA's Board of Visitors released a unanimously agreed upon resolution of regret. The resolution, specifically released on the 264th anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birthday (referred to as Founder's Day), included both the General

Assembly's resolution and the university's own admission and account of how they benefited from enslaved laborers.

In the ensuing years, the larger Charlottesville community and Charlottesville City Council created the *Dialogue on Race* project in 2009, in hopes of addressing the strained race relations within the community (Nelson & Harold, 2018). Many UVA students, faculty, and staff participated, which led to the publication of the UCARE report in 2012. UCARE, or the University and Community Action for Racial Equity, was founded in 2007, as a way to discuss and envision reconciliation and included recommendations for greater truth and understanding (about shared university and community history); repairing and addressing racial disparities; and building relationships between UVA and its local community (UCARE, 2012). The 2013 election amongst the Board of Visitors resulted in the first Black rector (i.e. chairman of the Board of Visitors), George K. Martin (Poe et al., 2017). A year later, UVA president Teresa Sullivan launched the President's Commission on Slavery and the University in 2013 (Gates, 2018b; Nelson & Harold, 2018). UVA's long complicated history of racism and attempts at reconciliation sets the stage for understanding contemporary protest and institutional response.

The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: More than Just Symbols

Like UVA, UNC-CH's implementation of desegregation did not mean Students of Color felt integrated or even had a sense of belonging, having to negotiate the state and campus' long histories of racial segregation in education, low numbers of representation at the flagship university, and tangible forms of white supremacy. In 1968, the Black Student Movement (BSM) at UNC-CH developed a list of 23 demands that outlined the university's lack of support to the Black campus community (BSM, 1968). The demands included the establishment of African and Afro-American Studies, admissions for Black students to be based on grades and

recommendations instead of SAT scores, as well as increased financial aid beyond providing loans (BSM, 1968). In the early 1970s, James Lewis Cates, a Black Chapel Hill resident, was stabbed by a white supremacist gang and bled to death on UNC-CH's campus site, "The Pit," which is a common congregating area (McGee, 2018b). Following his death, students held a memorial and brought larger concerns about protection for the Black community (Black Ink Editors, 1971). The concerns and recommendations from students included the necessity for Black student space and institutional investment for 1) curriculum that eventually became UNC-CH's Department of African, African American, and Diaspora Studies, 2) the hiring of more Black faculty, and 3) increased support for Students, Staff, and Faculty of Color. The activism and demands would continue well into the 1980s, 1990s, 2000s, culminating with establishment of the Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture in 2004 (Roseboro, 2005; Sonja Haynes Records, 1984-2013).

In addition to the concerns that led to the eventual creation of their Department of African, African American, and Diaspora Studies and the Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture, students also shared their feelings of unsafety, experiences of discrimination, and racial hostility. Student news outlet, *The Daily Tar Heel*, published a featured focus on "Institutionalized Racism" on April 3, 1991. That edition included articles entitled, "Subtle racism from kindergarten to workplace still exists in 1991" (Hoyt, p.5), "Asians want more awareness, understanding of their culture" (Rodite, p.5), and "Low exposure creates cultural misconceptions of Hispanic community" (Bolash, p.5; see Appendix I for issue). In 1997, the Black Student Movement provided 22 new demands to then-UNC Chancellor Michael Hooker—many of which were a repeat of the former demands from 1968— with an added emphasis on

hiring more Black faculty, as well as reinstating financial support for the Black Cultural Center (BSM, 1997).

The concerns about racial hostility tie into UNC-CH student concerns regarding the institutional history with the Confederacy, which is displayed on campus through visual symbols, memorials, and monuments in remembrance of “heroes” of white supremacy. In the March 19, 1965 issue of *The Daily Tar Heel*, the editors published a series of articles about the presence and removal of Silent Sam, as well as the burgeoning debates about what Silent Sam represented. In 1968, following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the statue was tagged and painted; other UNC-CH students then voluntarily scrubbed the statue clean and placed Confederate flags next to the statue (which they later took down at the request of the university). In the 1970s, the statue was the gathering place for the start of several protests by BSM and students from the Afro-American Society of Chapel Hill High School. The statue remained the focal point for many student marches, either as the starting or end point for protests in 1971, 1973, 1992, and 1997. Debates about its symbolism (and possible removal) continued in the *Daily Tar Heel* with letters in 1973, 1990, 2003, and throughout the 2010s. For example, in 1991, the campus and local members of the Chapel Hill community rallied for a “Support the Troops” demonstration regarding the Gulf War, with organizer Alan Martin writing in *The Daily Tar Heel* on January 22, 1991,

Silent Sam is dedicated to UNC soldiers who went to war when their country called.

Most people now agree the reason the country was called was not necessarily right, and the same may be true today. the leaders might not be right, but a big issue with me is that I support the soldiers.

In 2011, *The Real Silent Sam* (a community-student alliance) was formed to nuance the complicated history surrounding the buildings, symbols, and monuments in Chapel Hill. By September 2011, a month after its creation, the organization unveiled a plaque next to the statue explaining the statue's history. Following each series of demonstrations about Silent Sam's removal, UNC-CH alumni sent missives and letters regarding the statue's historical importance in acknowledging fallen soldiers (without much reference to slavery). Likewise, the Carr Building, which originally started as a campus dormitory, was named after a former Confederate veteran and vocal advocate for white supremacy (Graham & Moore, 2020). Similarly, in 1999 student protests over the naming of one of the campus buildings after William L. Saunders, a known Ku Klux Klan member (Lamm, 2015a), laid the groundwork for the activism in 2015. Yet, students created ways to reconcile racism in the campus landscape. The class of 2002 raised \$54,000 to build the 2005-dedicated *Unsung Founders Memorial* to "honor the men and women of color who helped raise some of the first buildings on campus" (Knighton, 2002; University Gazette, 2005). However, monuments of white supremacy continued to serve as a point of contention regarding campus history and symbolic landmarks, especially between 2015-2018.

Setting the Stage

These brief campus histories and organizational contexts help frame the series of activist actions and interactions between UVA and UNC's administrations and their respective campus communities. Moreover, these past insights provide a context for the historical documents that frame many of the contemporary demands and student concerns expressed between 2015-2018. Underlying tensions existed well before the four-year timeframe of this study.

Both case study sites have shared tensions of reconciling their campus history, although they differ in the points of contention. For UVA, the bulk of student protests have centered on

the lack of acknowledgment of using enslaved laborers and the challenge of how to reconcile Thomas Jefferson as the founder of the university. For UNC-CH, the activism centered on the presence of symbols on campus that have supported slavery (e.g. Confederate monuments) and white supremacist ideals. What these struggles translated into for the next four years (2015-2018) was how the activism at UVA would center on contextualizing Jefferson's contribution while UNC-CH's would focus on removing and renaming landmarks. The common thread of both, much like the narrative of activism at many college campuses, was how to reconcile the histories of exclusion and harm in higher education.

By Fall 2015, both institutions reported approximately 30 percent of their total student population were Students of Color. (The total student population includes undergraduate students, degree-certificate seeking, transfer students, as well as graduate students). However, representational "diversity" does not necessarily translate to a sense of belonging for Students of Color (Ahmed, 2012) as both UVA and UNC-CH Student-Activists of Color would continue fighting in the 2015-2018 period to be seen and heard. As indicated in the histories of each site, despite the continued increase of representational diversity, Students of Color at both UVA and UNC-CH raised concerns about feeling as though they did not belong at their respective campuses as well as their explicit experiences of racial harassment and hostility.

CHAPTER FIVE: NO CLEAR ANSWERS

The Intricate, Chaotic Mess of Addressing Campus Racism

Institutional racial dynamics— how colleges and universities respond to student activism and campus racism—are at times unified, but more often, nuanced and fragmented. At both case study sites, the activism, mobilizations, and actions by Student-Activists of Color took the forms of protests, panel discussions, demonstrations, die-ins, and social media posts. As one of the student activists on UNC-CH's campus describes in the student newspaper, *The Daily Tar Heel*, “You can protest in many different ways. Protesting doesn't always have to be standing in front of a building.” Translating to student concerns, while both UVA and UNC-CH experienced extensive high-profile media coverage for some events, their Student-Activists of Color addressed many other concerns that were not as highly publicized. To paint a larger picture of what has been happening on each campus, I include a chronology of events between 2015-2018 for each campus that can be referred to in Appendices D and E.

Institutional responses to student demands take many forms, including but not limited to campus-wide statements, the appointment and activity of task forces, the hosting of forums and town halls, and crafting new or revising old campus policies. However, these responses and subsequent perceptions are not unanimous statements or consensus-building actions across the campus. There are tensions, letters of dissent, disagreements, and arguments about what ought to be done moving forward and who should be involved in the decision-making (as legitimate voices of the institution). Following the discussion of the embedded units within each case study, I provide cross-case analysis to discuss the similarities and dissimilarities between UVA and UNC-CH. Both the within- and cross-case analyses reveal tensions regarding space, the

complexities of addressing safety, and external and internal pressure points in the decision-making, ultimately pointing to how higher education institutions brand and value themselves.

The University of Virginia: An Undercurrent of Activism

Between 2015-2018, Student-Activists of Color and institutional agents (e.g. faculty, administrators, and board members) struggled with ideas of safety, UVA's history, the promotion of diversity and representation, and the role of education. Within each of these groups emerged a central theme of how their concerns or responses shaped their actions— for students, the concern was whether the university was *on their side*; for senior-level administrators, the concern centered on managing crises; board members were focused on maintaining a legacy; and for faculty, their responses demonstrated a multi-faceted network of dissent and support.

As a note on and acknowledgment of the politics of language and naming, I refer to the “Unite the Right” white supremacist actions and vitriol as a riot, compared to how mainstream media described them as marches and rallies. The term riot is heavily politicized to reaffirm stereotypes that convenings and demonstrations by Black activists (and at times, non-Black People of Color) are violent, unruly, and mob-like (van Dijk, 1992). Likewise, terms such as marches and rallies are used mostly for white or white adjacent gatherings, even if they turn violent (e.g. sporting celebrations; Sturges & Thaker, 2020). “Unite the Right” resulted in the injury of 19 individuals and the death of one, and as such, I use the term riot both as a way to challenge the existing racial cognition of the term and to describe the violence perpetrated by white supremacists as determined by said racial cognition.

Students: Are You On Our Side?

Student-Activists of Color reveal two levels of frustration. The first is the continued experiences of racism on campus, and the second are the related ways administrators maintain

the status quo. While these concerns fall under the themes of representation, police brutality, apathy, and sanitized history, the overarching critique from Student-Activists of Color is simple: the campus does not support them when it matters.

Representation

Racial diversity at UVA has increased over the decades with over 30 percent of the incoming class being Students of Color in 2019, of which 9.2 percent identify as Black (McNally, 2017). However, Black student activists describe the underrepresentation of Black students in their entering classes, pointing to the larger demographics of Virginia. For example, the Charlottesville City Schools district (i.e. public schools in the same city as UVA) had a student body of 30.8 percent Black in 2019. For Student-Activists of Color, UVA's commitment to diversity feels at odds when looking at the racial demographics of the region, and this has remained a consistent point of contention in demands created by UVA's student group, the Black Student Alliance. In *The Cavalier Daily's* coverage of the 2017 September Town Hall (see Appendix F), panelist Nana-Bilkisu Habib, third-year student, secretary of the Organization of African Students, described the need to interrogate the structures hindering admissions, "We need to be reaching out to the dean and the admissions office and asking them — what are their criteria [for admission] and why black people are not represented?" Similarly, students within the Latinx Student Alliance, a coalition of student groups, describes how the lack of a Spanish-speaking tour or translation hinders recruitment efforts (LSA, 2018). Further, once on campus, feelings of tokenization were part of the daily experience of university life. Leila Nelson, a Black student-activist explains:

... having to prove I'm smart. I hate it because I'm here, aren't I? I don't need to prove to anyone that I'm smart. But I have to because if I don't, I'm letting people get away with their stereotypes. So, I have to be more. All the time. Because there's so few of us.

The lack of institutional investment in representational diversity translates to an increased burden of interactional diversity for Black students. For Nelson, the increased burden pushed her to become an activist—because of how she was treated in class, particularly when a “racially sensitive topic” was being discussed (the implication here: being asked to teach and facilitate), she felt like she was already being positioned to be an activist so she might as well embrace it and find community despite the tokenism. The frustration by Student-Activists of Color extends to how the university seemingly does not express concern with how these low percentages might impact the racial battle fatigue Students of Color experience (ALC, 2018; BSA, 2007; 2015; LSA 2018).

Even further, as documented by the co-signatures of organizations in demand letters, minoritized student communities across the board point to the lack of institutional investment when it comes to campus space and the lack of departmentalization and academic options for ethnic studies (ALC, 2018; BSA, 2007; 2015; LSA, 2018). Articles from *The Cavalier Daily* (e.g. Eanes & Heskett, 2015b) explained the multi-level issue of representation; Black students at UVA are unlikely to have a Black faculty member, which further exacerbates issues of retention, mentorship, and places increased emotional labor on the few Black faculty members who are employed there. Similarly, UVA's student group, the Asian Leaders Council, highlights the value and critical importance of how Faculty of Color are able to, “understand [the] marginalized identity, offer nuanced perspectives in the classroom as a product of lived experience, and deeply connect with students outside of the classroom.” (ALC, 2018, p.4).

For students, their calls and demands to the university are not just about increasing representation or diversity, but concerns about how the university *commodifies* them. Student Aryn Frazier describes in her November 30 2015 column in *The Cavalier Daily*,

We need to stop talking about diversity as a tool. We need to stop talking about the ways diversity improves rankings, increases bottom lines and makes “us” better. “Us” has always implied the existence of a “them,” and in the context of higher education and business, that “us” is the white majority that existed within those spaces prior to integration — but minorities should not be the means by which white people’s profits and education are improved.

Distrust: Who is Protecting Us?

On March 18, 2015, UVA made national headlines after the campus’s Alcohol Beverage Control (ADC) department violently arrested Black UVA undergraduate student Martese Johnson— alongside the national discourse regarding Black Lives Matter, police brutality, and state-sanctioned violence on Black bodies (Black Dot, 2015; Eanes, Liss et al., 2015). Students at UVA had already had multiple issues and complaints about excessive force by campus law enforcement by 2015 (e.g. Eanes & Heskett, 2015a; Shulletta, 2015), and had several more opportunities to grow in their mistrust with campus and local police. In 2016, three University Department Police officers would be under investigation after shouting “Make America Great Again” to UVA students during a rally in protest of the presidential election results (Dodson, 2016c). By 2017, with the growing number of Ku Klux Klan rallies in Charlottesville, Student-Activists of Color expressed frustration not only with the Charlottesville police, but also UVA campus police and administration (e.g. Columbus, 2017; Culbertson, 2017; Di Maro, 2017b; Di Maro & Higgins, 2017). These sentiments would culminate in August 2017 with the “Unite the

Right” riot and Student-Activists of Color feeling as though they were abandoned. For Student-Activists of Color, the resounding question with regards to policing and safety is how they can feel protected against the very group that makes them feel unsafe (e.g. Snow 2017b). Following Martese Johnson’s brutal arrest, UVA student group Black Dot’s statement (2015) included:

We all asked how could this happen here? We are students of the University of Virginia, yet officers sworn to protect us, officers who live on the tax dollars we provide, abuse us.

We cried out for help, but we were *left without reply* [emphasis added].

Black Dot’s statement raises the issue of not only institutional inaction, but a sense of intentionality in the silence, which further indicts the institution as one that does not care. For students, this inaction and/or silence when a potentially dangerous situation could have been averted, is also another source of disappointment. Citing the (in)efficacy of UVA’s existing alert system during the series of KKK riots during summer of 2017, students pointed to the lack of safety alerts despite the close proximity of UVA students who lived in those areas. (For more background about what UVA did and did not do regarding the “Unite the Right” riot, please see Appendix F). Student leaders, like Evelyn Wang, fourth-year UVA student and chair of the Minority Rights Coalition pointed out that many students who live in the area were directly threatened. Wang expressed her disappointment in an October 10, 2017 article by *The Daily Cavalier*, “It feels like there was a present threat and the University did not think about how that threat could affect students who live there.”

In speaking with Stella Clark, a third-year Student-Activist of Color about feeling safe post-Charlottesville, she described a similar outlook regarding UVA and protection. For her, the feeling of safety was deeply complicated yet simple in that she has recognized that the institution was not meant for “people like her” and would not protect her:

When I started [UVA], I knew about what had happened to [Martese]. How could you not? So, I knew I had to find my people and figure out how to take care of myself. I'm [pause] for the most part happy to be here. But I'm not playing myself in believing this place cares about me.

As Clark describes, the question of care is the underlying concern when students protest about policing and safety. The critiques of silence and inaction maintain the status quo and manifest within students the feeling of mistrust and distrust. For students, these (in)actions confirm that they should remain suspicious of the university's ability *and desire* to keep them safe. As Caroline Mubiri, Student-Activist of Color and third-year student, explained in *The Daily Cavalier* August 10, 2018 article, after learning of the increased police presence in preparation for the one-year anniversary demonstration of the "Unite the Right" riot:

We have communicated to administrators how police only make us feel less safe on so many occasions that at this point it's obvious the goal of this show of 'force' is not to make students feel safe. If that was the objective, then the first step would be to listen to students and community members and place no-trespassing orders for all Nazis and white supremacists. Until then and as always, *we keep us safe* [emphasis added].

Whitewashing History and Current Concerns

For UVA students, the false and/or sanitized Jefferson narrative is at direct odds with one of UVA's most strongly professed campus values: a community of trust. Outlined in the 1987 university-led report on the racial climate of the campus, "An Audacious Faith" describes how the university prides itself on a "community of trust" based on "mutual trust and respect" (TFAAA, 1987, p.27, 106). The ensuing student demands, following the initial publication in the 1980s, have introspectively re-visited UVA's "community of trust" through a "Culture of Truth"

(introduced in BSA's "Toward a Better University" report, 2005) to examine the conditions of Blacks on campus and integrate minority perspectives across the university today. From this "Culture of Truth," students have crafted the rationale to reconcile UVA's history and change the current conditions for Students of Color on campus, implicitly building the argument that truth and trust go hand in hand.

The homage of Thomas Jefferson signals to Student-Activists of Color that the university will not only turn away from addressing the complicated tensions of its campus history but will also ignore the negative impact of Jefferson's sanitized representation on current Students of Color. BSA member Kiera Price wrote in her September 28, 2017 article, as published *The Cavalier Daily*:

Our founder, Thomas Jefferson, was a complex man to say the least. He wrote the Declaration of Independence and set his sights on cultivating religious freedom, but let's be clear that intelligence does not excuse racism or sexual assault. I know for many students it is hard to reconcile the founder and the slave owner, but understand they are the same person. That is why the University's foundation is embedded with the evils of eugenics, slavery and Jim Crow oppression. *Neo-nazis and the Ku Klux Klan did not invade Charlottesville, they simply came home* [emphasis added].

The culture of trust and truth UVA holds so dear meant Student-Activists of Color wanted to see an institutional commitment to changing the landscape of the university and to acknowledging the truth behind who built it. However, in the evolution of student demands, Student-Activists of Color have observed how not all acknowledgements are the same. Travis L., a fourth-year Student-Activist of Color described his frustration at the lack of prominence of the Memorial to

Enslaved Laborers, which began construction in 2016 by UVA as acknowledgment of their contribution to the campus:

I mean, don't get me wrong. I'm glad we have something. But the location is where people just step on it because it's the landscape. They don't have to be confronted. It's not *in your face* [emphasis added] the way all these other racist symbols are. You have to pay attention to know what it is.

As Student-Activists of Color describe, acknowledgments are weighted. To compare the multiple forms of celebration of Thomas Jefferson and symbols of slavery on campus with a plaque is what also drove Student-Activists of Color to demand a memorial (e.g. BSA's 2015 demand #8 to establish a permanent memorial on UVA's grounds acknowledging the enslaved individuals who helped construct and build the university). The demands and protests by Student-Activists of Color regarding Jefferson reflect UVA's unwillingness to confront their own culpability in creating an environment unwelcoming to Students of Color. Thus, despite improvements or initiatives that may happen across the campus, institutional responses are always placed in the context of how the university maintains whiteness by its sanitization of Jefferson's legacy.

Senior-Level Administrators: Putting out Fires

The responsibilities of senior leaders vary, ranging from addressing academics to fundraising, to communicating with alumni and public constituents (Tierney, 1989), and I recognize that there are differences among the grouping of senior-level administrators. However, senior-level administrators, especially the president and Chief Diversity Officer, are the ones students most often turn to for a response, especially during and after a crisis. Moreover, student demands (e.g. ALC, 2018; BSA, 2007; 2015; LSA, 2018) often refer to these two particular

positions. For senior-level administrators, their concerns and responses center addressing immediate crises, understanding the issue, and attempting to transform the campus.

What Just Happened? The Power of Naming

In the immediate aftermath of traumatic events, university leaders and administrators release statements to the campus community, which often require a recapitulation of events. While on the surface level, this introductory messaging looks like a simple summary, the words that are chosen reflect a deeper communication of what is important and what is *valued* by senior administrators.

This level of specificity is particularly important when naming police brutality and hate crimes because it reveals the willingness of institutions to name the differential experiences of racism and anti-Blackness. For example, after ABC's assault against and arrest of Black undergraduate student Martese Johnson in 2015, the President's message described how "The safety and security of our students will always be my primary concern, and every member of our community should feel safe from the threat of bodily harm and other forms of violence." However, the statement itself did not include clear details about the events that took place (i.e. naming the assault or violence) and instead named it as "an incident."

On some levels, this discrepancy might be due to the constraint and pressure of time. Campus messaging and responses to a crisis are often created and distributed within 24-72 hours. As a result, the tension of not knowing the "truth" results in statements that are vague about safety. However, the lack of specificity is what students describe as how they feel *unseen* as their concerns are swept under the larger rhetoric of security, safety, or "all students" or even the ubiquitous "we," particularly when race is not mentioned. Black students experience being policed differently. The statement of Rector Gregory Martin, chair of UVA's Board of Visitors

(in 2015), points to the heart of student concerns. Although he is not classified as a senior-level administrator, I include his remarks as an example of a specific race-conscious statement, which he made during the 2015 meeting with the Educational Policy Committee of the Board of

Visitors:

First and foremost, we are deeply concerned about the safety and security of our students — all of our students, regardless of the circumstances. Threats to student safety must be addressed, whether the source of the danger is external or internal... Reflecting on this episode, I cannot ignore the fact that Martese is an African-American.

This quote includes the acknowledgment that threats to safety can occur both externally and internally. In addition, explicit mention of Johnson's race is a necessary acknowledgment of how the issue of safety and police read differently for Black students on campus—a critique that their own activism has echoed. Likewise, following the “Unite the Right” riot, the Deans Working Group's communication, written by chair Risa Goluboff, Dean of UVA's School of Law, stated in a message to the campus on August 18, 2017:

I am appalled by the attempts of white supremacists to instill fear and provoke violence in our community. Acts of racial, anti-Semitic, misogynistic, homophobic, anti-immigrant intimidation and violence are criminal. White supremacy is a doctrine of terror, meant to insult, frighten, injure, and kill. There could be no mistaking those messages last weekend, from Friday night's march with torches on the Lawn to Saturday's loss of life and beyond.

The clear description from administrators sends a strong message to the campus: by naming what is and is not acceptable to the university, senior-level administrators are able to explicitly agree or disagree with the concerns of Student-Activists of Color. And while the strong statements

might at times result in disagreements between these two groups, the clarity and specifically let Student-Activists of Color know where their campus leaders stand. Such official statements show the growth of the UVA administration between 2015 to 2018, in the level of specificity, assurances and framing with regards to racism and white supremacy. Granted, much of this might be related to a more explicit expression of hate by “Unite the Right,” but the subtle shift in naming does demonstrate potential for the ways institutional responses can address the concerns of Student-Activists of Color.

Here to Listen; Here to Learn

Following an immediate statement, one of the most common next steps of university administrators is establishing some sort of group to better understand the situation (Fortunato, 2008). Through a position of learning, senior-level administrators create committees, working groups, and task forces, hold listening sessions, and town halls as ways to hear what is happening. For example, in 2014, President Sullivan created the “Ad Hoc Group on Climate and Culture,” (AHGCC) which was composed of faculty, students, administrators, and alumni, as well as trustees. The subcommittees held town halls, interviews, and meetings to gather information (AHGCC, 2015, Final Reports). Similarly, the 2017 Dean’s Working Group created a “Share Your Ideas” forum, explaining, “We know you have thoughts and ideas about what those plans should include. We have heard from many of you, both directly and indirectly, and are already formulating proposed actions” (Goluboff, 2017). The group also launched a climate survey for students. This position of learning is important, given that senior leadership is one step more removed as compared to program staff or faculty who work more closely with students. Moreover, for senior-level administrators, this strategy of inviting people to the

proverbial table helps increase buy-in as well as generates ideas that may not have existed before.

However, for Student-Activists of Color, these invitations may also seem at odds given their repeated expressions of concerns. Stella Clark described her frustration as,

We already said what's the issue. That's why we are protesting and held our own Town Halls, which they [administrators] didn't come to. So they only want to hear our thoughts when it makes them look good. When they feel the pressure to say something.

For students, the actions of administrators and their responses are not a vacuum and instead, are built by the actions and also lack of action regarding previous manifestations of racism. As a result, the approach and intention of learning by administrators is one that students feel they have already taught and administrators should know. While Student-Activists of Color might express suspicion or skepticism about reactionary initiatives, for administrators, sometimes the activism or manifestation of campus racism is the policy window needed to push the institution to change. UVA faculty member and former administrator Dr. Carla Stewart explains:

...Speaking from when I was in that world [administration], we had good options, wrong options... no great options. Do I know, or have a general inkling of what students are going to say during these meetings and listening spaces? Yes, but I need my colleagues to hear it because they won't trust me [pause], they don't trust me either. So I know it feels like it's nothing [to the students], but it is something.

Dr. Stewart's statement shows that the position of learning by (senior) administrators is deeply complex. On one hand, the learning, as students like Stella suspect, is a performative dance. On the other hand, the dance is required as a way to convince senior administrative colleagues and other campus constituents, such as alumni, to understand. In doing so, the position of learning for

senior administrators is a strategy that arguably does not seem geared towards Student-Activists of Color, but instead geared towards the coalition building and institutional buy-in needed to advance change.

Training Grounds: Teaching and Producing

In the wake of a manifestation of campus racism and subsequent series of student activism, colleges and universities like UVA lean on their identity as an *educational* institution. Actions range from producing knowledge through reports or executive summaries to disseminating knowledge, via teaching, hosting public panels, holding trainings, as well as creating campus tour guides and exhibitions. The production and dissemination of such knowledge has two audiences: the campus community (of students, faculty, staff, alumni, administrators) and the broader general public. As an example of teaching and training for within the campus, UVA Provost Tom Katsouleas asked each school to develop a diversity program and plan in 2016. Across the 11 reports, the majority included some form of diversity training. Likewise, the 2016 report from Dr. Marcus L. Martin, the VP & Chief Officer for Diversity and Equity, documented programs and trainings like Respect@UVA, Dialogue Across Grounds, and HR Diversity Training Programs for faculty and staff. Further, in the 2018-2019 Provost report, several schools included segments regarding their efforts in diversity, which included different trainings aligned with their content areas (e.g. UVA's School of Medicine partnered with the Latino Health Initiative), as well as retreats and leadership development for underrepresented student groups. Moreover, programs like the Provost's "Flash Funding" Program provided monetary awards for proposals to "uproot the conscious and unconscious biases and misbeliefs that lead to racial tension." These programs are targeted towards members of the campus community, with newly incorporated knowledge regarding biases, training, and structural

barriers hidden through “race-neutral” language. Further, course-based initiatives and curricula are devised to address race and racism by faculty (in their respective section).

As a strategy, senior-level administrators also create opportunities to teach their broader public about the issues involved on campus. For example, in UVA’s Culture Working sub-group’s May 1, 2015 report, individuals strongly recommended holding “community dialogue[s] around perceptions of racism, genderism, classism and sexual orientationism” (AHGCC, 2015, p.2). The work here, at least historically, falls in line with the programming from community organizations like UCARE. In doing so, universities are able to decrease the town and gown divide. Moreover, the lens of teaching also positions UVA as a leader in the field (to teach other institutions and the general public). For example, when President Sullivan announced the President’s Commission on Slavery and the University in 2014 (PCSU), the university established the “Universities Studying Slavery,” with 63 organizations forming a consortium. This in turn increases UVA’s public profile and helps establish legitimacy, while ensuring that UVA can help direct the narrative about the knowledge being produced about its campus and its branding.

Yet, within the nuance of institutional responses producing knowledge is the less-observed acknowledgment that much of the teaching happens through Students-Activists of Color. Their actions are not limited to mobilizing in protests, but also include crafting statements, compiling statistics, implementing surveys, planning teaching circles, and creating awareness on and off campus. For example, the Office of the Vice President and Chief Officer for Diversity and Equity (OVPCODE) had its “Diversity recommendations index” where recommendations were gleaned from documents including BSA’s *Towards a Better University*. More specifically, of the 174 recommendations, 51 (almost 30 percent) came from BSA’s

document. While this arguably keeps student concerns central to administrative documents, Student-Activists of Color have expressed frustration at feeling like they are consistently positioned to teach the university. Travis L. explains,

After something happens on campus, I see us [the students] doing teach-ins and trying to educate our friends and our classmates. I'll go to class and faculty will ask what is happening. We'll be asked to join committees or have to push to have meetings. Why do we always have to be the one to teach everyone? Why can't I just be a student?

Black student activists like Aryn Frazier point to how “The stories and the voices of black people have been regulated, denounced and silenced by the very systems to which they have spoken.

They have been co-opted, too” (as quoted in the March 23, 2015 from *The Cavalier Daily*).

While the Board of Visitors and senior administrators acknowledged that the Memorial for Enslaved Laborers was initiated by students (during the June 2017 BOV and Finance Committee joint meeting), this credit has not been expressed or highlighted in other university communications. As Students of Color sit in on task forces and create the demands that help shape institutional actions, the unrecognized labor of their efforts mimics the longstanding tradition and history of higher education institutions erasing Communities of Color.

Board of Visitors: Maintaining a Legacy

At the 2018 August BOV meeting, one of the orientation slides included the following quote by educator and sociologist David Riesman, “The role of the board is to protect the university of the future from the actions of the present.” The BOV’s outlook and responses, as predictive of its role, focus on the “big picture” of the university. The question then, is whether this big picture includes discussing the concerns raised regarding racism on campus.

Drawing on a variety of sources, I determined that the responses from the Board of Visitors regarding campus racism and student activism reflect a larger question regarding who is responsible for diversity, how the BOV rationalizes diversity, the impact of peer pressure, and a measure of progress. Likely a theme in and of itself, the Board of Visitors, in their minutes and recorded conversations, rarely discuss racism. Instead, reflecting Bonilla-Silva's (2014) and Harper's (2012) works on the dilution of naming racism, the language used is broader encapsulations of diversity and descriptions of differences and/or gaps.

There are three exceptions. Two of the instances in which racism was explicitly mentioned were by student presenters who were invited to the BOV meetings immediately following Johnson's assault and the "Unite the Right" riot. The other instance was by Rector Frank M. Conner III, not during a BOV meeting, but instead in his remarks to the campus following the "Unite the Right" riot. Thus, much of this section examines how the BOV responds to issues of campus racism through the language of diversity, the rationale to adopt diversity-related initiatives, and the proximal pressures that impact their decision-making.

Ownership and Accountability

May 2003 marks the first diversity-related committee of the BOV with the "Special Committee on Diversity." The committee would continue to meet annually (with a name change September 2014 to the "Diversity and Inclusion Committee") until September 2016. By then, its definition of diversity included "race and ethnicity, age, gender, disability status, sexual orientation, religion and national origin, socio-economic status, and other aspects of individual experience and identity." During the August 2015 meeting under the leadership of Rector Conner III, the BOV voted to absorb the Diversity and Inclusion Committee into the Executive Committee, rationalizing that "these issues span all areas of the University." However, not

everyone agreed with this change. For students, like Black Student Alliance president Wes Gobar, this move felt like a tactic to no longer intentionally consider racial concerns and he advocated for this specific focus to be reinstated during the post “Unite the Right” August 2017 BOV meeting.

The tension of “who is responsible for diversity” is difficult to navigate. On the one hand, the rationale Rector Conner provides to Gobar is important— “diversity and inclusion [should] be the responsibility of the entire Board and not just assigned to one committee.” However, as seen in diversity studies (e.g. Ahmed, 2012; Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016), the lack of a point person or committee to explicitly discuss and center diversity moves from it being “everyone’s responsibility” to no one’s “responsibility.” I decided to explore how the discourse changed, if at all.

Following the absorption of the Diversity and Inclusion Committee, the Executive Committee held four separate meetings with no mentions of diversity (using their definition). In addition, I looked over the general board meeting minutes and videos for mentions of racial diversity. This could have included the mention of a specific racial group, the use of the word “diversity,” the renaming of a building/hall/landmark for a Person of Color, or language regarding underrepresentation. Within these documents, I decided to exclude updates regarding the “Memorial for Enslaved Laborers,” a recognition of the enslaved Black people who built their campuses. The Board spent multiple meetings in 2016-17 discussing updates regarding the “Memorial for Enslaved Laborers” (particularly within the Buildings and Grounds Committee) but did not frame this discussion in relation to historical racial tensions on-campus, or the significance of the design to racial tension. Instead, the bulk of the conversation regarding this memorial related to logistics of the design firm, its placement, cost, and timeline. For context, the

memorial is located at the UNESCO World Heritage Site boundary of UVA with a concentric rings modeled after the Rotunda, that will bear the names of over 4000 enslaved laborers who helped build the university (see Appendix J for illustration). The unveiling and completion, scheduled for April 2020 was pushed back due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

From September 2015 to August 2016, the year prior to the absorption of the D&I Committee into the Executive Committee, there was some form of conversation around race that was mentioned at every meeting. Topics relating to race or diversity were documented within the 22 documents from this period, spanning seven regular board meetings and related committee meetings. In the years following the absorption of the D&I Committee, from September 2016 to December 2018, the topic of race was discussed only eight times within the 44 documents spanning the 14 regular board meetings (along with the additional committee meetings). Of those eight mentions, two are “counted” from the reporting out by different working groups of UVA’s deans and not from the BOV committees directly. The more than 50 percent decreased references regarding racial diversity following the absorption offers evidence for the theory that making diversity everyone’s business means it steadily becomes no one’s business (Ahmed, 2012). Yet, when asked about their progress during the 2017 BOV meeting, then-Rector Conner III described how “contrary to what some people believe, the University is making remarkable progress on diversity, and is putting substantial resources into increasing diversity. It has been the highest priority over the last three to four years.”

Peer Pressure and Rationale(s) to Adopt Diversity

Within organizational theory, the concept of isomorphism suggests that institutions make decisions based on establishing legitimacy in the field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1987)— or in other words: institutional peer pressure to conform but also to achieve institutional distinctiveness

among peers. For the BOV, this phenomenon is visible in their consistent comparisons with peer institutions. UVA's BOV has generally considered their peer institutions to be the four Association of American Universities (AAU) institutions: University of Michigan, University of Pennsylvania, University of California, Los Angeles, and University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. In addition, UVA often compares themselves with two non-AAU schools, Virginia Tech and the College of William & Mary, for geographic similarity. For faculty retention, UVA has, at times, also included Vanderbilt University and University of California, Berkeley. These peer institutions are not chosen at random, likely having to do with the shared similarities of either their Research I status (high intensity of research) or geography and selectivity.

Peer institution comparisons reflect and reveal Board members' rationale for why diversity is important, often tying back to branding, reputation, and rankings. BOV discussions on diversity often went hand in hand with the notion of quality. As a Research I university, the conversation around diversity, particularly for faculty diversity, has had less to do with meeting the concerns of Student-Activists of Color, but more to do with how losing Faculty of Color impacts retention, recruitment, and the lost scholarship that negatively impacts rankings. For example, during the June 2015 Diversity and Inclusion Committee meeting that discussed the faculty diversity plan, one of the presentation slides was devoted to "Where we stand compared to AAU peers" and the conversation centered on measures to retain high-quality faculty. Yet at the same time, the desire to stand out positively among peer institutions also provides opportunities to move the needle towards racial-justice-oriented policies (and align with the concerns from Student-Activists of Color). After the Buildings and Grounds Committee passed a resolution renaming "Alderman Road Residence Hall Building #6" to "Gibbons House" after enslaved Black couple William and Isabella Gibbons (see Appendix F), then-Rector Martin

described this move as a milestone, citing how “there are few peer institutions that have named buildings after slaves.” While the desire to become the first may not be a driving factor, Rector Martin’s comments do point to a sense of pride behind UVA’s decision.

Moreover, Student-Activists of Color and their student allies are aware of the dynamics behind peer group comparisons. When the 2016-2017 UVA student body president, Daniel Judge, urged the Board to departmentalize the African American and African Studies program, the rationale included:

Almost all of our peer institutions already have departments. These include, but are not limited to, UCLA, UC Berkeley, Syracuse, Duke, UNC, Harvard, and Yale. These departments have been successful and we would likely experience a similar success.

Likewise, in their 2018 demands, the Asian Leaders Council and the Latinx Student Alliance both referenced peer institutions that had formed an Asian American Studies department and created a Latinx space on campus, respectively. The students pushing this cause, especially the BSA students, made sure to cite peer institutions to bolster their advocacy for institutional change. Moreover, the language here and the rationale of “success” align well with the rhetoric behind quality, something that Student-Activists of Color have recognized as an effective tool for convincing campuses like UVA to adopt their proposed policies.

Proximal Pressures

As a public institution, University of Virginia’s Board of Visitors faces several external pressures, including state and local policies as well as reputational threat, which can hinder or encourage BOV efforts towards diversity, inclusion, and racial justice. For example, despite the BOV’s conclusion that low yield rates for African American students are related to financial aid considerations, their abilities to provide aid are hampered by US Court of Appeals for the Fourth

Circuit opinion that race-based aid is not allowed, based on *Karpel v. Inova Health System Services* (United States Court of Appeals Fourth Circuit, No. 97-1279). Similarly, the BOV (and senior-level administrators) referenced House Bill 1401 which mandated that “no public institution of higher education shall abridge the constitutional freedom of any individual, including enrolled students, faculty and other employees, and invited guests, to speak on campus” as a constriction of why they could not intervene with issues of hate speech. However, at the same time, UVA’s BOV also found ways to work around state laws by coordinating efforts with senior-level administrators to create levels of campus bureaucracy, such as supporting resolutions designating spaces as “university facilities” (see Appendix F) which required additional approval by administration.

In BOV meetings, members discuss not only state pressures but also pressure from alumni and the general public. Public perception, which in turn impacts branding and reputation (McDonnell & King, 2013), encouraged the BOV to rethink the existing symbols of the Confederacy located in the Rotunda. Following the outcry of violence and hate as seen from the “Unite the Right” riot, the surrounding city of Charlottesville revised procedures for event-permits to prevent riots (Di Maro, 2018b), and the Virginia State Senate debated bills regarding the ability of local governments to remove war memorials like Confederate statues (HB 1537; Tonner, 2018), and outlaw the carrying of firearms, explosive, or incendiary devices by paramilitary activity and groups (SB 987; Editorial Board of *The Cavalier Daily*, 2018). The public perception and overall re-examination of historical symbols of the Confederacy around Charlottesville coincided with the passing of the BOV’s “Resolution with respect to Civil War Tablets” (see Appendix F), “WHEREAS, the tablets on the Rotunda do not recognize or reflect the complete history of the University related to the Civil War.”

For students, their ability to put pressure on the Board feels limited due to their lack of proximity and contact. BOV seats are not determined by students and, in reality, the interactions between BOV members and students are limited, which is further exacerbated by the constrained options for student input. (This is not unique to UVA). As seen in the 2017 *Disorientation Guide*, a student-created document about the “real UVA,” the BOV was sharply criticized for not listening to student concerns. During 2015-2018, Student-Activists of Color specifically cited the structure of UVA’s BOV meetings and structure of public commentary as problematic. While a structural change for the Academic and Life Committee meeting allowed for a student comment period beginning in August 2017, students have also critiqued this format that requires a formal invitation and is still not integrated into the full meeting. Student-Activists of Color argued this invitation-only policy functioned to shut them out. Student-Activist of Color Travis L. stated:

Well, they don’t know us. They don’t who we are; when was the last time they came to campus when it wasn’t a meeting? Do they know what we’re going through? Do they know what this feels like? They don’t. *And they don’t want to.*

Travis’s description offers an added explanation in thinking about the BOV responses. Because the purpose of the Board is high-level policy with interactions through the President, that position makes it impossible for BOV members to meaningfully engage in the very localized, personal dynamics on campus. Moreover, increased engagement with others besides the President constitutes distrust of the leadership that had already resulted in previous AAUP investigations of shared governance breach and an overactive board trying impose on matters of faculty work (cite previous controversy).

Faculty: Networks of Support, Resistance, and Dissent

Faculty responses are quite varied. Some serve as supporters, advocates, and even mentors to student activists, while others serve as the cause of concern, making racist remarks and taking racist actions against Student-Activists of Color. Overall, the responses by faculty at UVA express notions of care, conflated debates about censorship, and frustration with the university.

Caring about Students

An emergent theme from faculty response was one of support for students. Faculty acts of care include attending and speaking at students' demonstrations and protests (such as the ones for Martese Johnson and following the "Unite the Right" riot), and penning letters of support such as when UVA faculty wrote to Sullivan regarding DACA (Quizon, 2016b). In the aftermath following a manifestation of campus racism, faculty responses have included providing emotional support for students. For example, following the 2016 presidential election, over 170 faculty members, deans, and administrators signed a document committing to hold office hours for students to discuss their concerns (Quizon, 2016a). For faculty, especially Faculty of Color like Dr. Stewart, the culture of support starts with presence:

Supporting students is creating a culture where students can come to you when something happens. You are here. But it comes at a cost, because some of their experiences also mirror mine. Students also come for advice of what to do. So, it's not simply listening but also trying to help them navigate the same spaces I am trying to navigate.

This extends to holding conversations in and outside of class, particularly as the interviews with the UVA Faculty of Color described. For Dr. Stewart, her deep commitment to support Students of Color, even with the additional workload, is partly in hopes that more Students of Color will join academy and help challenge inequality in existing opportunities and pipelines.

For some faculty, part of caring, especially for students most at the margins, is through their research, social justice work, and supporting students through their scholarship and praxis. This is evidenced through the panels for both the public and for students, their scholarship and research areas, as well as the ways Student-Activists of Color describe the forms of mentorship they received and still receive. UVA faculty often support students through lectures (e.g. on microaggressions, hosted by student group, the Minority Rights Council on April 19, 2016) or panels like the “On Violence, Citizenship, and Social Justice” hosted by the Carter G. Woodson Institute.

Yet within this response of caring, is also the sobering reality that some faculty also do not care about *all* students. Adjunct faculty member Douglas Muir’s disparaging comments might be viewed as a more egregious form of racism, but these degrees of covert, overt, and color-evasive racism along with discrimination and microaggressions are ones Students of Color regularly describe experiencing.

Critiques versus Censorship

Reading faculty transcripts, documents and opinion pieces revealed an underlying faculty argument that supporting students did not necessarily always mean supporting their demands. This notion of “what is best for students and for the university” is most clearly seen in the debates amongst faculty regarding Thomas Jefferson. Following a campus-wide statement by President Sullivan, 469 of UVA’s students, staff, and faculty signed a letter for university-wide emails to no longer include quotations from Thomas Jefferson (see Appendix F for more context). The letter, first drafted by psychology professor Dr. Noelle M. Hurd read, “For many of us, the inclusion of Jefferson quotations in these emails undermines the message of unity, equality, and civility that you are attempting to convey.” However, not all faculty agreed. In an

Op-Ed in *The Cavalier Daily*, UVA Law professor, Dr. Robert Turner (2016) wrote of the efforts Jefferson made for the emancipation of slaves (though not mentioning eugenics) and framed the letter and the opposition against Jefferson as censorship, saying:

Today we face the sad spectacle of nearly 500 misinformed University professors and students seeking to ban the thoughts and words of Thomas Jefferson from our community. Will they demand next that the Law School remove the Thirteenth Amendment from textbooks because it embodies Jefferson's words? Will they censor the writings of Aristotle because he, too, was a racist?

Dr. Turner concluded by recommending more education and offering to host a debate, “[being] happy to take on the three most prominent champions of censorship, so long as I get equal time and adequate rebuttal time.” Dr. Alan S. Taylor, chair of the UVA History Department, wrote to *UVA Magazine*'s issue on “Unquoting Jefferson” (Gard, 2017), “Americans' tendency either to heroicize or demonize past people limits our public discourse. Because Jefferson was put up on a pedestal for so long as nothing but a hero, many critics now want to tear him down as nothing but a hypocrite.” While Dr. Taylor continued by explaining that there are valid parts of both sides, this continuum of responses demonstrates the lack of cohesive agreement in faculty response and support of students.

Frustrated and Tired

Faculty serve in various capacities including as voices of dissent and disagreement to senior administrators, and an overarching theme is a sense of frustration by the inertia in the system— a similar sentiment described by Student-Activists of Color. As Dr. Lawrie Balfour in, UVA professor of Politics, explained (in Bellows, 2016):

I've been here 15 years. Again and again, I have found that at moments when the community needs reassurance and Jefferson appears, it undoes I think the really important work that administrators and others are trying to do.

Dr. Balfour's comment includes an implicit nod to the passage of time and the enduring aura of Jefferson. Student-Activists of Color, and their transient identity and temporality as student citizens means that causes, activism, and concerns might ebb and flow. Faculty, particularly tenured faculty, have the potential of longevity in ways that help illuminate the cyclical nature of institutional response and/or issues that have yet to be resolved (e.g. the University's response with Jefferson). Some are likely to outlast administrators and continue to see the same issues circle back.

For others, the frustration stems from observing subpar responses by administrators and how those continue to negatively impact Students of Color. For example, in discussing UVA after the "Unite the Right" riot and possible measures to increase safety on UVA's campus, Dr. Alex Davis recalls the following tension when the university faculty and staff community were discussing how to help with safety as two white women administrators commented on feeling unsafe after the riot and noting the lack of lighting in specific areas on campus:

So again, this is what happens *when you have folks who care about diversity for the sake of being politically correct, but don't care about actually protecting vulnerable bodies* [emphasis added]... My dean was saying, 'Oh, maybe we can have more heightened security in the dark hours.' Our students are largely white and female, just like our faculty. And so, I'm sitting there, and I was just like, in my head, 'This just doesn't feel right.' I get it, ... it wasn't just anti-Black racism. It was definitely anti-Semitism. It was definitely a queer phobic, queer hate. It was just anything that's not white and male, get it

out. Right? So, we get that. But we also know that Black bodies are incredibly [targeted], Black and Brown bodies that are visibly Black and Brown are put in increased level of violence. So, I was just like, in my head, *'There's something that is not sitting well with me here'* [emphasis added].

Dr. Davis's unease describes what happens when safety measures are created without centering Black and Brown bodies. These concerns were also expressed during the 2017 September faculty meeting. As a result, on face value, increased security seems reasonable, but when considering who is most vulnerable to measures for security (e.g. search warrants, Stop and Frisk, policing and surveillance), this has the opposite effect of ensuring that Black/Students of Color do not feel safe on campus. The response of increasing security as a means to address safety is one that feels uninformed at best, and at worst setting the stage for another event of campus racial violence.

In these ways, faculty dissent and disagreement serve as another point of amplification for the concerns by Student-Activists of Color and translate to them feeling more seen and supported. Moreover, for faculty, especially Faculty of Color, the disapproval of and dissent to administrative actions is not solely to support student voices, but also part of the ways they are making sense of and understanding the institutional responses. Faculty responses to Student-Activists of Color and the fight against institutionalized racism reveal how the fight is ongoing and requires both emotional and structural change across multiple layers of representation and education, as well as navigating the personal challenges of the racial/ethnic tax of this work that is often overlooked—another consequence of institutionalized racism (Griffin, Bennett & Harris, 2013; Zambrana, et al, 2017). Their concerns and dissent also arise from their own stakes in their place of labor and creativity, and from being a *part* of the institution.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: Continued Opposition

The timeline of student activity and institutional responses centers on three main concerns at UNC-CH: the naming of historic buildings and statues of southern “heroes” on campus that symbolize slavery and white supremacy, police and safety, and the campus racial climate. Within each of these groups, central themes and responses included the following: the demands and concerns of Student-Activists of Color centered on whether or not UNC was a space for them; senior-level administrators were focused on minimizing risk; board members were looking out for the campus’s “best interest;” and faculty responses centered on doing the right thing.

Students: A Matter of Place and Space

UNC-CH’s timeline of activism (see Appendix G) reflects not only the struggles regarding physical geographies of occupation, buildings, and property, but also the tensions around climate and culture that impact the campus community and sense of belonging for Students of Color. Despite higher education institutions historically serving as racially exclusionary sites, they can also be reimagined in the ways McKittrick and Wood (2007) describe via Black geography with place as “location[s] of co-operation, stewardship, and social justice, rather than just sites to be dominated, enclosed, commodified, exploited, and segregated” (p. 6). For Student-Activists of Color at UNC-CH, the campus represents both a figurative and literal space of oppression and place of possibilities.

Not Just a Symbol of the Past

Student-Activists of Color continue to stress how the presence of such landmarks reveal an acceptance of racism and a lack of interrogation of how the very structure of the campus negatively impacts Students of Color and especially Black students. For example, while

supporters of Silent Sam's statue argue that it symbolizes the sentiment of fighting for one's country, the Student-Activists of Color more often cite the 1913 speech by UNC's alumnus Julian Carr during Silent Sam's unveiling that referenced whipping an enslaved Black girl and the casual acceptance of brutality against Black communities. At the protest to rename Saunders Hall, graduate student Benjamin Rubin explained to *The Daily Tar Heel* (see Lamm, 2015a),

When people say, 'Oh, it was normal to be in the KKK at the time,' yeah, it was normal at the time, and that's the point. We are trying to say that we reject a dominant culture of hatred and violence toward black bodies.

This distinction is critically important as Student-Activists of Color are often not asking for an erasure of history, but instead for the incorporation of the multiple narratives that have previously been denied voice within higher education's arc. For example, with the renaming of Saunders Hall to Carolina Hall (see Appendix G), Student-Activists of Color in 2015 argued that the new name was a "cop out" because it did not address the complicated campus history of white-washing brutality, exclusion, and injustice that has harmed Communities of Color with which Student-Activists of Color, especially Black student activists, identify. Moreover, students' concerns are less about erasing their histories and more about critiquing the prominent tributes to white men that portray a one-sided view of what matters on campus. Part of the controversy around Silent Sam is about *where* the statue is situated on campus. June Lewis, a former Student-Activist of Color, now alumna, expounds,

The statue shouldn't exist already. But what hurts more is that I had to pass it almost every day. Our campus is large but because of where it is located, I see it all the time.

And I don't want to be reminded. I shouldn't have to be reminded. It's not something that can just blend in the background for me.

For June, the prominence of Silent Sam matters—its existence alone is already something that bothers her. An added layer of hurt is the central location which, in turn, suggests that the prominent statue is highly valued at UNC-CH and matters more than she does.

Investment and Priorities: A Space for Us

The activism about space also includes creating and claiming spaces for minoritized groups. In October 2016, the Latinx students at UNC-CH spoke out about their experiences and need for space, representation, and institutional support, naming the protest “Estamos Aqui UNC” (translation: We Are Here UNC). Students pointed to the over eight-years of conversation regarding space and the ways the administration has responded, with Christopher Guevara, organizer of *Estamos Aqui UNC* explaining in *The Daily Tar Heel* (Rardin 2016b),

All of the Latinx programming that goes on here at the University — the University loves to publish it, and *they love to claim diversity* [emphasis added]. But when it comes to voicing our concerns *about the need for a space so that we can work as a community, we keep getting shut down* [emphasis added].

Students at the protest made it clear that this was not an attack on the administration, but instead, a gathering to reveal how the language of diversity does not translate to institutional support or investment. The Latinx University Council, a coalition of groups on UNC-CH’s campus (including the Carolina Hispanic Association and the Carolina Latina/o Collaborative), voiced a larger critique of the embedded whiteness of the university. Student-Activist Cameron Jernigan (2016), authored the following in *The Daily Tar Heel*:

Many will question why Black, Latinx, and Native American students deserve a designated space on campus and not White students. Many may cry “racism” and “prejudice,” saying it's unfair for there to be “minority only” student spaces, or spaces

dedicated to minority students, and not their white counterparts. *But the thing is, there are white spaces on UNC's campus — the entire campus* [emphasis added].

These arguments for campus space were similarly expressed during the series of activism regarding the Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture in the early 2000s and speak to the embedded whiteness of Chapel Hill's campus, both in the celebration of the Confederacy *and* in the lack of celebratory space for Students of Color. Moreover, for student-activists, particularly the Latinx students who are denied space, this rejection serves as a subtle communication about being a lower campus priority. Logan Pratico, chair of CHispA, explains in *The Daily Tar Heel* on January 23, 2017 (see McRae),

I understand that there's a lot of logistics that go into it but at the same time I think that they have to realize that by not acknowledging CHispA and not saying that they deserve their own space, the way that that looks on the Latinx community is that they are almost at a lower level — which they in no way are — and it's sort of things like that that are constantly *reinforcing the hierarchies* [emphasis added] that we see on campus. It's the subtle things.

Each of these quotes describes the endemic nature of whiteness. Jernigan's observation that the entire campus is space for white students rings similar to the scholarly arguments that schools need ethnic studies because all curriculum is already white studies (e.g. Sueyoshi, 2013). This is reinforced by Pratico's quote about hierarchy. In addition, Guevara's note about the institution's claim on diversity is one that highlights how Students of Color and, in this case, Latinx students feel as though they are commodities. Student-Activists of Color see the irony of supporting, claiming, and promoting diversity without institutional investment and understandably view "diversity-speak" as lip service. Yet, the fight for space is one that often intersects with the issues

of budgets, funding, and physical limitations— all of which require structural and policy changes. Student-Activists of Color counter that concerns about funding, overhauling systems, and the need for incrementalism felt at odds with proposals like the one for Silent Sam’s new location, which included prioritizing and spending \$5.3 million for the facility.

Surveillance and “Safety”

The use of law enforcement against student activists is not a new phenomenon in the United States. The country remembers the Kent State Massacre as well as the lesser-known massacre ten days later at the predominantly Black higher education institution of Jackson State College in Mississippi (Wyckoff, 2010). Following the events at the University of Missouri and its protests by Concerned Student 1950 from 2014-2015, Missouri increased its security and surveillance, much to the criticism of its Student-Activists of Color. Similarly, students at UNC-CH would critique the institutional response of increased surveillance, particularly after identifying a police officer who had infiltrated the student organization. In November 2017, Silent Sam protesters were shocked and disturbed to realize that campus police had intentionally planted an officer to infiltrate the student coalition. Maya Little, the organizer who discovered the planted police officer explained in an interview with *The Daily Tar Heel* on November 8, 2017 (see Lennon),

He would kind of ingratiate himself with me or other students and just ask personal details about our lives. Knowing now, that he was gathering information on us, it seems a bit more sinister... If campus police [are] willing to put an undercover (officer) in a peaceful protest, what other campus organizations or student groups are they gathering this information on?

Within the week following the discovery, students held a rally at South Building, protesting both Silent Sam's continued presence, as well as the troubling tactic and violation of campus police to plant an officer. Students referenced the move as a breach of trust and questioned who the police were actually protecting. This was further reified for students as UNC-CH Campus Police Chief McCracken, who approved this measure, justified the decision (during the November 10, 2017 Faculty Council meeting) by explaining that students would be less forthcoming with information if the officer was not undercover. For students, this did little to rebuild trust in an already tense period of protest, against a backdrop of police brutality and violence. Moreover, the administrative support, or at least its neutrality about such a decision, communicated to students that the administration did not have their backs.

Sides and Sidelined

In some ways, institutional responses appear as dichotomous actions to students: they are either in support of their concerns or against them. While the campus decisions are much more complicated, part of how Student-Activists of Color draw these conclusions is based on how colleges and universities maintain whiteness. Student-Activists of Color point to the conversations about safety and policing as choosing sides. Despite students expressing their concerns about policing, administrators continued to bring in more law enforcement for "safety" regarding the activism around Silent Sam. Relatedly, during Campus Y's event and workshop in August 2018, "Portraits of Racism," students recalled to *The Daily Tar Heel* how law enforcement officers stood by during the arguably destructive NCAA celebration for UNC-CH's basketball team, while bringing tear gas to their demonstrations (see Sheehey, 2018). Student-Activists of Color, like Mark Young, a fourth-year student, perceive these differences as

institutions not only being apathetic to students' concerns about racism and safety, but also prioritizing and maintaining whiteness. Young said,

It's so frustrating that when we're here trying to protest fucked up speakers and people who hate people who look like me, the administration chooses to side with white students who invite them. And then they'll start talking about free speech and explain their hands are tied. Did you even try? No. You chose to support those students over us. You've [administrators] rejected our proposals because of funding but you have money for their security. For additional police. You chose to put the police on us. You chose them. You chose them over us. You won't choose us.

Mark was describing his observation of a general trend among administrators, not a specific incident. This was reminiscent of how in April 2015 the Muslim Student Association and Students for Justice in Palestine created #NotSafeUNC after UNC-CH College Republicans invited David Horowitz to speak on campus (see Appendix F). Mark expressed understanding the limitations of free speech, but he also pointed to how the lack of a response from administrators might feel akin to a stalling tactic, as students know they are not being heard. Yet at the same time, in a 2015 interview with *The Daily Tar Heel* (see Saacks, 2015), Chancellor Carol Folt stressed the importance of consensus-building, explaining the avoidance of polarizing conversations, stating, "I'm never going to lead with a 'with me or against me' posture."

Senior Administration: Walking on eggshells

As the flagship public higher education institution of North Carolina, UNC-CH's senior administrators face enormous pressure from its multiple campus constituents. The reality of decision-making, particularly for a public higher education institution, is complicated due to the multiple levels of policies and bureaucracies. For example, attempts by the administration to

remove Silent Sam's statue were hampered by North Carolina's Cultural History and Patriotism Act of 2015, as well as the North Carolina General Statute 100-2.1, a section of Senate Bill 22, dictates that "a monument, memorial or work of art owned by the State may not be removed, relocated or altered in any way without the approval of the North Carolina Historical Commission," unless, among other reasons, the monument "poses a threat to public safety because of an unsafe or dangerous condition." Thus, in the wake of such policies, assertions of decisions being out of the hands of campus leaders feels accurate.

Chancellor Folt and other senior administrators on campus expressed their frustrations at being stuck between the proverbial rock and a hard place with the multiple layers of governing bodies, from the Board of Trustees, the Board of Governors, and the state assembly. Fitzhugh Brundage, a UNC-CH professor in history, expressed in *The Daily Cavalier* (see Zietlow, 2018) the "risk-averse administration and a political environment in which the Chancellor and others must be very concerned that the University will be punished by the state legislature" (suggesting withdrawal of funding) and noted that many of the administrators seemed to be "walking on eggshells." The bulk of the communication and responses by senior administrators during the 2015-2018 period focused on the controversy over Silent Sam. While some other initiatives and responses did occur, the high-profile nature of the statue resulted in much more attention. "Walking on eggshells" translated into institutional responses that focus on minimizing risk for the administration.

Minimizing Risk via Non-Response

Silence still constitutes a form of communication, and for senior administrators who may be worried about "saying the wrong thing," silence is a strategy to buy some time. Following the toppling of Silent Sam, multiple senior administrators traded texts cautioning about

communication and using “no comment.” However, while this might provide time for administrators to gather more information and coordinate amongst each other, the silence created frustration for the rest of the campus. As described during Faculty Council meetings, faculty members discussed how the rising pressures and attention were, in part, fueled by the lack of actions (i.e. silence and non-responses). Moreover, even with actions, faculty and students pointed to the disappointment of generic and vague statements. Kenneth Janken, a professor in the Department of African, African American and Diaspora Studies, compared Chancellor Folt’s response to Governor Roy Cooper’s statement, stating in an August 14, 2017 article in *The Daily Tar Heel* (see Asmelash, 2017):

It would’ve been nice for her to say something along the lines of, ‘I would like the authority to take down the Confederate monument’... If the governor was clear, I don’t see why the University couldn’t have been clearer, instead of offering a very... generic or boilerplate reassertion of the importance of free speech.

These types of responses that ultimately side step an issue, without speaking to the heart of the matter, constitute institutional non-response. For example, as the UNC System’s Board of Governors debated a litigation ban on UNC-CH’s Center for Civil Rights, Chancellor Folt sent a letter to Board of Governor member Anna Nelson articulating how

As educators, we strive to determine the best methods for teaching our students and ensuring our graduates are well prepared for the rigors of their chosen professions, and to address the pressing issues and opportunities of the time.

However, student activists and other community members pointed out how the letter overlooked one of the most central arguments about the Center’s purpose— supporting and defending marginalized communities. Instead, the justification for why the Center should continue is based

on the center's ability for training, which derails students' central arguments that this decision would disproportionately harm Students of Color.

Minimizing Risk Through Buy-In and Learning

Faced with decisions that will likely result in a contingent of powerful constituents becoming angry, another strategy of a risk-averse institution is creating buy-in through invitation and/or education. For example, Provost Bob Blouin created a faculty advisory group to support the chancellor and provost in proactively addressing faculty issues and concerns, particularly about ways to increase communication and invite more faculty into the decision-making process. The task force included Chair of the Faculty Leslie Parise, Professor Rumay Alexander from Nursing as well as representatives from each school and deans for increased representation. This kind of response helps alleviate the burden of "who is making the decision," shares the ownership, and gains buy-in from the faculty who are asked to join.

Similarly, senior administrators are able to use knowledge, leaning on the educational identity of the institution, as a way to create dialogue without making an explicit decision. For example, within the controversy of renaming buildings (e.g. Saunders/Carolina Hall), Winston Crisp, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, described in the November 14, 2016 article from *The Daily Tar Heel* (see Ellenburg, 2016) how these details were critical to understanding the campus and broader state history:

This is not, in any way shape or form, an entire history of this campus or this building, let alone these issues. I hope that it will spur people to want to learn more about the history of not only this building but of the campus and of the area and of the region.

Similarly, the History Task Force worked in conjunction with Wilson (campus) Libraries, UNC Visitors' Center to create several history tours, expanding on UNC's Black and Blue Tours

regarding the campus's history with slavery. Educating people through tours, courses, presentations, or listening spaces is a subtle yet powerful way for broader constituents (both within and outside the campus community) to become more supportive of administrative decisions. Yet, students remain skeptical. UNC-CH student Angum Check wrote to *The Daily Tar Heel* on October 6, 2016, "UNC loves empty dialogues."

At the same time, administrators used dialogues and surveys as a strategy to gain input from the larger campus community. When UNC-CH distributed the "UNC Inclusion and Diversity Climate Survey" (through the Higher Education Research Institute) to students in spring 2016, Felicia A. Washington, UNC-CH's Vice Chancellor for Workforce Strategy, Equity, and Engagement explained in the press release (see University Communications, 2016),

Along with other University leaders, I am committed to creating an environment where everyone – students, faculty and staff – feels like they belong here. It is not enough to say everyone has a right to be here. Our charge is to do all that we can to make everyone feel welcome – and engaged. This survey is just one tool that we can use to accomplish that.

Limited Engagement

A very literal way that administrators minimize risk is by taking direct actions to limit engagement. For example, despite state policies about free speech rights (House Bill 527), UNC-CH administrators rejected the National Policy Institution request for Richard Spencer to speak on campus. Chancellor Folt, who denied the request, cited concerns about "the safety and security of the campus community." Similarly, following the "Unite the Right" riot, Chancellor Folt sent out a campus-wide email informing the university of the protest and advised them not to attend and stay away from McCorkle Place (Ward & McGee, 2018b). However, different

community members pointed to how this strategy might be ineffective. Dr. Wilson, a Faculty of Color in the Social Sciences/Humanities, explained:

Then they sent out another message saying there's going to be a really large protest here. We recommend that you don't go, and that's pretty much all it was. There was nothing said to help people understand what the heck was actually happening... They just said it's a huge protest, we don't recommend that you go. Which, of course, is a really silly thing to tell 18 and 19-year-olds on a college campus.... [It then] more inform[s] them about the protest. Tell them it's important, and then say don't go. That was just so weird, ineffective, I thought.

Dr. Wilson's concerns were two-fold. The first is the observed dissonance of informing students of the very details including time, place, and location of the very protest that the administration is telling them to avoid. The second is the blanket statement of "do not engage" without the context of why students ought to be avoiding these scenes. The decontextualized "do not engage" plea might, in fact, create more curiosity and motivation to attend, rather than hamper interest.

Board of Trustees: Maintaining the Course

The Board's goals have changed from year to year, but largely focus on four areas. The first is supporting Chancellor Folt and senior administrators, which has included supporting their development of a new strategic plan (BOT 2015) as well as generally guiding "our great public, research-driven institution to even greater accomplishments and impacts" (BOT 2017).

Secondly, trustees help inform the city, state, nation, and world about UNC-CH's impact and efforts in changing people's lives, which also includes supporting the university's capital campaign that was launched in 2017. Third, the Board will support and communicate the economic impact as created by various initiatives. Fourthly, trustees will provide operational

support, particularly in finance, administration, teaching, and research. These goals materialize in how race, racism, and diversity are framed. As a note on language, members of the Board of Trustees reference “Carolina” as meaning UNC-CH, not the state. When referring to the state of North Carolina, I will describe it as such and keep Carolina as a reference to UNC-CH.

“Carolina’s Best Interests”

As hinted by the aforementioned goals of the BOT, the rankings and reputation of UNC-CH (and the UNC system at large) are a top priority. This is evidenced by the frequent mentions of UNC-CH’s placement in rankings like Kiplinger’s Personal Finance Rankings, how UNC-CH has been consistently in the top five best public universities, as well as references to campus achievements in retention efforts compared with peer institutions. For example, during the October 1, 2015 Board meeting, while discussing the limitations of such ranking institutions, the point was still made how “this [U.S. World News and Report ranking] is one that universities, high school students and parents across the country pay attention to. It’s reassuring to know we’re keeping good company with the best peer public and private campuses.” The Board’s decision-making consistently points to a rationale of comparison.

The reputation of the University goes hand in hand with how the state views UNC-CH’s impact and funding. During an earlier meeting on January 22, 2015 (before the BOT meeting), Governor Pat McCrory commented on the “need to commercialize research efforts at our universities,” which reinforces the BOT’s goal to prove how “Carolina is positioned to lead and deliver and have tremendous impact on the State of North Carolina,” as stated by BOT chair, Lawry Caudill in his opening remarks. Within this context, the language of “inclusive excellence” is woven in the fabric of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and especially expressed during meetings. In numerous instances, including both in BOT reports and

reports from senior administrators, inclusive excellence “Operates from the premise that diversity and inclusion are woven into the fabric of the institution and are essential to an institutional achieving excellence and success and realizing the educational benefits of diversity.” However, this definition creates a commodification of diversity, where the value of diversity rests only in the ways it improves quality and excellence.

Racially-just decisions, then, are also determined through the lens of serving Carolina’s best interest (referencing the University). During the March 26, 2015 meeting, several trustees mentioned that renaming Saunders Hall was “in the best interest of the University,” as described by Trustee Brown. Yet, the conversations were still split and unclear, as evidenced by other Board members who justified the preservation of Saunders Hall and Silent Sam as history that should not be erased. At the May 2015 vote to rename Saunders Hall, BOT Vice Chair Garner described how the 1920 recommendation for the building’s name included Saunders’ role as the Head of the North Carolina KKK as part of his qualification for this honor. For Trustee Clay, this is the fact that changed his opinion of why the Board should rename Saunders Hall. Likewise, Secretary Sallie Shuping-Russell said the same, citing that “Mr. Saunders’ position as ‘Head of the Klan’ was a game-changer for everyone.” Until this knowledge, which was unconfirmed, trustees viewed the Saunders Hall name change as just part of the ongoing, complicated history of UNC-CH. However, knowing that there was an *explicit record* of Saunders’ link to the KKK pushed the BOT vote to decide that renaming the building was for Carolina’s best interest.

“Tradition” and Politics of Civility

The Board’s commitment to the University’s best interests is often spoken in the same breath with the notion of civil discourse. BOT Chair Caudill described how “It’s important that we listen to our students, embrace dialogue with the campus community on these kinds of

issues... This is not easy and takes time to reconcile our past with what is in Carolina's best interests going forward." However, the emphasis on embracing dialogue also appears in what scholars describe (e.g. Morris, 2017) as respectability politics and tone policing, where certain styles of activism (i.e. nondisruptive) are deemed more "appropriate." During the January 2016 BOT meeting, Chair Dwight D. Stone shared his thoughts about higher education institutions, like UNC-CH, engaging in conversations about race and diversity:

I ask that *everyone with an interest in a successful outcome for Carolina to share their points of view with an open mind* [emphasis added]. The goals of a university are to promote critical thinking and diversity of thought. Eliminating diverse opinions stifle great debate. We cannot be afraid to listen to other people's points of view and to have open, honest and civil debate on difficult subjects. That is in keeping *with Carolina's very best traditions* [emphasis added] and the source of many important lessons our alumni learned during some of their most cherished times in Chapel Hill.

For the Board of Trustees, civility and civil discourse are viewed as not only what is best for Carolina but also a tradition, and a long-standing one at that. These sentiments were also shared by BOT Chair Haywood Cochranes during the September 2017 meeting. However, the context of these statements is important, as students have repeatedly expressed concerns about tone-policing. Student-Activists of Color point to instances such as the 2015 Town Hall on race and inclusion where the moderator asked students "not to read manifestos" and to work on pruning their messages. Students expressed feeling disrespected in their abilities to engage and spoke of their frustration regarding the difference between listening versus actually hearing the concerns. Students view the calls for civility and discourse as forms of weaponization to silence their anger and frustration.

Moreover, for Students of Color, the language of mutual respect cannot exist within the same sphere of hate. While the hate may range from microaggressions and other forms of covert racism to the overt expressions of death threats and violence, the manifestations of activism by Students of Color reveal the fear, frustration, pain, and hurt of having already tried to have “mutually respectful” dialogue without constructive outcomes.

Mitigating Escalation

Senior administrators and trustees shared fears of escalation with protests, which offers a rationale for why civility has been so heavily emphasized. For example, UNC-system Board of Governors member Marty Kotis said (see Weber et al., 2018),

The toppling of the monument poses a significant threat in that it might attract other groups and cause them to rally around the monument – be that Antifa or white supremacists or other groups that could potentially have very violent conflict on site. Thus, one of their strategies to curb escalation, outside of deploying more law enforcement, was to push for punitive measures for protesters. Leading up to the removal of Silent Sam, there were several arrests of protesters (from different camps; see Appendix G), and the university pressed charges against one Black student activist through UNC’s Honor Court and issued an indictment from the UNC Office of Student Conduct (Arrowood, 2018a; 2018b). Following the removal of Silent Sam by protesters in late August 2018, Chancellor Folt and several trustees condemned the actions of the protesters.

Another way to prematurely de-escalate the conflict (similar to senior administrators minimizing risk) was through creating policies. For example, during the 2015 vote to rename Saunders Hall, the Board also voted for a 16-year hiatus on renaming historical landmarks. [!!!] According to the policy, the next time the university would engage in the renaming of buildings

on UNC-CH's campus would be 2031, though the policy was revoked in June 2020. (The 16-year determination was justified as the passing of four cohorts of undergraduate students). More broadly across the UNC-System, the Board of Governors began drafting a policy based on the North Carolina General Assembly's ratified bill in June 2017 and rationalized that it was "An act to restore and preserve free speech on the campuses of the constituent institutions of the University of North Carolina" (HB527, 2017, p.1).

An Interlude: The Political Relationship between UNC and North Carolina

Activists at UNC-CH and the surrounding Chapel Hill community have expressed concerns with the political leanings and relationship between the North Carolina State Assembly and its Board of Governors of the UNC System (Bell, 2015). In 2013, the Forward Together progressive movement formed in response to the Republican-led North Carolina state General Assembly (Bell, 2015). Since then, the organization has protested the efforts by the N.C. General Assembly on issues like voter suppression and health care access, clarifying that their actions are not related to party lines but rather due to the legislature's proposals to restrict the rights of North Carolina residents (Bell, 2015). Over the next year, alongside many demonstrations of opposition, a federal court ruled in November 2016 for the redrawing of districts, as related to voting rights (Metzler, 2016). In October 2015, UNC-CH students protested N.C. House Bill 318, describing the harmful effects of the proposed immigration policies, threats of deportation, as well as the potential racial profiling (Chemtob, 2015); these protests would carry into 2016 as well (Bakker, 2016). On March 23, 2016, North Carolina Governor Pat McCrory signed House Bill 2 which limits the protection for individuals identifying as LGBT on the local level and limits transgender bathroom usage to their biological sex (Chemtob, 2016).

When Margaret Spellings was named the next UNC-system president in 2015, students and faculty at UNC-CH protested the appointment, specifically naming her conservative policies as former Secretary of Education under George W. Bush (Dunne, 2015; Wilder, 2015). By the summer of 2015, the UNC system welcomed nine new members into their Board of Governors, which sparked concerns about its lack of diversity. Of the 32 voting members, 28 identified politically as Republican with no registrants as Democrat, and more than 90 percent identified as white (Lamb, 2015; Masini, 2015). The UNC-system Board of Governors determines eight of the thirteen Board of Trustee members. While UNC-CH's Board of Trustees is more racially and politically diverse, the additional approval of an almost all-white Republican BOG reifies how Students of Color activists are battling many layers of institutionalized racism.

Faculty: Multi-Layered Concerns

Faculty concerns and support centered on students, care for faculty colleagues, and perceptions of the UNC administration. Yet even within these areas, there was still a wide range of perspectives and varying support for Student-Activists of Color.

Amplification and Protection

Faculty members at UNC-CH supported students (and each other) in both formal and informal ways. One of the main ways the faculty, as a collective at UNC-CH, seemed to respond to campus racism, which may or may not be related to student concerns and activism, was through passing UNC-CH's Faculty Council resolutions. These resolutions provide a formal amplification of and alignment with student concerns. During 2015-2018, the Faculty Council passed 11 resolutions related to campus racism, student activism, and diversity (see Appendix H). While the bulk of these resolutions addressed Silent Sam, others tackled free speech and supporting DACA students. During Faculty Council meetings, particularly around the resolutions

regarding Silent Sam, faculty members cited conversations with Students of Color and how they were negatively impacted by Silent Sam's continued presence on campus. Moreover, as protests and agitation increased, faculty expressed more concern (see Derickson, 2017), especially following the news of death threats and a white supremacist punching a student after which both were arrested (see Ward, 2018). Many faculty members raised their concerns regarding whether the police were actually "protecting" students—a concern many Student-Activists of Color also expressed.

Another formal avenue for faculty to support and amplify students' concerns was through department statements. Yet, in order to do this, several departments also had to take a step back and discuss the procedure of releasing such a statement. Dr. Jay Wilson described his experience,

Every department and every center had a meeting to either come up with a statement or talk about releasing a statement about the confederate monument. There were a couple dozen [meetings] at least. The only meeting I really went to was [location]. We're only in there for 2 hours, about [several] of us or so trying to figure out the process by which we want to do this... [And] well, one of the things that was really dull and tedious was that we had to vote our new rule for creating a statement. I think it was the appropriate step, but we haven't released a statement like that before. We had to spend all this time [discussing], what are going to be the standards by which we release things in the future? That's just figuring that [process] out, and then we actually made the actual statement itself.

We had these questions about who was this for? Why does this matter? My point was we have a student who was protesting by the monument, and a man before and after a

football game yelled at her that he was going to end her, suggesting that he was going to kill her. I said, "I don't care who sees the thing [the statement], as long as she sees it." That's all that I really need. I also meant we need to do this for people like me, as well. Certainly anybody on campus who is troubled by the message that the Confederate monument conveys, and troubled by the threats that have been surrounding student protest rooted to that Confederate monument.

One of the observations in speaking with Dr. Wilson about faculty governance is that in order to create a departmental statement, the first step was to establish a structured policy for future statements. For many faculty, as well as administrators and staff, institutional responses require taking a step back because the procedures needed *in order to respond* have not been created. Yet, the driving concern of why the process should be done, to answer Dr. Wilson's question of "why does this matter?" came down to students. Many of the faculty, especially Faculty of Color, see the ways students are harmed, not just by the supremacists inciting violence, but the police and even more poignantly, by the administration's inaction.

Moreover, faculty responses to supporting the campus community, in the wake of racial manifestations, also extend to one another. For example, in 2015, following the harassment and news reports calling Dr. Neel Ahuja's first-year seminar "anti-American," the Faculty Council passed Resolution 2015-11 "On the Support for Academic Freedom and the 'Literature of 9/11.'" Similarly, following the letter that Black faculty at UNC-CH wrote regarding Silent Sam, the Faculty Council passed Resolution 2018-7 "On Supporting a Statement from UNC Black Faculty on Silent Sam." While both resolutions passed, it would be irresponsible to imply that all the faculty at UNC-CH have the same positioning on racial justice; it is important to note that more

conservative faculty did not attend or voice their opinions during faculty meetings and were not captured by the minutes.

The Faculty Role: Experts and Educators

The responsibilities of faculty can generally be categorized under research, teaching, and service. Across the debates, particularly regarding the removal of Silent Sam, faculty frequently pointed to needing to make decisions that were driven by the research and intellectualism that existed within UNC-CH. For example, one of the comments during the faculty meeting described how the discussions and actions by administrators, “[had] been more about a political process than an intellectual process.” This need for expertise is also what drove some faculty to join the fray in the larger public discourse regarding Silent Sam, whether through social media platforms like Twitter or releasing op-eds in national news outlets. One faculty member explained that,

in [saying] that we value public engagement here, we say [that] all the time, it seemed to me that it was appropriate to step up my level of public involvement, at a time when the community and the public is really hungry for some answers about why we have these things here?

Within this rationale is the emphasis of lending expertise to student and administrative concerns—as a way to provide clarity on what is happening in the midst of media frenzy and noise that dilutes the central arguments behind Student-Activists of Color. Moreover, the interview also speaks to the faculty role of educating and suggests that part of public engagement is sharing one’s expertise. However, Dr. Tanya Collins, an Associate Faculty of Color, commented on the burden this then creates:

What I'm seeing are administrators holding meetings with donors and other constituents, but they are done without the experts on our campus. We don't see large Town Halls with the faculty leading the conversation... what we need. So we have them in our classrooms, we have them in our one-on-ones. But the administration should be having [faculty involvement] overall. When the administration engaged with the public and through the media, they provide ambiguous balanced remarks or a "no comment"—I don't know which is worse—which then [pause] who is leading the conversation?

Thus, some of the faculty's public engagement might be a response to the lack of engagement by administrators, further reifying the rationale for faculty to protect and amplify student concerns, and do it in a way that is driven by research.

Do the Right Thing: Morality and Reputation

A unique observation in reading through various UNC-CH faculty responses is the presence of a moral argument. Adding to Student-Activists of Color who argue for Silent Sam's removal based on its history of violence (during the statue's dedication) and symbolism of the Confederacy, UNC-CH faculty use an argument of morality. For example, the August 27, 2018 "Statement on Silent Sam" by the department chairs of the College of Arts and Sciences and supported by the Faculty Executive Committee (not a formal resolution) included the following:

Returning the statue to any prominent location would reaffirm the values of white supremacy that motivated its original installation. Moreover, to do so *would undermine the moral and physical security of all members of our community* [emphasis added]. The values that the statue represents are inherently opposed to the principles of light and liberty that guide the educational mission of UNC Chapel Hill.

The question of moral clarity also applies beyond simply the presence of Silent Sam, but also extends to the decisions by administrators regarding the surveillance of students. Dr. Wilson explains, “We had policemen lie under oath at the trial of a graduate student. There's just no moral clarity here at all...we're supposed to be here protecting students, not the damn statue.” Likewise, the “Statement from UNC Black Faculty on Silent Sam” with 54 signatures from Black faculty members points to the false relationship between morality and protecting Silent Sam:

A monument to white supremacy, steeped in a history of violence against Black people, and that continues to attract white supremacists, creates a racially hostile work environment and diminishes the University’s reputation worldwide. For us, arguments of moral equivalency are extremely problematic; *there are not two morally valid sides to the history the monument represents nor to its current significance* [emphasis added].

Without brave acts of civil disobedience that changed the moral character of the nation and advanced the cause of justice, Black faculty, staff, and students would not be here.

UNC-CH Black faculty clearly point out one of the ongoing debates about Silent Sam— that the argument for “both sides” is not actually valid. In the “Faculty Workshops on the Disposition of the Confederate Statue” (FWDCS), faculty supported the letter by Black faculty and urged the Board of Trustees and Chancellor Folt to “be on the right side of history.” The quest for “rightness” speaks not just about the moral decision, but also speaks to maintaining the moral *reputation* of the campus; during FWDCS, one of the takeaways about actions regarding Silent Sam was the question, “Will our grandchildren be proud of [these next steps]?” The reputation aspect is something that Student-Activists of Color have also connected; in the October 2017, when Student-Activists protest outside Peabody Hall, organizer and UNC-CH doctoral student

Sean Hernández Adkins stated in *The Daily Tar Heel* on September 13, 2017 (see Cantrell, 2017a):

It's unacceptable for us and embarrassing to say that we are doctoral students *at a very prestigious and highly ranked school of education* [emphasis added] that has a mission that says we want inclusion and equity, but when it comes down to actually defending that we get nothing.

One point stated in faculty meetings is that reputation cannot be separated from neoliberal aspects of academia. Comments from FWDCS included Silent Sam's removal for the "reputation of the University and its potential to serve as a model;" how the removal will "enhance UNC's reputation and not detract from it;" and ultimately how the "Brand and reputation of the university is at risk. If this issue is not handled right, then there will be big impacts on donations and enrollment." These feelings reveal that while much of the faculty response to Silent Sam is centered on supporting students, particularly from a stance of morality, education, and protection, the interest-convergence lens of the monetary impact is very much present in the conversation.

Misgivings and Mistrust

Similar to Student-Activists of Color, faculty also expressed misgivings and mistrust of the senior leaders at UNC-CH, particularly with the Chancellor and Board of Trustees. Faculty described how the decision-making by administrators feels less intellectual or driven by expertise and more of a political lens via public relations. Faculty expressed confusion and frustration about why the administration had not invited, for example, historians to the proverbial seat at the table, given their world-renowned expertise at UNC-CH. Dr. Wilson highlighted this, stating:

Before now, the leadership has not tapped the immense expertise on campus; the process has not been research-based. Many scholars on campus have studied the narratives held by various stakeholders the chancellor met with the Daughters of the Confederacy, which makes it appear as if the leadership views the toppled statue *as a PR problem instead of an issue of engagement and reputation* [emphasis added]. What are we trying to do in the state and region? Lots of experts on campus who understand what is felt by many. Now we're faced with a deadline crisis. Historians here on campus are doing this work and being ignored.

Similar to Dr. Collin's earlier statement, Dr. Wilson describes the observed responses by senior leadership on campus and the lack of invitation, or use, of faculty expertise by administrators. In this regard, faculty responses to administrators differ slightly from student concerns because of the expectations of being invited to weigh in or consult. Moreover, Public Health Professor Rohit Ramaswamy expressed frustration during the December 2018 Faculty Council meeting on how the debate regarding Silent Sam was framed as a public safety issue:

The recommendation does not recognize that Silent Sam is a symbol of oppression regardless of its location on campus... framing this issue as a matter of public safety promoted the thought that the administration could hide the monument and people would forget about it.

Part of Dr. Ramaswamy's observation is an interpretation of administrators' tactics of side-stepping the issue, observing that the power of time would diminish people's focus on the ongoing protests. His dissatisfaction also lies in how the framing of safety does not get to the heart of the issue, which serves as another area of alignment with the concerns expressed by

Student-Activists of Color. While faculty are creating responses as part of the institution, they are also critiquing it, distrusting administrators, and trying to improve the learning environment.

Campus Patterns and Positions of “Progress”: A Cross Case Analysis

Part of the reason why I chose UVA and UNC as the comparative case studies was due to their similarities in the geolocation of “The South,” status as public research-intensive universities, and national media attention. Through analyzing more of the campus history, contexts, student activism, and responses by administrators, boards, and staff, I unearthed several other similarities as well as stark differences between the two sites. For example, both UVA and UNC had national scrutiny the year prior in 2014—UVA due to *The Rolling Stone* article on alleged sexual assault and UNC with an athletics controversy. As such, administrators at both universities felt pressure to move on and remove the negative light shed on each of their respective campuses (as the faculty minutes and board meetings indicated). This need to recover reputation is one I did not originally anticipate as having a large impact, but then observed each institution’s language on branding and reputation within each embedded case.

The analysis of embedded cases constituting groups within the University of Virginia and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill reveals that group positions and proximities impact how student concerns and subsequent activism around issues of campus racism are defined, conceptualized, and addressed. The similarities and dissimilarities between UVA’s and UNC-CH’s organization, structure, contexts, and dynamics help explain how responses and reactions differ and yet are still patterned within the larger history and narrative of institutionalized racism.

Student-Activists of Color: Resigned and Fatigued

Racism as Expected and the Privilege of Shock

Students within both campuses highlight the need for Students of Color to have a sense of belonging, with UVA Student-Activists of Color pushing for admissions changes with representation and UNC-CH students pushing for centers and spaces, all while dealing with everyday forms of racism that are further exacerbated by the ways Students of Color do not have a space to call their own. The normalization of racism, as experienced by Students of Color via microaggressions and violence, is discordant with campus efforts and communications to create “safe” spaces and respond to events of hate. For Students, Faculty, and Staff of Color, the violence during 2015’s brutal arrest of Martese Johnson by UVA’s Alcohol Beverage Control and 2017’s “Unite the Right” march on the Grounds, was both shocking and not shocking. During the rally in support of Johnson, protesters like UVA faculty member Kwame Otu pointed out how “What happened to Martese is just an [example] of what happens to black people every day” (Kass, 2015).

While many of both the campus and national responses following the violence of UVA’s ABC unit were of shock, Black students and other Student-Activists of Color described that this is part of the daily routines of their lives: mitigating and enduring all-too-normalized violence and aggression. For example, UNC-CH student Mahogany Monette described how “The first thing I felt was tired. I think as a black female it’s really difficult to just watch this continue,” describing the killing of Keith Scott, a Black man, in Charlotte, North Carolina (Drake, 2016). Likewise, while many individuals (including across the nation) questioned how Charlottesville could become the convening site for white supremacists, BSA student member Keiara Price wrote in an article in *The Daily Cavalier* (2017), “Neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan did not invade Charlottesville, they simply *came home*.” Similarly, UVA student Stella Clark, a non-Black Student-Activist of Color said:

I don't understand how people can feel surprised. It's been happening. It's gonna keep happening. And when our president or other people say that this isn't us or something, it's like no. Yes it is. Just go to my classes and you'll see.

With excerpts from both student articles and interviews describing experiences of tokenism, racial battle fatigue, knowing that the manifestations of campus racism are not “shocking,” Student-Activists of Color on both campuses demonstrate that they know their concerns are not new, despite the shock their peers or institutions might describe. Thus, when reading campus statements where manifestations of racism such as police brutality are viewed as shocking, Students of Color observe the disconnect between the statements and their lived realities. Leila explains:

Whatever gets sent out is damage control. That's what it is. UVA is not going to admit that there is a problem [with racism] because it means having to spend the time, money, and energy to confront themselves and change things. No. It's easier to just do damage control and send us emails like how shocked they are. And then I go to class and listen to my peers say the same thing, like they don't realize this is my daily life.

As a result, campus messaging and framing of these racially-charged events feel inauthentic and dismissive to Students of Color as they continuously experience microaggressions and discrimination from peers, colleagues, faculty, and programs.

Burnout and Harassed

Existing literature has discussed at length the mental strain of student-activists as well as the impact of racial battle fatigue (Stewart, 2019). For the Student-Activists of Color at the UNC-CH, this narrative is unfortunately quite similar, as seen through the following stories shared with *The Daily Tar Heel* throughout 2015-2018. Student-Activist of Color Shelby

Dawkins-Law, a UNC-CH student organizer with the Real Silent Sam Coalition, explained, “I started looking around campus and seeing the triggers.” Mitch Xia states the struggle of balancing coursework and how,

[I] often find myself falling behind in classes. I don’t like that I fall behind for organizing, but I also don’t like that it causes me such anxiety to temporarily focus on organizing rather than classes, just because such weight is assigned to our GPAs and how we do in class.

The pressure to keep up with courses is similar to what UNC-CH student Kierra Campbell describes as well. Campbell, a co-director for outreach at the Campus Y who is also involved with the NAACP, said, “You know, you’re marching or protesting or talking with individuals about something you’re very passionate about, and yet I’ve got a paper due or something... You will not just burn out with activism, you will burn out with academics.” These stories point to the underlying burnout impacting Student-Activists of Color. More specifically, Student-Activists of Color explain the burden of consistently trying to get their majority white peers to care about issues. Edward Alexander, a UVA fourth-year Black student who helped organize a die-in in 2016, describes in *The Daily Cavalier*:

While black lives matter, I implore my white friends, my white peers, to no longer just be liberal and just retweet and throw this on your newsfeed. This is your problem. There is no reason BSA has to be the one holding a racial sensitivity talk after white people are spraying [the n-word] on people’s dorms.

What is implicit is the issue of care. Feeling seen means knowing that, for Black students who are fighting about Black Lives Matter, white (and other non-Black) peers are fighting for their cause. The language of shock for Students of Color becomes a reification that Stella Clark had

earlier described, of not being aware. Students of Color, especially Black students at UVA, are not privileged to ignore the racism on campus, which also includes the very foundations of the university that serve as daily reminders.

The cost for Student-Activists of Color extends much further. As the rallies and protests at UNC-CH garnered more attention, both on a national scale and from white supremacists, they faced vitriolic taunts, hate speech, racist interactions, and even death threats. Supporters for Silent Sam's continued presence yelled at student protesters, "I will kill him. He will be done" and several pro-Silent Sam men threatened to bring guns to campus. Student-activists discussed the difficulty of managing their fears as well as knowing that this is an intimidation tactic used by inebriated white supremacists. Along with the mental strain of feeling unsafe around police, students' anxiety became magnified with the heightened media attention and coverage via social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram. During the 2018 August rallies regarding Silent Sam, a protester (anonymized via *The Daily Tar Heel*) pointed out how "People find out names, they find our faces, they stalk us" when discussing the possible need for removal of cameras during the protest. Moreover, student-activists have been subject to online harassment. Other students described some of the threats they experienced, including threats of being run over by a car, of being visited at the office, and of an antagonist bringing an M-16 to a protest. Even *The Daily Tar Heel*, one step removed from this process by reporting the action, described their own experience of online harassment by individuals demanding high-resolution photos with incessant provocation of the editors and photographers. While the campus jurisdiction over online spaces and activity still remains murky, the mental toll experienced by Students of Color cannot be overlooked.

Contextual Differences with Location and Timing

One difference between the two case study sites is that the media narratives and controversy over *what happened* and *who was involved* differed slightly. For example, media narratives portrayed UVA as a community, as being on the receiving end—the campus community had experienced and endured vitriol, hate, and brutality. This was clear in the condemnation of the 2017 “Unite the Right” riot, which was further bolstered by the horrific, unapologetic violence by white supremacists. While less clear in 2015 with the overly aggressive and violent arrest of UVA’s Martese Johnson as well as the manifestations of hate speech in 2016, the narrative was still very much constructed around an idea of “this is what happened to us.” To some extent, the activism and concerns, on the surface level, reflect this narrative through the critiques of administrative inaction or missteps (e.g. the response to “Unite the Right”). Yet, when taken in the context of the history of repeated concerns by Student-Activists of Color, especially the Black Student Alliance, the criticism of administrative inaction regarding campus manifestations of racism reflects a much larger indictment. Interviews with Student-Activists of Color, both in person and written or reported by *The Cavalier Daily*, corroborate how the shocking narrative of “how did this happen to us” detracts from the larger reality of how white supremacy is already well-situated and present on campus.

For UNC-CH, the narrative of activism and manifestations of racism is less of “this is what happened to us” and more of “this is happening here,” reflecting a recognition that the campus is a site of layered hate, anger, frustration, and indictment. Part of this slight shift in framing might be due to the location of tension. For UVA, Martese Johnson was brutalized off campus, and some of the hate acts in 2016 also occurred off campus. UVA adjunct faculty member Douglas Muir posted racist comments on his private Facebook account (i.e. “off” campus), and while white supremacists rioted on the campus, the injuries and death happened off

campus. Even the events leading up to the “Unite the Right” riot with the KKK took place off campus (see Appendix B). In contrast, the majority of UNC-CH’s student activism took place literally on the physical grounds of campus and constituted a critique of the physical manifestations of racism via building names and statues. The majority of actions, drawing growing attention, happened in the centrally located campus arena of McCorkle plaza. The UNC-CH campus served as the epicenter in ways that differed from the peripheral geolocation UVA had with white supremacists. Moreover, the activism regarding Silent Sam received growing national attention for the better part of a year, and especially heightened national media attention for more than four months. The prolonged coverage might also help explain the added layers of online harassment that the UNC-CH student-activists endured.

Senior-Level Administrators: Framing Responses

Senior administrators juggle a multitude of responsibilities and multiple audiences, which include Student-Activists, their respective departments, alumni, donors, and the faculty at large. For many, this position places them between a rock and a hard place—one where no answer will satisfy everyone. This is particularly true for both UVA and UNC-CH, which had scandals and national press in the years leading up to the 2015-2018 timeframe. When Silent Sam was torn down, President Folt received over two hundred voicemails— the majority of them expressing anger about the statue’s removal. She also received almost 20 emails and, likewise, the Board of Trustees received more than 25 voicemails. The calls requested her resignation, a state-level investigation, and prosecution of the students. The calls included statements about her being a Yankee, a liberal, and overall unfit for the position. Both UVA’s and UNC-CH’s continued scrutiny and national media attention resulted in immense pressure on and within the institution to frame the issues carefully.

Rejections and Pivots

Both UVA and UNC-CH framed campus statements immediately following a manifestation of campus racism through the rejection of such actions, coupled with an expression of shock that the event happened. After the assault against UVA student Martese Johnson, the Vice President for Diversity & Equity and Dean of African American Affairs, stated that “the nature of this assault is highly unusual and appalling based on the information we have received.” Similarly, following UVA executive lecturer Douglas Muir’s Facebook post comparing BLM to the KKK (see Appendix F), the letter from Engineering Dean Craig H. Benson and Engineering Associate Dean for Diversity and Inclusion John Gates (Muir’s employer) explained how “U.Va. Engineering does not condone actions that undermine our values, dedication to diversity and educational mission. Our faculty and staff are responsible for upholding our values and demonstrating them to students and the community.” Moreover, in a response via Facebook, the Darden School of Business also stated, “Comments made on personal social media sites do not represent the views of the University of Virginia, the School of Engineering and Applied Science and the Darden School of Business.”

Senior administrators, in their messaging, demonstrate a more nuanced form of rejection through the use of pivoting the conversation— essentially refocusing the attention. For example, UNC-CH’s Chancellor Guskiewicz (following Folt’s departure), during the growing controversy over paying a Confederate group to “buy” the Silent Sam statue, states the following:

I understand, appreciate and empathize with those sentiments. The settlement ensures the monument will never return to campus, but issues of racism and injustice persist, and the university must confront them. *I now want to focus* [emphasis added] on our shared values of diversity, equity and inclusion, and I will continue to reject and condemn those

individuals or groups who seek to divide us. We have a lot of work to do to thoroughly address and reconcile with our past.

To go back to President Sullivan's statement to the alumni and friends following the shrouding of Jefferson in August 2017, she continues the letter by writing:

... *I would like to frame this issue somewhat differently* [emphasis added]. Thomas Jefferson was an ardent believer in freedom of expression, and he experienced plenty of abusive treatment from the newspapers of his day. He would likely not be surprised to find that when there are critical disagreements in the polity, those disagreements will find expression at his university. UVA's importance as a university is underscored by the fact that arguments about free expression, hate speech, and similar issues occur here.

Sometimes these arguments are noisy.

By focusing on Jefferson's values of expression and academic debate, President Sullivan's statement sidesteps the specific student concerns about race and their critique of UVA's founder, overlooking the irony of citing Thomas Jefferson's beliefs as the grounding rationale for why protests are acceptable. Likewise, Chancellor Guskiewicz's commitment to diversity, equity and inclusion feels somewhat antithetical to the actions of paying a Confederate organization the money that could be used to fund the diversity, equity, and inclusion programs urged by Student-Activists of Color. Through pivoting the conversation, senior administrators communicate which issue is *more important* as the focus, subtly rejecting the originating matter at hand. These forms of renouncement or pivots create a distance that Student-Activists of Color identify as a rejection of them and their concerns about racism.

Unity and Respect(ability)

Along with the framing of rejection, both UVA and UNC-CH senior-level administrators use language like “all,” “we,” and “humanity” as a way to bring the campus together, particularly after a violent manifestation of campus racism. For example, following the week of protests and harmful rhetoric after the 2016 presidential election, Chancellor Folt and administrative leaders (including the provost and college deans) emailed the UNC-CH campus community with a message entitled, “Respect for all,” that included the following:

We aspire to be a campus of inclusive excellence—a place for our faculty, our staff and our students to succeed regardless of their background, ethnicity, gender, religion, age or sexual orientation. Academic inquiry means freedom of thought and expression, and providing an atmosphere in which uncomfortable and complex topics can be explored with mutual respect. We want to reaffirm our commitment to the core diversity values of the university and to the University’s policy statement on nondiscrimination.

Likewise, following anti-Muslim slurs found at Brown College, one of UVA’s residential areas (see Appendix F), President Sullivan’s email to the campus included the following:

... all of us should make the effort to come together — as a University community, as a country— in spite of any lingering differences in political opinion. To rise above the hostility and vitriol of recent months and to move forward, we must embrace a spirit of cooperation and respect.

In both of these statements, the encapsulation of *all students* is a rhetorical function for inclusion and a unifying nod to the community. However, what these statements fail to acknowledge is how the presidential election and acts of hatred, racism, and anti-Blackness *disproportionately* impact and negatively harm Students of Color and especially Black students compared to the campus community at large. Without the acknowledgment of differences in impact, unifying

language has the potential, particularly with racial differences to become color-evasive statements that corroborate Student-Activists of Color feeling invisible or dismissed with their concerns and activism.

Moreover, the language of *respect* lends itself to erasing and/or diminishing the hate that exists and creating a false balance of sides. UNC-CH Black Faculty wrote about this in their letter explaining that “there are not two morally valid sides” regarding Silent Sam. For UNC-CH in particular, this position of openness and arguably “nondiscrimination” by senior leaders is a long-standing tradition. When BSM delivered their demands in 1968, then-Chancellor J. Carlyle Sitterson’s response included the following:

The University of North Carolina makes every effort to consider on their merits all matters that are brought to its attention, including those contained in these ‘demands.’ This emphatically means that the University intends to be responsive to the education needs to all the people including all races, colors, and creeds. Conversely, it should be clear that the University cannot, in policy or in practice, provide unique treatment for any single race, color, or creed. To do so would be a step backward, and the University should set its sights upon a better future. (1969, p.2-3).

While this quote is almost 45 years before the start of the 2015 activism noted for this study, I start in 1968 because this is one of the first responses by a campus, directed to the concerns brought by an organized group of Student Activists of Color—more specifically Black student activists. The implied relationship that providing unique treatment is a step backwards, is a common argument in higher education (e.g. the argument against Affirmative Action; Harris, 1993). Yet for students, the touting of “nondiscrimination” in the midst of very real racial

harassment and violence, feels, as earlier quotes have indicated, that a side has already been taken and unity is just lip-service.

Pre-Emptive Differences of Here and There

Both case study sites sent out a series of “do not engage” communication to their respective students and campus communities. The messaging from both campuses reiterated the freedom of speech, a commitment to diversity, a rejection of hate, and alternatives to not engaging or attending the protest. However, these communications reveal a slight difference of belonging due to the contextual locations of *where* these protests were taking place. For UVA, the series of protests and activism happened in the greater Charlottesville area through May to July of 2017 (see Appendix F) with minimal interaction on UVA’s campus (with the exception of the “Unite the Right” riot). As a result, the communication to students was written through the lens of *do not go there*. On the other hand, the continued protests involving UNC-CH (which were almost twice the duration of UVA’s protests) took place on their campus. As such, the communication included a narrative similar to *stay away from here*. This subtle messaging reflects the comparative frustration of Student-Activists of Color at each respective campus about how white supremacy and racism is seemingly communicated as separate from UVA while arguably embedded at UNC-CH. The distinction between *there* and *here*, also helps explain the level of outrage from the broader campus community to UVA and UNC-CH senior administrators where alumni members at UVA expressed frustration about the campus *not protecting* their students while alumni members at UNC-CH expressed frustration about the campus *not punishing* their students.

Governing Boards: Layers upon Layers

The overarching narrative of both governing boards at UNC-CH and UVA is one about reputation and continued conversation about inclusive excellence. As a result, both UVA and UNC-CH utilize peer institution comparisons as a way to measure their success, which includes assessing inclusive excellence. However, as a key difference, UVA's Board of Visitors use the language of equity through diversity while UNC-CH Board of Trustees discuss it through the rhetoric of "best interest." However, in both cases, institutions minimally discuss the structural barriers of racism that interfere with the enacting inclusive excellence (e.g. financial aid, school zones for K-12).

The focus on reputation and concern with peer institutions reflects the pressure by state legislatures and the necessity to prove that, in the larger context of decreasing state appropriations, UVA and UNC-CH are institutions worth continued investment. While my attention and analysis focused predominantly on the Board conversations regarding racist manifestations on campus and diversity/inclusion initiatives, I observed that most Board meetings at both institutions discussed the financial health of the institution. In addition, for UNC-CH's BOT in particular, their meetings, at times, included an explicit mention of policy makers and their positive perceptions of UNC-CH's economic efficacy.

As public universities, both UVA and UNC-CH have faced challenges navigating state policies, particularly with calls from students and Student Activists of Color at both institutions urging the banning of white supremacists on campus, particularly those engaging in hate speech and incendiary racist rhetoric. Both institutions have cited the tensions and challenges of free speech as the reasons why they are unable to block racist individuals. For example, both the Virginia General Assembly and the North Carolina State Assembly passed laws in 2017 on preserving "free speech" at higher education institutions and pushing for sanctions against

members who disrupted that right— HB527 for North Carolina and HB1401 for Virginia.

Despite these restrictions, UVA and UNC-CH have found ways to both ban individuals and change policies for renting spaces on their respective campuses (see Appendix F and E).

However, again, the political conservatism of North Carolina’s legislature serves as a backdrop for both students and faculty commenting on how BOT members had to walk on eggshells and as a result, could not, or arguably did not want, to take strong racially-just stances because of the potential financial repercussions.

From the student perspective, both Boards have received criticism for their lack of transparency in making policy decisions. In 2015, the Board of Visitors unilaterally agreed to increase the tuition of the incoming Class of 2019 by 13.4 percent, compared to the Class of 2014. The vote took place in a closed meeting with less than one day for review (Eanes, 2015) and Megan Gould, the non-voting student trustee, said that students “[felt] that they weren’t given sufficient time to understand the policy and [felt] unheard or unrepresented” (*The Cavalier Daily*, Managing Board, 2015d). Students stated that the policy would negatively impact low-income students, many of whom are Students of Color (Eanes et al., 2015). Similarly, after the closure of three UNC-system centers in 2016, faculty, students, and community members protested at the UNC Board of Governors meeting regarding the Board’s lack of compliance with the open-meeting laws passed by North Carolina state legislature, and regarding how campus communities had been shut out of the decision-making process (Brown, 2015; McCoy, 2015). Students have also protested UNC-CH’s BOT in not being included in the decision and conversations following Silent Sam’s removal from McCorkle Place in August 2018. While the senior leadership at both UVA and UNC-CH have created town halls, implemented surveys, and even (at UVA) developed platforms to hear suggestions, UVA’s Board of Governors revised

their meeting structure to create a space for invited students to share their thoughts, though arguably, this could still serve as a form of gatekeeping.

Faculty: To Stay Here

The faculty at both UVA and UNC-CH view their roles as including advocating for students. In that, they communicate a heavy frustration at the administration, but in slightly different ways. At UVA, faculty frustrations center around the concern about protecting students (related to police brutality and white supremacist riots) and the continued centering of Thomas Jefferson. UNC-CH faculty also reveal vexation with the administration's lack of effort to protect students, but also indicate their disappointment in UNC-CH not "doing the right thing." In that sense, UNC-CH faculty have described an explicit moral disappointment.

Moreover, across the two institutions, faculty expressions differ. Comparing the minutes of UVA's Faculty Senate with those of UNC-CH's Faculty Council, the latter passed several resolutions as ways to make recommendations to the UNC-CH senior-level administrators and Board of Trustees. During the meetings, UNC-CH faculty members also conveyed frustration when resolutions were seemingly ignored by these two groups. Meanwhile, at UVA, faculty dissent more often came from circulating faculty-drafted letters, like the ones urging UVA's president to support DACA, denounce the Travel Ban, and stop using Thomas Jefferson in emails (see Appendix F). Yet, despite these differences, one of the commonalities is the sense of exhaustion by faculty members at both UVA and UNC-CH, particularly the Faculty of Color. While I described the strain of how activism and the general barrage of racism impacts the Student-Activists of Color, I would be remiss not to include the same analysis for the Faculty of Color. While the university provided counseling for students and faculty themselves offered spaces to students to share, faculty also experience similar strains. In my interview with UVA's

Dr. Davis, our conversation included the strain of both supporting students and personally making sense of the racism and hate unveiled especially by “Unite the Right.” Likewise, UNC-CH’s Dr. Tanya Collins describes:

I will be teaching courses] and my students will want to talk about the [Silent Sam] statue. And here is an opportunity to extend what I am teaching to this moment. But it’s heavy and I’ll get penalized later and I know that students would not have this [in] other classes with other professors. So this opportunity and cost is raced and gendered.

UVA’s Dr. Stewart also described a similar exhaustion along with the tensions of the pressure to still produce research, develop syllabi, teach classes, advise students, write publications, and submit research grants. The UVA Faculty Senate chair, Dr. Riley, mentioned how “the benefits of free speech are shared by all of us, but the burdens are more often disproportionately borne by minorities and marginalized populations.” Dr. Riley highlighted several tensions, including the longstanding debates and discourse around freedom of speech, academic freedom, and the conflation with hate speech. Moreover, under the guise of free speech, faculty have also been allowed to say things in and outside of classrooms that harm Students of Color. The ongoing debates at both campuses, as well as across the nation, regarding censorship, hate speech, academic freedom, and free speech, illuminate how faculty, as a collective *and* as part of the institution, are deeply complex in their responses and ways they support (and do not support) students.

Another level of tiredness—one that mirrored student and faculty statements during the marches and demonstrations supporting Black Lives Matters—was a tiredness of the system at hand. UNC’s Dr. Collins and Dr. Wilson, who experienced frustration with non-responses by senior-level administrators about Silent Sam, expressed their tiredness of the bureaucracy. Dr.

Collins, very poignantly, during the interview stated, “Just because we [Faculty of Color] are here doesn’t mean we’re good. I fight every day to stay here and stay here with joy and my whole self.” Following the “Unite the Right” riot, members of UVA faculty and administrators held several gatherings. Some of these meetings were already in place as faculty retreats, given the start of the semester just around the corner, but others were emergency meetings to specifically address and discuss the march. During the meeting, Dr. Davis recalled the following moment:

“He [the dean] then kind of eased into also [what] he was imagining that, ‘Oh, because of the attention, we might be able to get more stuff.’ As in like, ‘We can apply for different kinds of grants. We can get different kinds of awards.’ ...

So, the response that I saw was just like essentially, and I think he said the words, ‘I think there’s a way that we can capitalize off this.’ I think he said that. If he didn’t say that word for word, he definitely not even implied it. He definitely was just like, ‘Yes. We will be finding ways to come out of this on top.’ So, I was just like, all right, universities are monsters. Corporate monsters. It’s the same thing. No big deal. I don’t have time to be overly emotional about that. But it’s fucked up.

Dr. Davis’s comment reveals several different phenomena, about which Black scholars have written extensively. The aspect of caring about the research because of potential grants reflects Derrick Bell’s interest-convergence, and also describes the invalidation of the race and racism-centric work that UVA scholars have *been doing*. And yet, the biggest takeaway for me in analyzing this transcript and the conversation I had with Dr. Davis was the sense of resignation that this is “no big deal,” because the Faculty of Color know, much like Student-Activists of

Color, that these reactions are part of UVA as an institution, as well as part of the system of racism, white supremacy, and anti-Blackness. And this is not just unique to UVA, or UNC for that matter. It is a system built and capitalizing on the exclusion of marginalized identities. It is a system that continues to work effectively to maintain the status quo.

CHAPTER SIX: A LANDSCAPE OF RESPONSES

Mapping onto the Institutional Response Framework

Institutional responses to campus racism and activism are nonlinear. They are messy and complicated, rife with competing opinions and motivations that are not always grounded in addressing the manifestations of racism Student-Activists of Color target for action. Moreover, as seen from the previous chapter, responses both overlap and distinctly differ between senior-level administrators, governing boards, and faculty members. Admittedly, when first starting this study, I had assumed two distinct groups: Student-Activists of Color and “the institution”—hence, the idea of an overarching generalization with “institutional response.” But in recognizing and learning more about the extent of dissent and disagreement between and among senior-level administrators, faculty, and boards—each with their own power dynamics—the idea of what is viewed as “the institution” and whose voice is legitimized became much murkier. Yet, despite all these complexities, the ways Student-Activists of Color perceive institutional response is much more simple: Administrative (in)actions either reify racism on college campuses or do not. Mapping responses to the Institutional Response Framework (Cho, 2018) then depends on a myriad of factors depending on the group as well as how perceptions change over time.

(Re)considering the Dimensions and Definitions

By coding the perceptions and feelings of the Student-Activists of Color when talking about how administrators, boards, and faculty responded to their activism and actions, I learned how perceptions were often not aligned with one another, particularly along the different dimensions of the Institutional Response Framework (IRF).

Bridging and Buffering: A Continuum of Demands

Within the Institutional Response Framework (see page 28), the continuum of bridging and buffering refers to the extent to which institutional responses address the concerns brought forth by students—specifically as it relates to the manifestations of racism on campus. Using findings from the previous chapter, one of the observations noted was how Students of Color observed not only differences but a sense of ranking between types of responses. For example, Student-Activists of Color described their frustration with silence, but when asked if silence was “better” than performativity or statements of “political correctness,” student Mark Young said:

Okay. So that’s. Damn, that’s hard. But I’d rather them try, cause that’s something. They know they have to say something. Or they look bad. But not by much. It’s not *doing* [emphasis added]; it’s just words. But words are better than silence, I guess.

When mapping responses along the endpoints of bridging and buffering, based on Young’s opinion, silence could be closer to buffering against students’ demands—a lack of acknowledgment that there is even a problem. On the other hand, a statement, even if poorly written, at least shows that the administration is paying some form of attention. As a result, the plotting of response may look like the following:

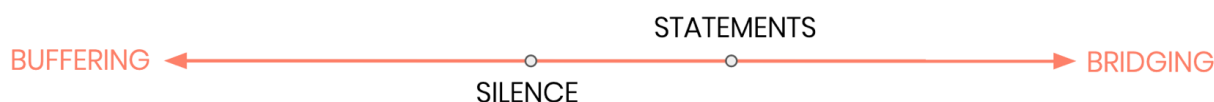


Figure 6.1 Mapping responses on the IRF dimension of student demands

Yet at the same time, as Mark, Leila, and Stella confirm, these statements rarely concretely address students’ concerns and activism: there is no action. In that case, the plotting then must be revised as silence and statements are fundamentally valued *less* by Student-Activists of Color compared to what they deem as concrete action. Silence and statements are more similar to one another and dissimilar from concrete actions:

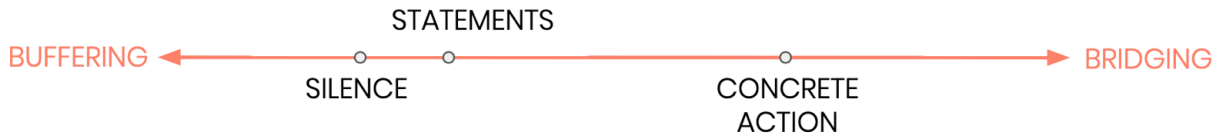


Figure 6.2 Concrete action on the IRF dimension of student demands

Concrete actions, however, cannot be the only determinant for moving closer to bridging, or meeting student demands. On the contrary, Student-Activists of Color who have protested have also faced punitive measures such as being taken to honor court, in UNC-CH’s case. Others have also described how resolutions regarding free speech and time, place, and manner policies are a form of silencing. A September 15, 2016 article “SEC-039: Protests, Demonstrations and Other Expressive Activities during Finals Weekend” in *The Cavalier Daily* described students’ suspicion and concern that UVA’s policy was a way to curb and silence activism by marginalized groups on campus. For students, these actions feel one step *worse* than a simple lack of a statement or “neutrality”:

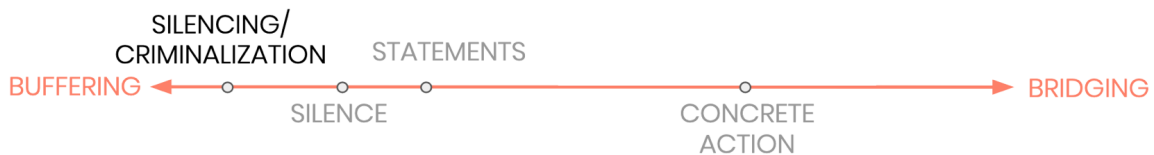


Figure 6.3 Criminalization on the IRF dimension of student demands

On the other end of the action continuum that seems to be closer to bridging, students point to the creation of spaces, such as UVA’s 2016 establishment of the Multicultural Student Center (see Appendix F). Likewise, policy changes that specifically address students’ concerns are evidence of bridging; UNC-CH’s resolution to change the name of Saunders Hall to Carolina Hall directly addressed a compromise of the demands made by Student-Activists of Color. However, within that same set of resolutions to rename Saunders Hall was a new moratorium policy barring future name changes for 16 years. UNC-CH Board of Trustees cited how the 16

year period (or four complete cycles of undergraduate student cohorts) would help determine the effectiveness of the Board’s other resolutions on teaching campus history. UNC-CH Student-Activists of Color viewed this action as a way to silence their efforts. Thus, the Board’s response serves as *both* bridging and buffering within the Institutional Response Framework to Student-Activists of Color demands, but trustees would likely view their action as considerable movement towards only bridging and a good compromise.

Shared Control and Institutional Control: A Continuum of Power

In the case studies, I describe different ways senior-level administrators and boards frame issues of racial in/justice, whether through the language of diversity, pivoting the conversation, or using the language of “all” to evoke community. I offer another IRF dimension for group control, on the continuum of “shared control” and “institutional control” to reflect how the narrative is being controlled and how power is/ is not shared. For example, UNC-CH faculty expressed their frustration about not being involved with or having their expertise utilized in the decision-making of Chancellor Folt and the Board of Trustees. They cited how the framing of Silent Sam felt more like a PR stunt than an education-driven decision-making process. As a result, when thinking about the continuum of control for faculty, Figure 6.4 shows their level of involvement as part of power:



Figure 6.4 Faculty involvement on the IRF dimension of control

The faculty example clearly outlines how involvement and invitation play into the narrative and dynamics of control. Another way involvement can be seen is through inviting Student-Activists of Color to engage in task forces, contribute to surveys, or participate in Town Halls. In doing so,

institutional response potentially develops a greater sense of buy-in. As UNC-CH’s Dr. Collins commented, sometimes these surveys and listening sessions need to happen, to ensure and amplify student voices to be part of a racial justice agenda. Inviting diversity initiatives ideally allows empowerment for students more than, for example, silence:



Figure 6.5 Diversity responses onto the IRF dimension of control

Shared control would increase even further, if diversity initiatives or roles were led by Student-Activists of Color, and would bridge closer to their demands. To capture this framing, I layer both axes of meeting student demands with control:

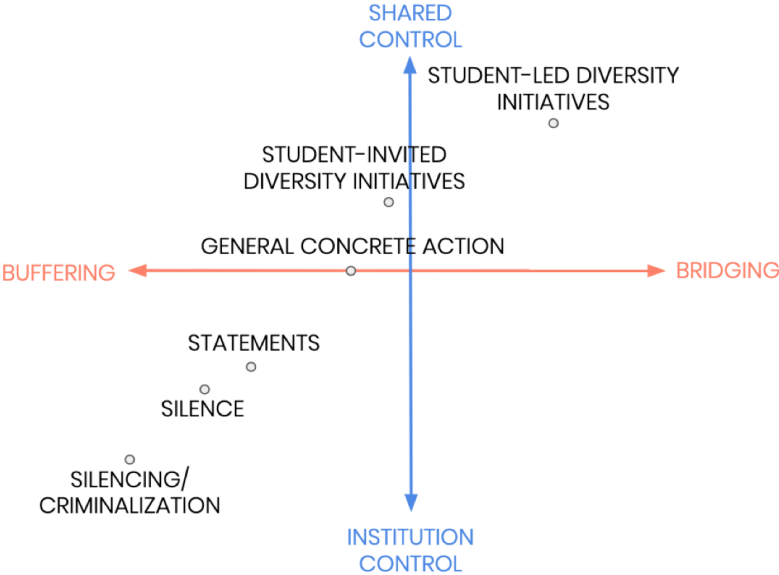


Figure 6.6 Diversity responses on the IRF dimensions of student demands and control

As a comparison, I include response types like silence, silencing/criminalization, as well as statements like those made after a campus “incident.” Statements, silence, and criminalization are aligned closer to “Institutional Control” because the construction of and decisions about such

actions rarely include students—in fact, in criminalizing protests, the actions are targeted to control students. Even silence or statements are written with students among the public audience receiving these communications. However, if a statement is made jointly with students, then statements can come closer to becoming a shared-narrative.

The common thread amongst all of these responses in the bottom left quadrant is how they all create a sense of distance—whether that is a distance from the manifestation of institutional racism through performative messages of “shock” sent to the campus or a distance from the Student-Activists themselves via reactive policies to limit or prohibit their activism. While I describe the metaphorical distance of framing as a way for colleges and universities to disassociate from manifestations of racism, the language translates to a literal distancing or emerging schism. Moreover, this distance can also be observed in how ownership and acknowledgment is or is not shared for creating anti-racist solutions. Student-Activists of Color like UVA’s Travis L. describe the frustration of having to teach or sit on committees— a sentiment shared by several others, along with the note that their labor is being used or co-opted by the university without acknowledgment of their contributions, or reframed away from the root of student issues. Going back to the example of Saunders Hall at UNC-CH, Student-Activists of Color protested its renaming as Carolina Hall, because their original demand was that it be renamed Zora Neale Hurston Hall. Thus, despite the UNC-CH BOT bridging closer to students’ demands, Student-Activists of Color would argue that the control or power was not shared, given that the name remains Carolina Hall, as seen in Figure 6.7:

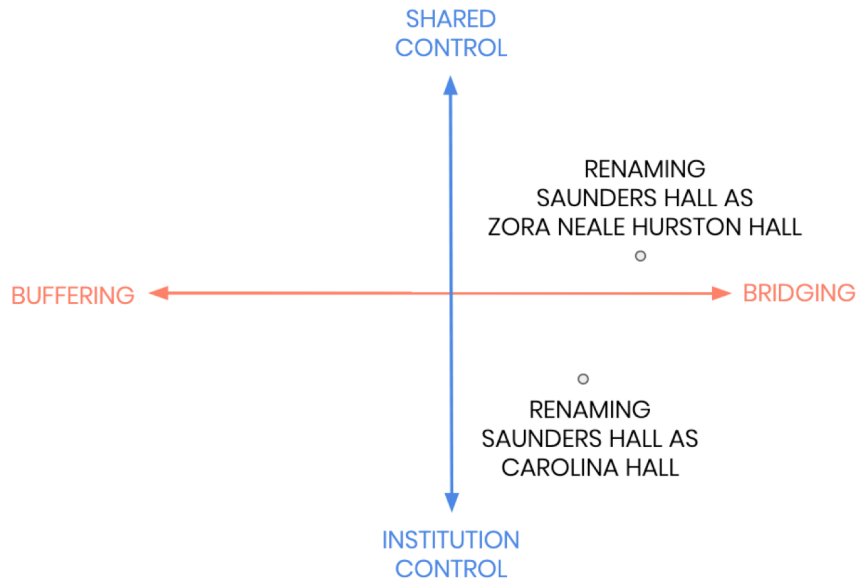


Figure 6.7 Difference in Quadrants in Renaming Saunders Hall

Within the quadrants of the Institutional Response Framework, the renaming to Zora Neale Hurston Hall would be the partnership Student-Activists of Color desire, but instead, their demands were rebranded (i.e. co-opted) by the Board of Trustee members for Carolina Hall.

Evasiveness and Racial Justice: The Third Dimension of Institutionalized Racism

The last and third dimension of the IRF addresses how institutional policies, framing, and actions reify the manifestations of racism that Student-Activists of Color address. To revisit the institutional response of statements, this third dimension reveals how not all statements are alike. Statements of “shock” (regarding racism, hate, police brutality, etc.) are performative at worst or careless at best, given the expressed realities Students of Color and especially Black students have consistently detailed. In doing so, these statements are evasive about the racism experienced by students. When mapping institutional discourse onto the continuum of color-evasiveness and racial consciousness, these types of moves like “this is not who we are” or expressions of “shock” are closer to vague statements about diversity, as Student-Activists of Color are still wondering if the institution and administrators are able to “see” them.

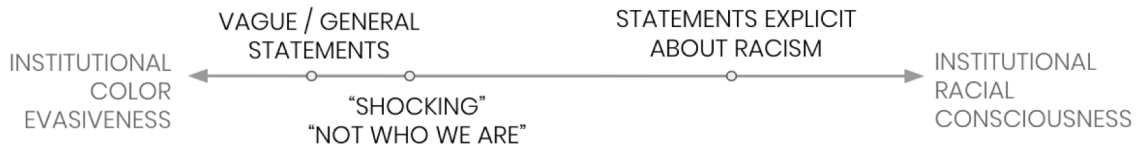


Figure 6.8 Placing statements on the IRF dimension of institutional racism

Likewise, the level of specificity in statements detailing “what happened” help move closer to Institutional Racial Consciousness and reveal more of a racial understanding that Student-Activists of Color appreciate.

For an example of how racial consciousness/evasiveness co-exists with bridging and buffering, when UNC-CH Black faculty members sent their letter about the moral imperative regarding Silent Sam’s continued presence, their language clearly pointed to systems of white supremacy and how UNC-CH is part of this system. However, during the larger faculty meetings, which included senior-level administrators, the “moral argument” was framed with less of a racial emphasis and more geared towards the concern about the reputation of the university through the language of “best interest.” While both actions lead to bridging and meeting students’ demands, the racial consciousness and willingness to name racism differ:

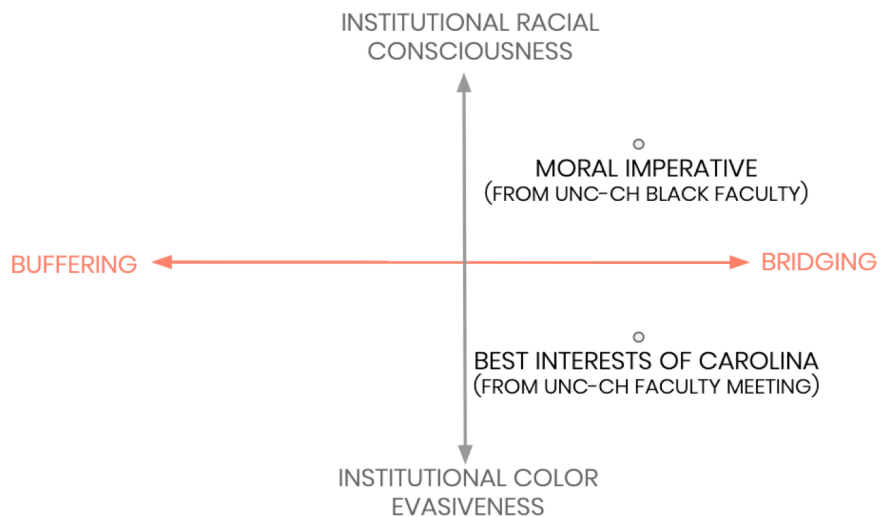


Figure 6.9 Rhetoric for removing UNC-CH’s Silent Sam on IRF dimensions

The bottom-right quadrant, in demonstrating actions that meet the demands of Student-Activists of Color yet without racial consciousness, are what Derrick Bell described and first conceptualized as interest-convergence (1980), where the same “end-result” of racially-just action may be achieved but for vastly different reasons.

Board minutes and statements made by senior-level administrators frame policies under the rhetoric of civility, safety, inclusive excellence, and “best interests” of the university. Reading through these statements, the closeness to which these policies and justifications mirror student language is important. When Student-Activists of Color recall Chancellor Folt’s condemnation of the UNC System Board of Governor’s decision to no longer support the UNC Chapel Hill School of Law’s Center for Civil Rights, the students expressed how they wished she had explicitly mentioned race in her argument. Patty Matos, a UNC junior public relations student, said in *The Daily Tar Heel* on August 31, 2017,

I think time and time again there's been so many instances of the administration undermining the rights of students of color... And the work that the Center does for defending not just students of color — but our intersectional rights as women, as LGBTQ people, is so important.

According to Matos, Chancellor Folt’s generalized language might connect more closely to the demands that Student-Activists of Color were fighting for (the continued existence of the Law Center), but the language and rationale reflected in the statement did not match. This could be a similar argument for how the language of diversity and/or inclusive excellence addresses some of the concerns of Student-Activists of Color, but does not fully acknowledge the systems of racism that result in equity gaps.

Going back to diversity initiatives, Student-Activists of Color describe their suspicions of such actions. UNC-CH student Angum Check described how UNC loved “empty dialogues.” Similarly, *Estamos Aqui UNC*’s organizer Christopher Guevara talked about how the university “loves to claim diversity” yet still not establish a space for Latinx UNC-CH students. The conversation with UVA’s Dr. Alex Davis also highlighted how the political correctness of diversity did not translate to the systemic change needed to protect Black bodies. Within each of these statements is a clear separation of actions that “claim” diversity, or what Sara Ahmed (2012) describes as “diversity speak” compared to actions that are rooted in transforming the campus in actively anti-racist ways. The institution’s actions, regardless of narrative control and invitation, however, differ from whether they actually met the students’ demands. To capture this framing, I layer both buffering/bridging and institutional racism dimensions in Figure 6.10.:

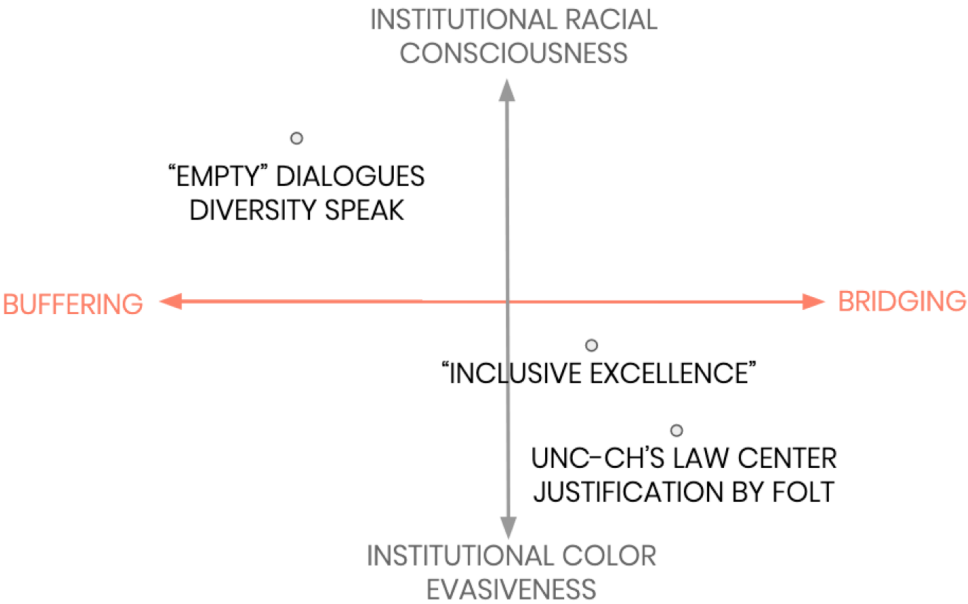


Figure 6.10 Mapping responses on IRF dimensions of student demands and institutional racism

To refer to the quote about empty dialogues, the dimension of institutional racism helps explain students’ mistrust of administrators saying all the “right” things, without tangible action,

resulting in the notion of “lip service.” The intersection of buffering with institutional racial consciousness (or the top left quadrant in Figure 6.10) is what Ahmed originally conceptualized as nonperformativity as a way to demonstrate one’s commitment to diversity, without the necessary tangible action as follow-up. Even further, all of these framings are still closer to the anchor of “institutional control”— partly in the ways institutional branding and reputation is emphasized and maintained. Thus, the notion of “pivoting”— for example, the way UVA’s President Sullivan wrote following the shrouding of Thomas Jefferson— is the shift from consciousness to evasiveness, bridging to buffering, while maintaining institutional control, as seen in Figure 6.11:

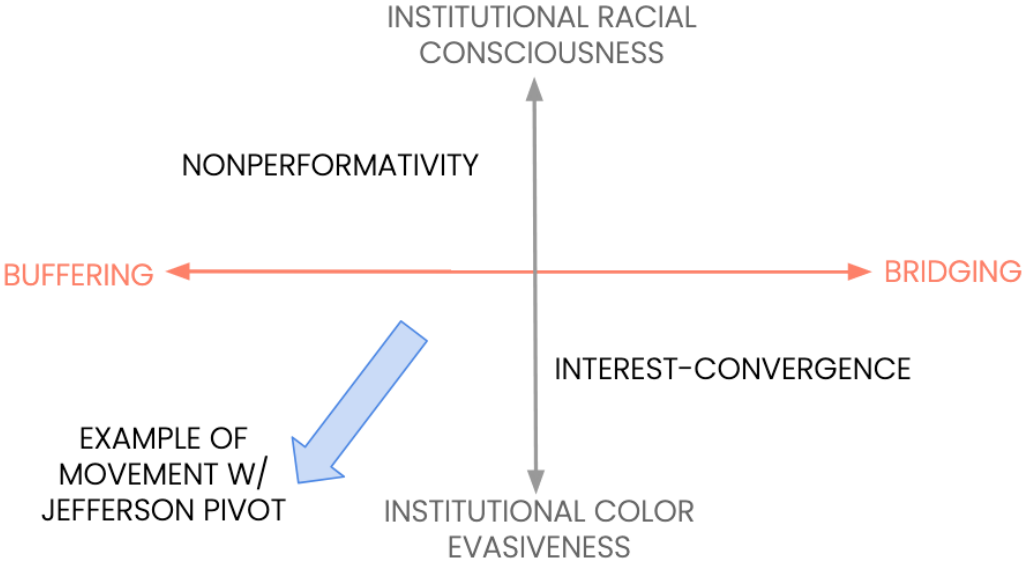


Figure 6.11: Pivoting on IRF dimensions of student demands and institutional racism

A Reflection and Evolution of “Partnership”

In chapter two, while I hypothesized the four quadrants of schisming, appeasement, co-option, and partnership (with the two axes of student demands and control), I undertheorized the use of partnership. Partly, I wanted to focus explanation on the other ways institutions respond, compared to existing theorizations of partnership (e.g. Kezar, 2010). Partly still, I was unsure

what partnership was, even when reflecting on my own experiences as a Student-Activist of Color. When an administrator, I would like to hope that I partnered with the Student-Activists of Color with whom I engaged. But on reflection, I realize that, more often than not, the actions I engaged in were appeasement. Likewise, as a Student-Activist of Color, my own experiences reflect schisming, appeasement, and co-option. During my interview with UNC-CH student June Lewis, she described her view of success and partnership:

We did a good job if, after we graduated and we're long gone, the things we asked and the things we did *our way* [emphasis added] are still there... [and] there has to be some kind of financial commitment. Money matters and it's not everything, like throwing money at a problem to fix it. But money also tells us that there's some investment, even if it's not for long.

For Student-Activists of Color, lack of financial investment is one of the principal barriers to achieving an action. For example, students' repeated demands for a center have been rebuffed due to (the admittedly crucial) concerns regarding budget. In 1992, when UNC-CH Black student-activists asked for a center, then-chancellor Hardin cited the university's lack of financial capital and could only support the center in theory (Sonja Haynes Stone Center, 1984-2013).

While financial means was one aspect, I tried to conceptualize what other material translations equated to partnership. And what I realized is that while I might not have examples of responses through the lens of partnering with Student-Activists of Color, I have examples of partnership with whiteness, whether that is specifically working with white students or supporting and normalizing the white identity. The critique of *whose side is the administration on* reflects the ways Student-Activists of Color observe the notion of partnership. Students recall the approval for speakers like David Horowitz, invited by UNC-CH's College Republicans, as a

way administrators bridge privilege the demands of white students, at the cost of Student-Activists of Color. The justification by Chancellor Folt in this decision was that of freedom of speech, without the acknowledgment of how this “freedom” harms Students of Color. This example would be mapped on the IRF axes as the following:

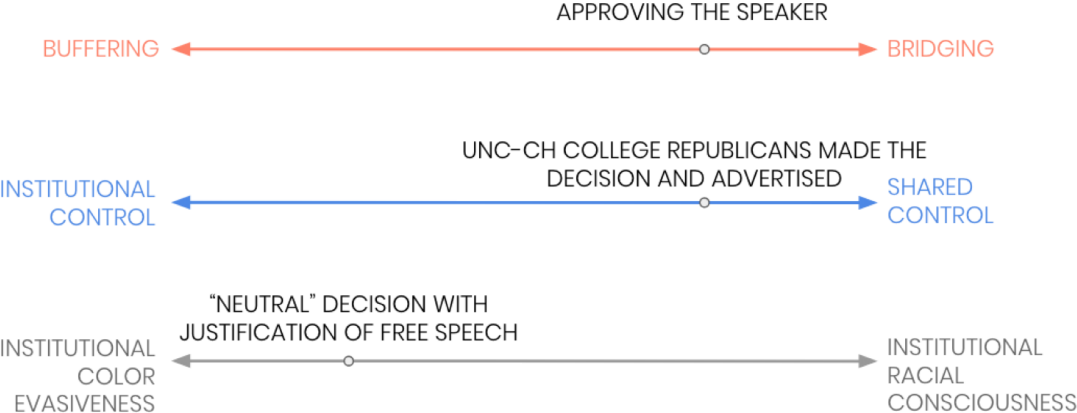


Figure 6.12 Mapping partnership with color-evasiveness

For Students of Color, the partnership with whiteness is *already* an ever-present reality, as UNC-CH student Cameron Jernigan wrote in *The Daily Tar Heel*, on October 13, 2016:

This campus was designed for white students and continues to function for the survival and success of white students. Even when we have spaces for minority populations, white students still find ways to infiltrate and co-opt those spaces.

In that sense, one of the unique aspects of the Institutional Response Frameworks is how the poles flip depending on which response to demands is being centered. Actions that are viewed as bridging for white students are the same actions that can be viewed as buffering for Students of Color. While Jernigan speaks about co-option within a student-to-student relationship, the same dimensions show how narratives—a white narrative—use the rhetoric of Student-Activists of Color demands. For example, when the *UNC White Student Union* expressed their desires to be recognized by the university, they stated:

Many do not see White interests as legitimate, but as times change and European Americans become a smaller demographic throughout the country, it is inevitable that we will have to make it a priority to speak up for ourselves, lest we become a disparaged and voiceless minority within the country.

The type of framing evokes similarity to language used among Student-Activists of Color but takes a racially-evasive framing by claiming to be a “voiceless minority” without recognizing that white power and privilege is embedded and normalized on the campus. This same type of framing of racial-evasiveness reveals how police brutality can coexist with a commitment to diversity on campus and an increased presence of law enforcement is justified as “safety” when it typically results in violence against peaceful student protesters.

Plotting by Perspective

In mapping the institutional responses, it is interesting how institutional actions will be interpreted differently by the embedded cases or different groups on campus. For some, like Dr. Wilson’s UNC-CH department, the crafting of a statement for the first time might be a much closer step to bridging by supporting and acknowledging students’ concerns. Further, it is not every day that departments choose to take a stand on campus racism. Lending their expertise would be another action that would have bridged students’ demands, but the administration moved without faculty involvement. Similarly, the creation of committees and task forces like UVA’s Dean’s Working Group and UNC-CH’s Workforce Strategy, Equity and Engagement could serve as potential areas of bridging closer to student demands. Yet for students, these actions are sometimes viewed as a form of appeasement and/or stall tactic, as a way to demonstrate a commitment without the tangible, transformative change that is needed:

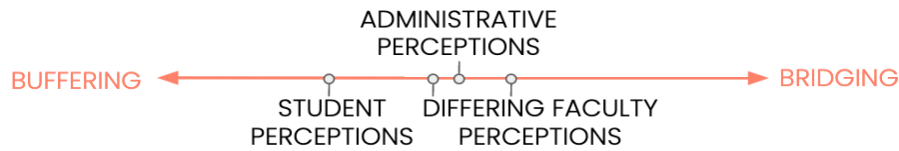


Figure 6.13 Perception differences on buffering/bridging continuum

As seen in Figure 6.13, while some faculty might be hopeful about bridging, others like UNC-CH's Dr. Wilson described their understanding of how tactics of appeasement worked at the university. These observations coincide with statements like that of UVA's Dr. Lawrie Balfour about witnessing the use of Jefferson's quotes (and celebrations) in ways that undermined the university and its stated commitment to racial equity. Similarly, Dr. Hurd's letter about the Jeffersonian quotes describes how faculty similarly experience the rebuffing of their demands, like the demands of Student-Activists of Color. Moreover, faculty perceptions have also pointed to the language of appeasement, particularly in how universities "claim diversity," like the way UVA's Dr. Davis describes discussing the response of safety and use of police force. In that sense, faculty and Student-Activists of Color have areas of potential alignment, though this might also differ depending on the faculty members. While not an intentional design, every faculty member I interviewed identified as a Person of Color. While the faculty rank was much more diverse, I wonder if the racial similarities between the faculty and Student-Activists of Color might have resulted in the alignment of views, particularly with the suspicion regarding the quadrants of appeasement and nonperformativity within the IRF.

The Disconnect of Safety

The issue of safety points to one the largest disconnects between the perceptions of Student-Activists of Color and the perceptions of senior-level administrators. For many of the Student-Activists of Color, both at UVA and UNC-CH, the continued presence and even

increased presence of law enforcement is a clear buffering tactic against their demands—especially as one of the consistent demands at both institutions is addressing police brutality. While both would agree that institutional control supports the framing under safety and civility, the plots themselves would look different for the dimension of institutional racism. For students, again the language of safety is lip-service and not only a form of schisming (i.e. creating distance to their concerns) but also an action of nonperformativity, expressing concern for students without a racialized lens.

Moreover, the disconnect regarding campus safety is time sensitive. Student-Activists of Color have long described their negative experiences with law enforcement, both on and off campus, as ongoing. Thus, another area of disconnect is when the messaging by senior-level administrators treats each of the manifestations and examples of racism as singular, unrelated incidents. Even with suggestions of bias training for both UVA and UNC-CH, Student-Activists of Color view these actions as buffering because they do not address the system of racism, despite senior-level administrators attempting to bridge closer to student demands.

Utility of the IRF and Layers of Responses

I designed the Institutional Response Framework with Student-Activists of Color as the target group who are making demands or desiring institutional change. Yet the target group does not have to be limited just to students; any target group urging institutional change can serve as the focus where conflicts can be negotiated or resolved. For example, in reading through the statements and frustrations by UNC-CH's senior-level administrators along with the Board of Trustees minutes, the IRF can be used to remap senior-level administrators' resistance, negotiation, or compromise with the North Carolina General Assembly. With the same type of

mapping, I outline how senior-level administrators experience schisms, through policies like HB 527 regarding free speech as a way to buffer against the concerns of senior-level administrators.

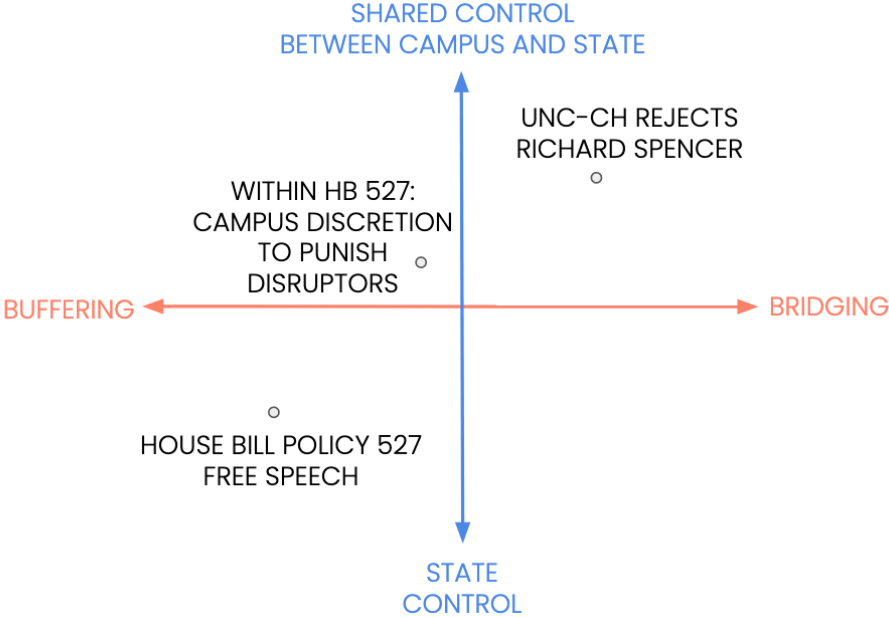


Figure 6.14 State and Campus Tensions on IRF dimensions of demands and control

All of these actions are closer to the anchor of “institutional color-evasiveness.” In a similar fashion, faculty could serve as the target group making demands for change with the administrators serving as the “institution.”

Responses are layered. Faculty, for example, are responding to Student-Activists of Color while both are still experiencing responses from senior-level administrators. While crafting responses to support or not to support Student-Activists of Color, faculty are also dealing with their own dimensions of color-evasiveness, such as tenure and promotion policies that do not reflect the gendered and racialized dynamics for faculty who identify as Womxn of Color and are paying the “racial/ethnic tax” in their departments (Duncan, 2014; Neimann, 2012; Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group, 2017; Zambrana, 2018). These layers and juggling of multiple external pressures, can also help explain the perception differences based on

positionality. Multiple realities co-exist in any power relationship on campus (Hurtado, 2015), especially in a study examining institutional racial dynamics. Moreover, with political conservatism for the example in the UNC-CH case, color-evasiveness and interest-convergence might be willingly adopted strategies by their senior-level administrators because of the urgency of resolving conflict, despite how it creates a disconnect with Student-Activists of Color and their immediate concerns in bringing about institutional change. I address these broader issues in the next chapter.

Time and Trust

Placing the IRF against time introduces the elements of trust and incrementalism. As described in chapter two, institutional responses are constantly changing. In mapping responses through the lens of control and framing, an unanticipated element was the notion of trust. Student-Activists of Color described their resignation and how their concerns have been drawn over time, as a way to illuminate the administrative inaction as well as intentional rejection and buffering against their demands. Thus, while administrators might place actions in a specific quadrant (i.e. “partnership”), Student-Activists of Color might place it under “appeasement” because of their cyclical experiences of being rebuffed, which lead to greater distrust and suspicion of new initiatives or new statements. Moreover, the challenges of incrementalism, bureaucracy, and all-encompassing issues of inequity, hamper ways senior-level leadership address issues. For example, when Chancellor Folt responded to *Estamos Aqui UNC*, she described how:

I’m glad that (the demands) are written out here. I wish I could say that I don’t agree with everything that was said, but I do. In fact, all of us that are here do agree that the Latinx community is so important to this University and to being the university of the people...

Space is important, but change is in admissions, it's in financial aid, it's in mental health and it's in advising. That's both the strength and a little bit of the problem.

For students, this statement might be viewed as either schisming or appeasement, while administrators view this as part of the longer series of actions that would need to be addressed in order to work towards partnership—one that is multi-pronged and requires many forms of compromise. Further, as student demands are often structural issues (e.g. advising systems, federal financial aid policies), these might require navigating state and federal governments, which serve as additional layers. Senior-level administrators taking the small steps of incrementalism are still necessary to gain steps closer to meeting student demands—an argument UVA's former president Teresa Sullivan made in defense of her leadership style. Student demands, as seen from the creation of the UNC-CH's Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture, were an almost three-decade-long fight along the three dimensions of the IRF. Similarly, despite the continued demands at UVA for the departmentalization of the African American and African Studies program, the fight continues through many different responses. While administrators point to fiscal commitments, academic curricula approval processes, and the need to do an in-depth investigation (which UVA's BOT and Provost committed to doing in 2015), Student-Activists of Color would deem these actions a way to keep their demands from moving forward. If a specific institutional response does not lead to a continued commitment, Student-Activists of Color view the action with more distrust regarding the longer narrative of how institutions become more racially just organizations—without the commitment, responses move (back) to appeasement and eventually move (back) to schisming. Thus, trust is part of building any relationship and while incrementalism is necessary, it is best understood under constraints that are operating among each group's position of power in enacting change.

Success and Institutional Change

Racism isn't going away—might not ever go away. We will always have protests; there's so many things [to protest about]. After Silent Sam, we still have so many other symbols. And so many policies and our classrooms and our teachers and our cities... But I think about when we got our wins—and they took time right? But those wins are something.

- June Lewis, UNC-CH Student-Activist of Color

Lewis's epigraph came after our interview veered into a conversation about whether a racially-just institution would have no protests or forms of activism— would that be the measure of success? (As an aside, I am often asked this question during presentations and workshops). Her quote reveals what Bell (1992) describes as racial realism and the permanence of racism. By acknowledging that racism will continue, this mindset enables the ability to then see the ways racism manifests, transforms, and reoccurs. Racial realism “frees us to imagine and implement racial strategies that can bring fulfillment and even triumph” (Bell, 1992, p.374).

What I found interesting from the conversation with Lewis was how, for her, bridging and meeting the demands felt more important than the difference between co-option and partnership. When I pressed this issue, she explained that she viewed co-option as inevitable. These words ring similar to the interview with UVA's Dr. Alex Davis in describing the machine of the academy. Both of these remind me of racial realism and corroborate the inevitability of institutional responses, like the movement of entropy, naturally sliding towards the continuum's anchors of buffering, institutional-control, and color-evasiveness. If so, student activism (and their labor and efforts) might be part of an inevitable cycle for greater institutional accountability that continues so long as racism is manifest on campus.

On January 14, 2019, UNC-CH's Chancellor Folt announced her resignation with a final directive to remove the Silent Sam statue from campus. Chancellor Folt's bridging of the demands by Student-Activists of Color arguably had been a long time coming and still represents institutional color-evasiveness for its rationale that the removal "will promote public safety, enable us to begin the healing process and renew our focus on our great mission." However, her authorization results in one less symbol of the Confederacy and slavery that Students of Color experience on campus. Chancellor Folt would soon begin her new position as the twelfth president of the University of Southern California, where she is bridging and buffering the demands of the Student-Activists of Color to rename one of their campus buildings, whose namesake is a prominent eugenicist (Holson, 2019).

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE (IM)POSSIBILITIES OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Manifestations of racism on college campuses are far from one-time incidents or momentary lapses of judgment. Instead, they reveal the long history of embedded whiteness, racism, and anti-Blackness that is woven into the tapestries of higher education history, practices, and policies. The relationship between student activism, campus racism, and institutional responses seems both cyclical and inevitable. Students' protest demands and concerns continue to be similar from decade to decade, and higher education institutions have ongoing "instances" of microaggressions and hate crimes despite commitments to do better to improve the campus racial climate. The recurrence of incidents indicates that campus responses are not working. Or alternatively, the embedded nature of racism on college campuses is working exactly the way it was meant to do.

This study started with the urgency of interrogating institutional change—the propellants towards justice and the tactics and patterns that hinder transformation. My embittered frustration in observing these cycles translated to a desire to understand organizational behavior and its intersection with systemic racism, focusing analysis on institutions rather than the students, especially Black students and Students of Color, laboring for racial change. The line of inquiry for this study centers higher education institutions—as both the audience and responders to Student-Activists of Color's demands. Through conceptualizing institutional responses along the axes of power, demands for change, and racism, this study explains not only what form the responses to student activism and campus racism take, but also illuminates how pressures, framings, and justifications nuance the perception and direction of progress.

Approach and Analysis

The initial iteration of the study positioned two groups of actors: Student-Activists of Color, and the “institution.” However, higher education institutions are not single entities of one thought or action. Instead, institutional responses differ amongst and between the various university communities, including faculty, senior-level administrators, and governing boards. In comparing the responses of two public flagship higher-education institutions from 2015 to 2018, I turned to these groups to determine how they aligned with students’ concerns. Internal and external pressures, layered concerns, and competing demands complicated the question Student-Activists of Color implicitly ask when evaluating an institutional response: “Are you on our side?”

The answer is not straightforward and neither are these responses. Moreover, in the traditions of Critical Race Theory and Black Feminism, these responses and the catalyzing student activism cannot be removed from campuses’ sociopolitical histories. For these reasons, I made the decision to retain the names of the study sites and not anonymize them. Aside from the impracticality of limiting descriptive and narrative context, the practice of anonymizing institutions goes against the commitment of placing them as the foci. Names are important and naming is powerful. What this decision offers is an alternative example within education to preserve the anonymity of participants through a robust series of assurances, and to reconsider who and what is being protected through the politics of anonymity. Many of the events and quotes appeared in public documents, and this further determined the decision to be clear about these unique institutions and their history or racism.

Extending discourse to analyses, I map the findings from Student-Activists of Color, senior-level administrators, board members, and faculty onto the three dimensions of the Institutional Response Framework (IRF) (Cho, 2018). While multidimensional scaling is much

more present in the fields of business and marketing, I adopt these principles of identifying similarities and dissimilarities to create a visual representation of how institutional responses fall within continua along the IRF dimensions. The resultant quadrants reveal how responses create distance, co-opt action, criminalize students, serve as empty dialogues, attempt to appease students, and rarely, if at all, partner with Student-Activists of Color to achieve their goals. The functionality of visuals and maps is not just an aesthetic addition to the research, but also serves as a way findings can be analytically mapped onto theory and, more importantly, can inform practical action.

A Summary of Findings

Within the next two sections, I highlight key findings for each research question, which build on one another to describe how these responses fit within the Institutional Response Framework and the larger body of scholarship in (higher) education.

Research Question 1: Between 2015-2018, what student activism took place at two public flagship universities in response to campus racism?

The student activism at both the University of Virginia (UVA) and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) served as both reactions to mishandled events and ongoing critiques regarding the lack of institutional investment in marginalized groups on campus. Students' actions included holding demonstrations, writing demands, coordinating speak-outs and die-ins, protesting both on and off campus, attending vigils, and hosting teach-ins, as well as posting on social media and writing op-eds for newspapers. Concerns from UVA Student-Activists of Color included the pathways of access that prevented Black students from attending and, once on campus, their facing continued tokenization and feeling as though they "were on display" or "at the zoo." UNC-CH students had similar concerns about representation

and how the administration would “claim diversity” while blocking conversations to build and allocate spaces for the Latinx community on campus. Students-Activists of Color on both campuses cited the ways their respective universities were not meant for people like them.

The activism at both institutions was similarly rooted in the critique of campus histories and the continued investment in protecting whiteness. Further evidenced were administrations’ (in)actions regarding policing and safety, despite repeated concerns describing the erosion of trust. Moreover, the activism by Student Activists of Color included opposition against invited speakers on campus who used bigotry and hate speech; and frustration over pre-emptive policies impacting students’ abilities to protest.

These actions involved hard conversations with white peers, being subject to microaggressions, and generally serving as the point-person when something “happened.” The costs of these actions were described as fatigue, stress, and burnout, along with the pressure to stay engaged and the unjust labor of not only having to experience racism but also having to explain to their peers why it matters, and having to teach administrators how to fix it.

Additionally, UNC-CH students described the stress of cyberbullying and online harassment.

Research Question 2: What are the responses and actions that target institutions have made?

For senior-level administrators, one of the immediate responses to a racist manifestation on campus or student action was to communicate with the campus. Statements included an acknowledgment of “what happened,” though the specificity and politics of naming racism varied by campus and incident. Statements also described (re)commitments to values such as diversity, humanity, or freedom, and occasionally included actionable items like assigning a task force or working group to investigate further. Results demonstrate how administrators pivot to focus on “the larger issue,” reframing the severity of racism to color-evasive commitments

without acknowledging the central thesis of student concerns— how whiteness disproportionately harms Students of Color, especially Black students. Outside of the immediate reaction, responses by senior-level administrators centered on learning and teaching, whether through conducting campus-wide surveys, hosting town halls, or creating diversity plans to educate and train their staff and faculty.

Faculty constituted a complex, diverse group with competing and varying positions. On one hand, some faculty amplified the concerns and actions by Student-Activists of Color. They created statements, attended rallies, encouraged students in classes, and expanded pipelines for representation, particularly within doctoral programs. Yet, at the same time, other faculty served as instigators of campus racism, subjecting students to microaggressions and promoting racist beliefs. While some faculty at both UVA and UNC-CH supported their respective Student-Activists of Color by advocating their ideas during faculty meetings, others published thought-pieces and op-eds opposing student demands through the coded language of civility and the “harm” of “erasing” (white) history. One notable difference between the two sites was the structural ability of UNC-CH faculty to pass resolutions expressing their dissent through governing bodies and communicating disapproval to senior-level administrators and members of the governing board.

The respective governing boards for each institution were much more removed from the student activism to which senior-level administrators and faculty were attuned in working more directly with students. In the case of UVA, board members did not even explicitly discuss racism (unless introduced by a student speaker or once by the board chair in 2015). Results indicated that board responses were not tied to the specific actions of Student-Activists of Color, but did address to some degree, their concerns regarding diversity and inclusion. UNC-CH board

members discussed the demands and actions from Student-Activists of Color, but largely framed their concerns through the desire to keep the agitations civil, respectful, minimal. For both, board actions were limited to the passing of resolutions, though the justifications often reflected interest-convergence— adopting racially-just policies via color-evasive rationales like using peer-group comparisons to reflect on their progress. While my initial hypothesis of board decisions being more color-evasive aligns with the results, future studies ought to explore the positionalities and persons on these governing boards, which might reveal more nuance behind their decisions.

Research Question 3: What are the factors that guide administrators’ responses to student activism at target institutions?

Senior-level administrators negotiate internal pressures from Student-Activists of Color, faculty, staff, and board members, while also juggling the external pressures of alumni, state legislatures, and the local and national public. Findings demonstrate how a prominent factor in decision-making was minimizing risk. As a literal attempt to prevent agitation, both UVA and UNC senior-level administrators sent out “do not engage” communications to students as an effort to preemptively mitigate the growing agitation and clashes between students and white supremacists (for UVA in 2017) or students and Confederate sympathizers (for UNC-CH in 2017-18). The rationale of minimizing risk also helps explain the desire for buy-in and cultivating coalitions through education. For some senior-level administrators, student activism served as a necessary function to convince colleagues to align with their cause. This reflects more of a symbiotic relationship between students and administrators than previously assumed.

University presidents (or chancellor, for the case of UNC-CH), also had to focus on maintaining the reputation of the university, which requires balancing the language used with

differing, potentially politically divergent, campus constituents. Thus, campus leaders' actions are entrenched in protecting and preserving the university, which materialize in "protecting" students but not necessarily preserving their demands.

Research Question 4: How do Student-Activists of Color make sense of institutional responses from target institutions?

Results indicate that Student-Activists of Color view institutional response with skepticism and distrust. Mapping along the IRF axis of demands, Student-Activists of Color described how responses like administrators' silence would be closer to buffering than university-wide statements, yet these two were far from the concrete actions Student-Activists of Color had hoped for in bridging their demands. Administrators, on the other hand, might assume that their actions are closer to bridging with students, given the risks some have taken to create new statements on race and racism.

Moreover, words matter. Student-Activists of Color are savvy enough to know when they are being appeased through "diversity speak" in the same ways they understand how the language of "this is not who we are" helps remove the culpability of institutional whiteness. Likewise, Student-Activists of Color pointed to the language of "shock" by their peers, faculty, and senior-level administrators as both a source of frustration and a function invalidating their experiences, given that these "instances" are continued manifestations Students of Color have had to endure. These differences between actions that bridge or buffer with students while articulating the language of inclusion and diversity reveal the conceptualizations of non-performativity (Ahmed, 2012) and interest-convergence (Bell, 1995). Non-performativity, as the buffering of student demands while indicating institutional racial consciousness, manifests as an actionable commitment to diversity without the necessary reforms to follow-up.

Expanding on Previous Scholarship and Theory

In what follows, I describe how this study extends the existing research on student activism, organizational change, and contributes to the intersection of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and organizational theory.

Contributions to the Literature on Student Activism

This study offers a unique contribution to student activism, first and foremost, by illuminating to whom students are most often in opposition: the “institution.” Within literature on student activism, particularly through the lens of Critical Race Theory and neoliberalism, the “institution” serves as a proxy for injustice (e.g. Castagno & Lee, 2007; Carr, 2007; Hiraldo, 2010; Saunders, 2010). However, institutions like colleges and universities have many different groups of people, or institutional agents. While emerging literature parses out the roles of administrators and staff (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Chen & Rhoads, 2017) and faculty (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Dade et al., 2015; Quaye, Shaw & Hill, 2017) in supporting student activism as allies or serving as activists themselves, there is less focus on how these groups align and differ in their responses as part of the institution.

Alongside the under-explored conceptualization of who is the institution, is the under-explored question of their tactics. Student activist literature, by and large, places students as the central actors of the narrative (e.g. Conner, 2020; Joseph, 2003; Rhoads, 2016; Rojas, 2007). As a result, these empirical and conceptual articles provide iterations of their demands, challenges, trajectories, and include discussions about their strategies and tactics. Responses by administrators are minimal and on reactionary bases, without a holistic sense of what they do. Alternatively, this study offers evidence of the range of institutional responses, including making statements, creating task-forces, launching surveys, passing resolutions, holding space for

students, and hosting town halls. Further, these responses not only help complicate how students view what is considered to be an “institutional response,” but also illuminate how students might not recognize the change agents within their institutions until much later, if at all. The actions and leveraging to create change, as balanced by faculty, administrators, and board members are demonstrated through this study of better understanding the “behind the scenes” dynamics.

Examining these responses through the Institutional Response Framework, then, helps us nuance variations in perspectives and perceptions. Decisions by administrators, board members, or faculty that are compromises or even viewed as positive movements might look like buffering to students. For example, the departmental statement Dr. Wilson referenced, in response to Silent Sam, was the first of its kind and a monumental step for their faculty, though it might contrastingly be viewed as yet another ineffectual statement by Student-Activists of Color. Both can be true, which demonstrates the role of incrementalism— how seemingly small or even invisible actions can set the stage for larger responses down the road. This study builds on existing scholarship on incrementalism and theories of change (e.g. Lindblom, 1979; Kezar & Lester; 2009; Rothmayr Allison & Saint-Martin; 2011) and offers the added contribution of describing how incrementalism is perceived in efforts to transform the campus.

Moreover, through mapping differences in perspectives, this study contributes to the concepts of trust and urgency for the administrators, staff, and other campus constituents who are allied with the concerns of Student-Activists of Color. While existing theories talk about the ways grassroots leaders like faculty and staff can work together with students through different models of collaboration (Kezar, 2010), this study provides a unique contribution in analyzing how perceptions and incrementalism both build and deter the trust between students and these grassroots leaders. With students already holding suspicion towards institutional responses,

coupled with the desire of urgency to change the frustrating status quo (as evidenced by this study), the understanding of how trust functions within these campus dynamics provides a reflective tool to decipher how success and progress look different to various groups.

A minor contribution of this study is regarding the digital engagement within student activism (e.g. Cabrera et al., 2017; Conner, 2020; McIlwain, 2019; Reynolds & Mayweather, 2017). An area for future study, the experiences of harassment expressed by Student-Activists of Color through social media offer additional insight to the layered literature on burn-out and fatigue (e.g. Gorski, 2019; Linder et al., 2019; Stewart & Quaye, 2019). This potential insight also extends how not only student-activists, but also student newspaper journalists, in their coverage of said student activism, were cyberbullied.

Lastly, while this study adds to the existing insights into the perspectives of faculty and senior-level administrators, it also uniquely includes research on the governing boards. The literature on the activism within boards generally focuses on their engagement with state politics (e.g. Bastedo, 2005; 2009) rather than their relationship with student activists. While, arguably, the distance between governing boards and students might suggest minimal interaction (as even the data within this study revealed), the dynamics of the governing board and senior-level administrators and faculty surely impact the demands student-activists are advocating. Moreover, the framing and justification of board concerns when making decisions related to diversity and inclusion provide insight into how student-activists might frame their concerns moving forward. Boards can constrain senior administrators and faculty response, or provide pathways to change, through policy making, as in approving the renaming of a building and placing a moratorium on renaming halls and buildings for 16 years at UNC-CH.

Contributions to the Literature on Power

Power and decision-making are not equally distributed within higher education institutions. Instead, institutional responses are both driven by context and generated by multiple groups. A key contribution from this study reveals how decision-making, dynamics, and contexts differ between governing boards, administrators, and faculty. Additionally, this study explores the role of the Academic/Faculty Senate, which is an underexplored area of study overall, and even less examined within student activism and racism. Within the scholarship on transformative research and practices (Hurtado, 2015; Hurtado, Ruiz Alvarado, Guillermo-Wann, 2015), this research aligns with the necessity of avoiding generalizing one campus reality or melding the unique realities that are multiple and co-exist with different forms of legitimacy for each of these groups at the same campus.

In addition, this study adds to the existing research on power dynamics— particularly on power constraints and governance issues. The responses to student activism by colleges and universities are tangled, chaotic, and full of dissent and differing opinions— all while working together under external pressures from state governments and alumni. Presidents and chancellors have lost their positions due to their decisions to support or not support students. Both UVA’s president Teresa Sullivan and UNC-CH’s chancellor Carol L. Folt stepped down following a series of campus activism in 2017 and 2018, respectively. Though not a direct causation, this study’s inclusion of these contextual politics and power dynamics helps explain constraints in decision making. While the IRF for this study examines the relationship between Student-Activists of Color and “the institution,” this study also offers a unique contribution in theorizing how these relationships might map when the two contrasting groups are boards and senior-level administrators or senior-level administrators and faculty. Thus, while these theorizations add to the existing scholarship on the intersecting authority of governance (e.g. Eckel & Kezar, 2016)

and institutional logics (Bastedo, 2009), the unique complication of agitation by student activism nuances how these groups interact with one another for a common or not-so-common goal.

Pressures of Tradition and History

While power and authority are raced, gendered, and positional, they can be heavily influenced by the notion of tradition. Both case study sites are steeped in tradition, though in slightly different ways, with UVA's tradition centering on its founding "father" and UNC-CH's tradition centering on its history with the Confederacy. As a result, this study contributes to existing research regarding the historical legacy of exclusion within campus racial climate frameworks (e.g. Hurtado, 1992) and critical histories of education (e.g. Aldridge, 2015), as well as reaffirming the fifth tenet of CRT with the emphasis on interdisciplinary sociopolitical history (e.g. Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Moreover, what this study uniquely demonstrates is the mechanism of how these weights and burdens of tradition constrain actions to move forward toward racial justice. For example, both UNC-CH's and UVA's history of civility, as first determined by the ideals of the "white southern gentleman" (Wilder, 2013), seem to have lingering influence on the racial-evasive push for protests to remain "civil" in facing white supremacists.

Contributions to Critical Race Theory and Organizational Theory

One of the key advancements and contributions of this study is theoretical. The Institutional Response Framework repositions the relationships of control, external demands, and institutional racism to explicitly merge together concepts within organizational theory and Critical Race Theory. Organizational theories rarely discuss race and racism (Ray, 2019), and instead, explain organizational behavior through the lens of dependency and control (e.g. Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Scott & Davis, 2006), which dilutes the impact of

racist systems and structures. Critical Race Theory, as part of its tenets and utilization, focuses on the resistance and counter-stories of marginalized individuals and groups, to turn away from anti-deficit lenses and dominant oppressive forms of whiteness (Hubain, Allen, Harris, Linder, 2016; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solorzano et al., 2020). As such, existing scholarship documents how marginalized communities experience oppression, racism, and violence by systems or organizations such as predominantly white institutions (Harper, 2012).

Another unique contribution of this study is materializing how race and racism are not only embedded in but also manifested by organizations. The IRF clearly positions institutional actions, policies, and justifications as part of ongoing, racialized organizational decisions. By doing so, the IRF conceptually merges previously disconnected concepts within organizational theory like isomorphism, power, and resource dependency with race-based concepts like interest-convergence and nonperformativity. The intersection of the dimensions of racism, demands, and institutionalism (i.e. institutional control) contributes a critical nuance of not only how actions are co-opted but also how languages and justifications often are as well. As such, the differing dimensions of the IRF leave room to conceptually explain how colleges and universities can partner in many different ways, not all of which are racially-just.

Notions of “Partnership”

The existing literature on administrators working with student activists is framed through the rhetoric of partnership (e.g. Kezar, 2010; Kezar & Maxey, 2014). My underlying motivation in developing the Institutional Response Framework was to query and conceptualize all the actions except partnership. In this study, I better identified the differences between silencing, criminalization (as functions of distancing against students concerns), appeasement, co-option,

non-performative actions, and interest-convergence. However, what still remained was the over-theorized, under-observed phenomenon of partnership.

The interviews with Student-Activists of Color revealed multiple examples of partnership—the partnerships of the university with their white peers, which in the case of UNC-CH, approved an anti-Muslim white supremacist’s presence and speaking engagement on campus. Even the continued conflation of hate speech with freedom of speech is a color-evasive institutional partnership in action. These forms of partnership inform Student-Activists of Color that the institution is not on their side. This study then, contributes to changing the notion of partnership. Partnership is not synonymous with advancement, as previous theorizations assume. Instead, partnership can be both progressive and regressive, a critical distinction that explains how institutions’ varying degrees of support for students can be separate from their support for anti-racist endeavors.

Discourse Analysis and Evaluation

This study furthers CRT through using it with organizational theory and discourse analysis to interrogate the policy decisions made by colleges and universities. Moreover, the analysis of decisions through multiple groups and multiple truths further illuminates how color-evasiveness differs in justifications and rationales. Scholarship in this vein includes examining the discourse by campus presidents (e.g. Cole, 2020; Cole & Harper, 2017), diversity initiatives (e.g. Ahmed, 2012; Iverson, 2007, Mitchell & Hoffman, 2016), as well as inclusion practices (Harrison, Barone, Patton-Davis, 2015). Adding to this literature, this study provides a way, through the IRF, to consider how these policies, framings, and discourse reify degrees of racism. The differing dimensions of the IRF conceptually complicate the extent to which policies and

practices might negatively impact Student-Activists of Color, as well as posit ways to move closer to racial consciousness, (as further explained in the next section).

Implications and Recommendations

The introduction to this study quotes Fannie Lou Hamer’s iconic phrase of “being sick and tired of being sick and tired.” Her statement describes both the metaphorical and literal exhaustion of fighting the many layered and intersectional systems of oppression, including racism, anti-Blackness, and discriminatory policies related to housing, welfare, and schooling. Never has a quote felt more apt given the temporal context while finalizing this study— existing alongside the media coverage of Covid-19 and its disproportionate impact on Communities of Color and continued anti-Asian sentiments, as well as the 2020 resurgence of Black Lives Matter uprisings following the murder of George Floyd and learning of the murders and deaths of Breonna Taylor, Nina Pop, Tony McDade, Ahmaud Arbery, and many more. In response to an arguably double pandemic, many colleges and universities released statements of solidarity, of care, and of a commitment to change.

We have seen this before.

le colleges and universities seem more savvy now about how to write statements compared to their 2015 versions, students in 2020 have expressed on Twitter their distaste for generic responses, calling out commitments to diversity without concrete action. Student users on Twitter have also pointed to invitations to task forces, diversity committees, and listening sessions as ways to hinder anti-racist efforts. The unfortunate correlation and affirmation of this study’s findings beg the question, where do we go from here?

Implications for Practice

The Power of Statements

As a practical implication, this study reveals three key areas to improve campus statements to be more racially-conscious and bridge closer to Student-Activists of Color: specificity, ownership, and commitment. Vague, value-laden language about humanity and safety minimize the very real differences of experiences encountering racism and anti-Blackness. For example, as higher education institutions have responded to the 2020 uprising, students on Twitter have critiqued messages, noting how they omit the words police brutality, Black, or even the names of those murdered and killed. Additionally, students on Twitter commented on receiving statements naming only George Floyd, minimizing the women and trans communities within the Black Lives Matter movement.

Framings of how racist manifestations on campus are antithetical to university values (e.g. of care, citizenship) ring hypocritical if they coexist with buildings or statues dedicated to owners of enslaved people, KKK members, or Confederate leaders. Expressions of shock and the abnormality of racism sound inauthentic to the Students of Color who experience racism, anti-Blackness, discrimination, microaggressions, and hate crimes. Universities cannot suggest that they are blameless or, as the IRF suggests, distanced from racism. Instead, the ownership and acknowledgment of both internal and external racism moves somewhat closer to institutional racial consciousness and reconciliation.

Student-Activists of Color desire tangible sets of actions to demonstrate the institution's commitment to ongoing change, with people and committees specifically designated to address racism. As seen with UVA's board, the disbandment of the Diversity and Inclusion Committee led to conversations regarding these issues decreasing by more than half. As diversity scholars have reiterated, diversity as everyone's responsibility can easily become no one's responsibility (Ahmed, 2012; Mitchell & Hoffman, 2016). But of course, even with specificity, ownership, and

commitment, statements must be followed by actual structural and systemic change. Without it, these “better” statements are just slicker, shinier versions of nonperformativity.

Low Hanging Fruit, Long-Standing Concerns

There is no single, magic solution to systemic racism, or even racism at that. Yet, one repeated concern brought forth by Student-Activists of Color is that of financial investment and the repeated concerns related to resources. While some solutions, like creating campus centers or changing academic curricula, require decades of red tape to be addressed, administrators ought to consider the low-hanging fruit that could be ways to address students’ concerns, such as hiring more mental health counselors who reflect the demographics of marginalized students.

Moreover, as students have demonstrated in rejoicing about the founding of centers and name changes, some of them already recognize that transforming systems take time. Thus, part of an extended solution for senior-level administrators, particularly in thinking about communication, is finding innovative ways to report out. For example, UVA’s Deans Working Group had a dedicated campus website regarding their goals, though the follow-up question and next line of research would inquire whether students knew of its existence.

For the emerging diversity, equity, and inclusion task forces that are being formed, an immediate first step, based on this research, is the necessity to audit what has already been done. As Student-Activists of Color both wrote and spoke about during interviews, one of their primary sources of frustration is how senior-level administrators express shock or ask to hear about their concerns. In doing so, Student-Activists of Color feel even more marginalized, given that these initiatives to “hear from students” negates the conversations and actions already taking place. Conducting an audit helps illuminate what are the repeated concerns that Student-Activists of Color have expressed, as a possible strategy for prioritization of tackling the behemoth that is

institutionalized racism. Moreover, this type of self-reflective investigation reveals where are some of the stops and gatekeeping that have historically prevented initiatives from moving forward, and also provides the opportunity to explore exemplary practices within the institution. Communities of Color on college campuses, whether that be students, faculty, and/or staff and administrators have often created counter-spaces through underfunded means. Here is the opportunity to invest in and amplify what is already working.

Strengthening History with Education

The debates over racist campus symbols, building namesakes, and even university mascots and brands have been fierce, with arguments in defense detailing the necessity for preservation, the erasure of (white) history, and the alternate suggestion to provide context as a way to minimize the racist harm experienced by Student-Activists of Color. However, as Student-Activists of Color have stressed, removals and renamings are not about destroying or erasing history but are paths to reconciling a racist campus past that lingers. Student-Activists of Color are challenging the normative acceptance of whiteness within the campus landscape and advocating against the existing white-washing that falls within the color-evasive framing of history as race-neutral.

Thus, one immediate recommendation from this study is the necessity of education about race and racism on college campuses. Existing literature has well-documented the inadequate education regarding racism received by the majority of U.S. students before entering college (King, 2016). With this knowledge and a race-conscious gap, a practical recommendation is for higher education institutions to offer additional modes of academic engagement or institutionalized courses regarding the dynamics of racism. However, the education regarding racism's impact on society, compared to the racialized symbols and history of the specific

campus, are two distinct topics and should be treated as such. Colleges and universities need both.

As an observation, the removal of racist statues often happens following a catalyzing event. More often than not, violent, traumatic events will spur political action for the policy window that generations of activists helped create. Several cities were spurred into action, removing their Confederate statues following the violence of the “Unite the Right” riot in 2017 (e.g. Memphis, de Valesco, 2019; Austin, Yearwood, 2018; and Baltimore, Elias, McCandless, & Chordiya, 2019). Likewise, following the 2020 Black Lives Matter uprisings, many more cities removed statues, including Richmond, Virginia with Robert E. Lee; Philadelphia with segregationist Frank Rizzo; and Boston with colonizer Christopher Columbus (Selvin & Solomon, 2020). An observed phenomenon is how significant movements within the Institutional Response Framework (e.g. moving from the quadrant of schisming to co-option), require some form of catalyst. Using the physics formula of $\text{force} = \text{mass} \times \text{acceleration}$ as an analogy, the force for change is then dependent on a critical mass of individuals pushing for change and some type of catalyst as the accelerant, while acknowledging how Communities of Color have already been contributing much to the movement.

Implications for Policy

The Politics of “Civility” and the Weaponization of Respect

Findings from this study have demonstrated how civility is not a neutral term or value. Instead, the stress on respect and civility, while seemingly admirable, shows a subtle demarcation of what types of actions and by whom are viewed as acceptable and unacceptable. The underlying assumption is that in order to be treated better, students must act better (i.e. respectability politics, first described by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham in 1993). Many

campuses, including UVA and UNC-CH (Irizarry, 2017b), have created policies restricting students' abilities to protest, rationalizing the importance of civility and respect. In fact, during his November 2016 speech, UNC-CH BOT's Chair Stone said, "It is not the proper role of the University to attempt to shield individuals from ideas and opinions that they find disagreeable, unwelcome, or even deeply offensive."

The passing and adoption of such policies indicates a pressing concern about how higher education institutions and state systems are able to dictate, police, and even criminalize the parameters of student discourse and dissent. While these policies impact student conduct, more troubling are the framings and justifications used behind such policies to shape the conversation around accountability and activism, which are particularly detrimental to Black students and other minoritized groups (Davenport, Soule, & Armstrong II, 2011). These policies weaponize the discourse of civility as a mechanism to criminalize and pathologize oppositional behavior, which disproportionately impacts (and arguably targets) student activists of color. They serve as extensions of the school-to-prison nexus (Krueger, 2010) and (re)usher institutional responses that preemptively silence student activists or manage how People of Color ought to act (Crockett, 2017; Pitcan, Marwick, boyd, 2018). This is particularly crucial when considering, for example, the tropes and stereotypes Black women—as students, staff, faculty, and administrators—face as the "angry Black woman" (Jones & Norwood, 2017; Morris, 2016).

Moreover, such policies veer dangerously close to the conflation of hate speech with free speech. Higher education administrators point to the constraints of state policies—both UVA and UNC-CH state legislatures passed freedom of speech bills constricting campus prohibition of speakers. However, as UVA's Faculty Senate chair, Dr. Riley, stated, "The benefits of free speech are shared by all of us, but the burdens are more often disproportionately borne by

minorities and marginalized populations.” Despite state regulations, UVA administrators passed a ban prohibiting eleven of the organizers of the “Unite the Right” riot from entering the campus, and UNC-CH rejected Richard Spencer’s bid to speak on campus, citing safety concerns. As a distinct observation, both campuses used a color-evasive framing of “safety” to work around the color-evasive policy of “freedom.” Higher education institutions are not as powerless as they might seem in the face of “First Amendment Rights” (which are, again, a murky race-neutral conflation of racist vitriol). Institutions have redefined university facilities, created hate speech codes, shaped student conduct manuals, and even rescinded admissions letters based on racism and hate. Policies cannot be color-evasive if racism is to be directly addressed.

Who is Responsible for Diversity?

Findings from this study demonstrate how the conversation and focus on diversity are diluted when there is no explicit commitment or specific individual named in commitment. As such, an immediate recommendation for not only senior-level administrators but also boards of trustees for universities, is to preserve committees focused on diversity, equity, and inclusion. While scholarship has pointed to how roles such as Chief Diversity Officers might be symbolic in nature or limited in their abilities (e.g. Williams et al., 2013), the alternative of not having such positions or committees results in diversity remaining no one’s business.

Policing and Rethinking “Safety”

Existing scholarship has well documented the negative experiences of students, especially Black students, who have been harassed, over-surveilled, and/or historically targeted by police (e.g. Allen & Jasques, 2020; Kendi, 2012; Kelly, 2018; Mwangi, 2018). The backdrop between the dichotomous actions of police towards white supremacists such as Charleston church murderer Dylann Roof, compared to police throwing tear gas at Ferguson protesters

(Altman, 2014), cannot be ignored either. As seen in this study, several students mentioned not only feeling unsafe because of the presence of white supremacist, anti-Semitic rioters, but also because of the in/action by law enforcement. UVA's Dr. Alex Davis reminds us that the policies to utilize or increase police presence under the color-evasive language of "safety" reflect that administrators "don't care about actually protecting vulnerable bodies." Thus, an implication from the study is that campus safety and police protection cannot exist in their current imagining.

On May 27, 2020 amidst Black Lives Matter uprisings and protests following the murder of George Floyd by police officers, President Joan Gabel of the University of Minnesota announced via Twitter that the university would scale back its relationship with the police (Gabel, 2020). While not an abolition of campus police, President Gabel directed administrators to no longer contact Minneapolis police officers for large-scale events or special services (Gabel, 2020). Following Gabel's announcement, more than 40 colleges and universities have received petitions about a decrease in partnership, defunding the police, and/or abolishing campus law enforcement (Bajaras, 2020). Others, like the University of California's Academic Senate, sent a letter, penned by Dr. Kum-Kum Bhavnani, Chair (2020) with recommendations including defunding general campus police, banning firearms as standard equipment for campus police, dissolving agreements with non-UC law enforcement for campus facilities access, and redirecting funds to invest in support-service resources like mental health. In the letter, Dr. Bhavnani wrote how past reports on UC's policies and reforms "have failed to address the underlying roots of racialized policing." School districts like the Oakland Unified School District unanimously voted to eliminate district police (Simpson, 2020).

Admittedly, my own limited imagination never considered defunding or abolishing campus police as possible recommendations. Yet, when considering the violence experienced by

Students of Color, who have repeatedly pointed to a broken system, abolition and reinvestment in services that Student-Activists of Color have demanded, police reform and de-escalation of events without shows of police force must be on the table.

Implications for Research

Research Design

This study has several methodology and methods implications for future studies on higher education responses to student activism and campus racism. First, case studies are well-suited for examining “institutional responses” because institutions include many different parts, so future studies that are interrogating or exploring higher education institutional responses ought to consider capturing the multiple and varying constituent voices that comprise a campus.

Second, data collection might consider examining sources beyond interviews and document collection. Insights from Student-Activists of Color in this study included reflections about how geography and the geopolitical location of demonstrations, die-ins, and protests were important and intentional. Potential possibilities include using maps as artifacts or walking-interviews (Harris, 2016) to illustrate the geopolitical complexities of occupying space as resistance (McKittrick & Wood, 2007). Additionally, the online presence and use of social media for activism materializes as a potential form of data to analyze, including Tweets, hashtags, and posts. However, public posts on social media are not automatic approvals of informed consent or willingness (Sloan, 2020; Williams et al., 2017). Much like institutional responses, digital research methods can easily co-opt or even exploit the voices of marginalized individuals and take a color-evasive justification of “the internet being fair game,” without interrogating the long history of how research has harmed and been extracted from Communities of Color (see: Tuck & Yang, 2014; Wilder, 2013). Relatedly, as evidenced by this study, the question of institutional

anonymity is a potential conversation to revisit, acknowledging the tensions of representation and participant confidentiality.

Third, an important element of intersectionality is the notion of historicity, or including historical context that informs multiple social identities and institutional racism. Student activism and movements build on the developments of previous decades, and using an ahistorical approach serves as an antithesis for understanding that student actions, activism, and demands are often generational (Dixson, 2017; Reynolds & Mayweather, 2017). Likewise, a historical background provides insights for higher education institutions regarding their campus traditions and ingrained values, which may dictate how campus racism is addressed. The long history of white supremacy and racism on both campuses had to be addressed to understand both student and institutional (in) actions. Most studies, including case studies, do not take this longer view to understand structural and systemic factors influencing students and groups within campuses.

Fourth, implications from this study propel further examinations of how organizational theory and race-based theories can and ought to merge, both conceptually and methodologically. Theories of change require a racialized lens and more innovative methodologies such as multidimensional scaling to capture the organizational context and embedded racism. Fields like critical quant or quant crit help critique the ways whiteness has normalized what is considered rigor and a false sense of objectivity through numbers (Garcia et al., 2018; Gillborn et al., 2018). Moreover, qualitative sources such as testimonios (Covarrubias, 2018; Pérez Huber, 2009) and methodologies such as muxerista portraiture (Flores, 2017; Revilla, 2004) and decolonizing methodologies (Dorpenyo, 2020; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) queer the imbalance and assumption of the academic institution/researcher as the center for determining and constructing knowledge.

New Directions

The differing roles of administrators, faculty, board members, and staff provide many additional areas of inquiry, particularly related to the aftermath of a prominent form of activism and how power moves or evolves. For example, the 2012 case involving UVA's board and the firing and rehiring of President Sullivan illuminates how leadership decisions can result in varying consequences. Future studies could explore campus members who have been fired because of their decisions or those who have stayed to continue in the aftermath. Institutional responses are ongoing, so future scholarship might explore how institutions are or are not upholding their actions and commitments to diversity, inclusion, and equity.

While under-developed in this study, campus staff and Student-Affairs professionals are not isolated from student activism or campus racism and can help catalyze a series of activism. For example, amidst ongoing student protests at Yale in 2016 to rename Calhoun College, Corey Menafee, a Black dishwasher who was working in Calhoun College, shattered a sermath of a prominent form of activism and how power moves or evolves. For example, the 2012 case involving UVA's board and the firing and rehiring of Preday (Wang & Syrluga, 2017). His actions received national attention and brought more media coverage regarding the embedded racism within the structures of universities. These narratives, often overlooked in the conversation of "who is part of the university" should be potential areas of exploration, and would contribute to the research on the intersections of activism and labor.

Even further, this study reveals how the perceptions by Student-Activists of Color and those by faculty and administrators differed in examining responses. An implication of this research (as well as for practice) is the value of incorporating feedback loops into research designs regarding institutional responses or administrative actions. This form of feedback might

translate for future studies to use methodologies like participatory evaluative research as a way to assess policies or actions.

Implications based on this study, differ between institutional types, with different power dynamics between faculty, senior administrators, boards, and students. Institutional values, priorities, and campus messaging may vary based— e.g. a teaching institution’s administrators may use more strategies regarding education or teacher trainings. With the increasing number of students attending community college, of which are Students of Color, future research must explore how community colleges respond to student activism. The scant research (e.g. Ferreira, 2014; Lombardi, 1969) exploring the activism at community colleges reveals the critical relationships between the campus and local community placing pressure on senior-level administrators to support students’ concerns.

In Practice: A Reflection

Admittedly, I found myself struggling with writing the implications, holding a lingering doubt about whether change is truly possible, particularly within this 2020 context, and wondering whether suggestions and implications for practice, policy, and research would feel shallow and trite. An added backdrop to writing these implications for how higher education institutions can respond better was reflecting on my own transition to becoming a faculty member and writing an institutional response to my future students. Researching institutional responses while simultaneously crafting an institutional response felt odd. With colleagues, I developed a statement emphasizing the values of care, diversity, equity, and inclusion that said all the “right” things. And yet, absent were the actionable items of how to create change. So, we wrote a second part, and followed up with more resources, schedules for listening sessions, and

the explicit acknowledgment of how higher education institutions, including the program and department I am joining, are not blameless in maintaining whiteness and racism.

I share this narrative to explain how, even with the supposed wealth of knowledge I have gained through this study, I made mistakes and stumbled into the exact pitfalls my findings and implications warn against. As a corroboration of my research, while crafting this statement for me felt instrumental and the hosting of listening sessions was necessary, I imagine that students might view both as forms of appeasement and nonperformativity. Institutional responses are messy, including in our own applications and de-socialization of color-evasiveness, power, and agency in demands.

Transformation and the Quest for Liberation: A “Conclusion” towards Change

Dr. Bettina L. Love (2019) describes the educational survival complex as a system built on the continued suffering of children of color, much in the same way the prison industrial complex benefits from the disproportionate incarceration of Black and Brown people. Scholarship on higher education institutions as neoliberal machines (e.g. Museus, 2019; Squire, Nicolazzo, Perez, 2019) affirms UVA’s Dr. Davis’s observation of how “universities are monsters. Corporate monsters.” This quote, stated after one of the UVA senior-level administrators explained how to “capitalize off” the attention after Charlottesville’s “Unite the Right” riot, feels similar to a sudden observed trend in 2020: the nonperformative adoption of calling oneself antiracist or an abolitionist. The machine of schooling, of higher education institutions, of academia, of the educational survival complex, is working quite well.

Audre Lorde writes in *Sister Outsider* (1984), “For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.” The Institutional Response Framework, as a

function of working within institutionalism, racial realism, and the neoliberal machine of higher education, exists within the master's house. Unlike a radical imagining of institutionalism, the Institutional Response Framework does not have room for liberation. Even the dimension of power only extends its anchor as "shared-control," not control absent of the institution.

Instead, what this framework and this study offer are the spaces in between—the incremental steps of change and progress—that, as seen through the lens of history, offer transformation. The demands and concerns by Student-Activists of Color have leaned on the generations of Student-Activists of Color who have come before them. These histories of change are evidenced by UNC-CH's creation of the Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture in 1988, decades after the original protests; the establishment of UVA's Carter G. Woodson Institute for African-American and African Studies in 1981 (though the fight continues for its departmentalization); and the renaming of UNC-CH's Saunders Hall which was first mentioned in the 1970s. The landscapes of campuses are changing. On the last day of classes in 2015, UNC-CH Student-Activists of Color, from The Real Silent Sam Coalition as well as from #NotSafeUNC, created "The People of Color Takeover of the Quad" in celebration of the renaming of a campus building and of the reclaiming of space. Mars Earle explained the event:

People have been misconstruing it as a protest... I find it really funny that it's automatically a protest just because it's people of color discussing political issues through some poems and people talking. These are heavy things, sure, but we carry these things on a daily basis, and we love each other so much that we're still able to make this space fun and celebrate the fact that we're here, we're alive, and so many of us are graduating. So we're just having a party.

The location of the celebration was specifically designated as the Quad, which students explained as an intentional geographic choice, given its centrality within the campus. For students, their occupation of this place was not just about taking up space, but reminding their peers and the greater campus community that taking up space for People of Color does not always have to be political demonstrations or protests the way the broader campus community might assume. Joyful parties are ways for students to express and claim spaces as resistance and activism. Change is possible. Revolution is improbable. Liberation will exist beyond the confines of higher education institutions. Yet in the meantime, these reclamations, demonstrations, activism, and celebrations are steps to make these places, these spaces, a little more livable—in spite of and alongside institutions of higher education.

Appendix A

Acronyms

AFI	Audacious Faith I
AFII	Audacious Faith II
AHGCC	Ad Hoc Committee on Climate & Culture
ALC	Asian Leaders Council
BOG	Board of Governors
BOT	Board of Trustees
BOV	Board of Visitors
BSA	Black Student Alliance
BSM	Black Student Movement
FWDCS	Faculty Workshops on the Disposition of the Confederate Statue
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
LSA	Latinx Student Association
ODE	Office of Diversity and Equity
OEOP	Office of Equal Opportunity Programs
OVPCODE	Office of the Vice President and Chief Officer for Diversity and Equity
PCDE	President's Commission on Diversity and Equity
PCSU	President's Commission on Slavery and the University
PWI	Predominantly White Institution
TFAAA	Task Force on Afro-American Affairs
TWA	Traditionally White Institution
UCARE	University and Community Action for Racial Equity
UNC-CH	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
UVA	University of Virginia
USS	Universities Studying Slavery

Appendix B: Primary Sources

Sources are grouped by the two case study institutions, as well as primary sources to help corroborate findings.

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Appendix D

Interview Protocol for Students

The following serve as guiding questions for the semi-structured interview. With the nature of the conversation, not all questions may be asked, they may not follow this order, and some additional questions might emerge as follow-up.

Background

1. So start us off, for the record, would you state your name and when from what years did you attend [THE CAMPUS]?
2. Would you tell me a bit about your time in college? What did you study, what were you involved in?

Activism

3. As a student, you were also involved in some actions regarding the university and racism on campus. What was going on during this time? [FROM HERE, MIRROR THE LANGUAGE THEY USE: PROTESTS, DEMONSTRATIONS, ACTIVISM, ETC.]
 1. Probe: What were the issues? (Make sure to clarify)
 1. Incident of campus racism between students, student-other?
 2. Long-standing issues that were unaddressed?
 3. Related activism (e.g. Black Lives Matter demonstration on campus)
 2. Probe: Who (else) was involved? (Make sure to clarify:)
 1. Students/student groups
 2. Faculty members
 3. Administrators
 4. Specific offices and/or units

Immediate Responses & Perceptions of Responses

4. So then how did [THE CAMPUS] respond? What happened immediately after all of this went down? (Make sure to clarify)
 1. What was said?
 2. What was done?
 3. Explanation of what happened?
 4. Disciplinary measures?
 5. Probe: how were you [and your student group] being engaged in all of this?
5. Were there specific people or groups that made responses?
 1. Probe: Were there people or groups whom you noticed did not make a response? Faculty? Specific offices?
6. What did you think about all of this?

Eventual Responses & Perceptions of Responses

7. So all of this happened in the immediate aftermath, tell me more about what happened in the months following?
 1. Probe: What's the level of engagement and involvement that the campus is having with you (all) now?
 2. Probe: Who are some of the people and offices you are working with, if at all?
 3. Probe: Are students still paying attention to this issue?

8. What do you think about all of this?
9. How do you feel the campus responses have changed, if at all, in contrast to the immediate responses?

Perceptions of the (Racial) Institution

10. What are ways that you see the campus supporting and not supporting Students of Color?
11. How do you feel the institution did or did not address the concerns you and your peers brought forth?
12. So to circle back to you, can you tell me a bit about why you wanted to get involved? What made you want to be a part of all of this?

Demographic and Anonymity Questions

13. Given all that you shared, would you like to be anonymized?
 1. [IF SO] What do you want your pseudonymed first and last names to be?
14. Typically, when someone writes about research, we include a bit of demographic information about you— like your gender, age, what you studied, etc. So I wanted to check the level of comfort in terms of how I might end up describing you. You have every right to say you do not want me to include a certain detail about you. So:
 1. Are you comfortable with me saying that you were a [x]-YEAR at the time?
 1. NO: Then I will be saying that you were a student at the time of the activism, but not specify the year.
 2. Are you comfortable with me stating your major?
 1. NO: Then I will refer to you through the broader academic discipline like (social sciences)
 3. What gender pronouns do you identify as?
 4. How do you identify yourself racially/ethnically? Are you comfortable with me using the same designation?
 1. NO: I will refer to you through the broader umbrella of “Student of Color”
15. And to close, is there anything you would like to add or go back to, and address further?

Appendix E

Interview Protocol for Faculty/Administrators

The following serve as guiding questions for the semi-structured interview. With the nature of the conversation, not all questions may be asked, they may not follow this order, and some additional questions might emerge as follow-up.

Background

1. So start us off, for the record, would you state your name, title, and what you do at the university?
2. How long have you worked, both at the institution and within your role?

Activism

3. So part of why I asked to interview you, was based on your involvement and knowledge regarding the university and racism on campus. Can you provide a brief overview of what was going on?
 1. Probe: What were the issues?
(Make sure to clarify)
 1. Incident of campus racism between students, student-other?
 2. Long-standing issues that were unaddressed?
 3. Related activism (e.g. Black Lives Matter demonstration on campus)
 2. Probe: Who (else) was involved?
(Make sure to clarify)
 1. Students/student groups
 2. Faculty members
 3. Administrators
 4. Specific offices and/or units

Responses & Construction of Responses

4. While the students [MIRROR THE LANGUAGE THEY USE: PROTESTS, DEMONSTRATIONS, ACTIVISM, ETC.] were occurring, what was your role and responsibility in responding? (Make sure to clarify)
 1. What was said?
 2. What was done?
 3. Explanation?
 4. Disciplinary measures?
5. In making [MIRROR RESPONSE LANGUAGE], can you walk me through the process of how the responses were made?
 1. Probe: What were some of the factors you had to consider?
 1. Probe: Internal pressures?
 2. Probe: External campus-related pressures? (like Alumni)
 3. Probe: External pressures (like larger media)
 2. Probe: Were there other groups on campus you worked with?
 3. Probe: Is there a specific unit or individual identified to create responses?
6. In these responses, how did you engage students?

1. Probe: What about the student-activists who were involved?

Eventual Responses

7. So all of this happened in the immediate aftermath, so tell me more about what happened in the months following...
 1. Probe: What actions have been taken and what statements have been released now?
 2. Probe: Have responsibilities in responding or addressing student concerns shifted?
 1. Clarification: To different people? Different units in campus?
8. How have internal and/or external pressures changed, if at all?
9. What were some of the students' reactions to these responses?
10. And how about now, more than a year later? Regarding the [INSERT ISSUE(S)] that students have brought up, what have been some of the actions taken?
 1. Probe: Who is now involved?
11. How do you think the responses have changed over time? If at all?

Perceptions of the Institution

12. How would you describe the culture of [CAMPUS]?
13. What are ways that you see the campus supporting and not supporting Students of Color?
 1. How has that changed over the time you have been here?
14. How do you think the institution did or did not address the concerns of students from this specific set of actions [MIRROR LANGUAGE]?

Demographic and Anonymity Questions

15. Given all that you shared, would you like to be anonymized?
 1. [IF SO] What do you want your pseudonymed first and last names to be?
16. Typically, when someone writes about research, we include a bit of demographic information about you— like your gender, your role, etc. So I wanted check the level of comfortability in terms of how I might end up describing you. You have every right to say you do not want me to include a certain detail about you. So:
 1. Are you comfortable with me saying that you have worked [x]-YEAR at the time?
 1. If NO: Okay, then I will be round your experience to the nearest multiple of 5 or 10 and with a generalized qualifier.
 2. Are you comfortable with me stating your office/description/unit?
 1. If NO: What broader term would you like me to use?
 3. What gender pronouns do you identify as
 4. How do you identify yourself racially/ethnically? Are you comfortable with me using the same designation?
 1. If NO/applicable: Would be comfortable with me using the umbrella term of “Administrator of Color”?
17. And to close, is there anything you would like to add or go back to, and address further?

Appendix F

Timeline of Student Activism and Institutional Actions University of Virginia, 2015-2018

- March 2015: Publication of racial demographics of students who have been selected to live on “The Lawn,” considered one of the most prestigious selective dormitories, results in concerns from students about the criteria given that no Black students were selected out of the 47 rooms.
- March 18, 2015: Martese Johnson, a third-year UVA student is violently brutalized during an arrest by the Virginia Alcohol Beverage Control Department. Within 24 hours, a series of protests happen both on and off campus regarding police brutality. Both UVA’s Board of Visitors Rector and President make statements in the ensuing week and on March 24, UVA’s Student Council holds emergency session amid concerns about safety and the violence towards Johnson.
- April 2015: UVA’s student group, Black Student Alliance publishes “Towards a Better University,” which is co-signed by 30 student organizations, calling for, in part, campus police reform, an expansion of minority spaces, and increasing the recruitment of Black students, faculty, and staff.
- April 18, 2016: racist, anti-Black, anti-Queer, bigoted chalkings appear on the central campus location, “The Grounds.” The Black Student Alliance and Queer Student Alliance hold a counter-chalking event with affirmations like “Your Black is Beautiful.”
- August 27, 2015: The Carter G. Woodson Institution holds a forum entitled, “On Violence, Citizenship, and Social Justice.”
- September 2016: UVA’s Board of Visitors votes to rename Jordan Hall to Pinn Hall after Dr. Vivian Pinn, who was the only African American and only female to graduate in 1967 from UVA’s School of Medicine. The original building was named after prominent eugenicist and former UVA dean Dr. Harvey E. Jordan in 1972; Dr. Pinn also holds the distinction as UVA’s first African American woman to give the commencement address to the campus.
- September 2016: UVA Board of Visitors rename Facilities Management Shop Support/Office Building to Skipwith Hall in honor of enslaved laborer Peyton Skipwith.
- September 2, 2016: Racist anti-Black slurs are discovered at Kent-Dabney Dormitory (a residence living hall for UVA students); resident assistants hold a teach-in within the week regarding hate speech and belonging.
- September 25, 2016: BSA holds a die-in for National Blackout Day with over 100 students participating at Old Cabell Hall to bring awareness to Black Lives Matter and

police brutality on campus. Old Cabel Hall borders the Lawn, with its steps opposing the steps of the Rotunda.

- October 2016: Multicultural Student Center opens after two years of advocacy by students. Events include: Asian-Pacific American Heritage Month, Culturefest, Disability Awareness Week, Hispanic Heritage Month, LGBTQ Pride Week, Middle Eastern/Arab American Heritage Month, Native American History Month
- October 4, 2016: Douglas Muir, executive lecturer in UVA's Engineering School and the Darden School of Business, posted a comment on Facebook comparing Black Lives Matter to the Ku Klux Klan. After a series of student protests, the university informed the campus community that Muir would take a leave of absence.
- October 22-23, 2016: Anti-Semitic language is discovered at one of the near-by non-university-affiliated housing locations where UVA students reside.
- October 30, 2016: Anti-Muslim vandalism is discovered on the walls of Brown College at Monroe Hill, one of the residential housing areas of UVA; within 24 hours, Dean of Students Allen Groves send a message condemning the action.
- November 2016: During a rally, a UVA law enforcement member shouts "Make America Great Again" (MAGA) to student protesters; student-activists demand for administration action at November Board of Visitor meeting.
- November 7, 2016: The "Eliminate the Hate Campaign" begins— a student-led, grassroots weeklong event with panels, teach-ins, culminating with an "Occupy the Rotunda" silent protest against the hateful rhetoric leading up to the election.
- November 8, 2016: Following the president election results, UVA President Theresa Sullivan sends out an email communication to the campus community for encouragement. The following day, on November 9, 2016, over 400 faculty and students sign a letter to President requesting that emails no longer include quotations from Thomas Jefferson.
- November 2016: A list of over 170 professors, deans, and provosts is shared as a "standing in solidarity" list of individuals who were willing to hold extra office hours for students to process the election and the "Make America Great Again" remarks.
- December 2016: Students receive an email reminder of university policy: SEC-039. Entitled, "Protests, Demonstrations and Other Expressive Activities during Finals Weekend," which prompts concerns about their abilities to protest.
- March 2017: Governor McAuliffe's signs House Bill 1401, "Higher education institutions; speech on campus" which describes that, "Except as otherwise permitted by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, no public institution of higher education shall abridge the constitutional freedom of any individual, including

enrolled students, faculty and other employees, and invited guests, to speak on campus” (HB1401, 2017). Students and administrators raise concerns over potential implications.

May 13, 2017: White supremacists convene at Justice Park (formerly called Robert E. Lee Park). The following day on May 14, 2017, counter-protesters and white supremacists clash alongside police during the rally.

June 5, 2017: Charlottesville City Council votes to rename Jackson Park to Emancipation Park and Robert E. Lee Park to Justice Park.

July 5, 2017: President Sullivan sends an email to the campus community, urging students “do not engage” with white supremacists, citing safety concerns. She sends a similar message on August 4, 2017.

July 8, 2017: The Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan protest the removal of Robert E. Lee’s statue at Justice Park.

August 11, 2017 (morning): Judge Glen Conrad rules in favor of “Unite the Right” being able to be held, despite previously filed suits attempting to move the rally away from Justice Park.

August 11, 2017 (evening): The “Unite the Right” riot begins with more than 250 white supremacists marching on UVA’s “The Grounds,” meeting 30 student counter-protesters at the Thomas Jefferson statue next to the Rotunda.

August 12, 2017; “Unite the Right” riot continue in Charlottesville, with then-Governor McAuliffe declaring a state of emergency. The rally concludes with the death of Heather Heyer and the injury of 19 others, including a UVA student. Immediately following, student and community members convene with vigils both at UVA and around Charlottesville. Campus leaders, including the president, chief diversity officer, and program offices release statements of condemnation against the violence.

August 13-14, 2017 following the riot: UVA faculty and administration hold a series of emergency meetings and the topic of the “Unite the Right” riot is discussed during the regularly scheduled department retreats and meetings.

August 21, 2017: Hundreds of students, faculty, administrators staff, and community members participate with, “March to Reclaim our Grounds,” organized by Black Student Alliance, U.Va. Students United (author’s note: U.Va. is how the student group denotes their organization), and student group, the Minority Rights Coalition.

August 28, 2017: Student Council holds a contentious meeting that eventually results in supporting the demands made by Black Student Alliance, which includes the

contextualization of Thomas Jefferson and removal of Confederate landmarks on campus.

September 12, 2017: Over 20 students and community members convene to protest the celebratory narrative of Thomas Jefferson and shroud the statue; President Sullivan sends out two messages to the campus community, condemning the actions.

September 14, 2017: UVA Board of Visitors approves resolutions to (1) remove Confederate materials from Rotunda, (2) rename Lewis House to Yen House after UVA's first Asian American student, W.W. Yen, and (3) ban open flames on campus.

September 2017: UVA administration holds a Town Hall that is specifically geared towards discussing the racial dynamics and climate of the campus.

October 2017: Students-Activists of Color kneel, similar to Colin Kaepernick's kneeling, during the pledge at UVA's football game to bring awareness to Black Lives Matter and to support DACA students.

October 2017: Members from both the Latinx Student Alliance and Native American Student Union protested the removal of Indigenous Day flyers by UVA Facilities Management, arguing how they felt targeted by the removal given that other flyers were still present from weeks ago.

November 2017: During the Bi-Centennial celebration of UVA's 200 years, three students protest with signs of UVA's "200 years of white supremacy"; they are arrested and charged with trespassing.

December 1, 2017: Former U.S. Attorney Tim Heaphy's third-party review of events corroborated these critiques, particularly expressed by Student-Activists of Color, concluding that UVA law enforcement likely knew days in advance about "Unite the Right" plans to march on The Grounds, rejected assistance from Charlottesville police, and failed to take preventative measures to ensure the white supremacists and UVA students would be separated to protect the latter. The publication of the report leads to students expressing concerns regarding safety.

December 2017: The Board of Visitors adopted "Integrated Emergency Operations Plan" alongside the City of Charlottesville, County of Albemarle, and University of Virginia.

April 2018: Students would hold a counter-protest against Jason Kessler at UVA Law School. Kessler, a UVA alum, was one of the main organizers for the "Unite the Right" riot. UVA administration would later issue a "no trespassing" warning to Jeff Kessler. Almost six months later, the university would ban 10 men associated with "Unite the Right."

April 2018: During the “Humanities Week” event-series, DREAMers on Grounds celebrates their recognition from UVA as a student organization.

August 11, 2018: On the on-year anniversary of the “Unite the Right” rally, U.Va. Students United hosted “VA Students Act Against White Supremacy: Rally for Justice.”

October 18-21, 2018: UVA’s President’s Commission on Slavery and the University (founded in 2013) hosts “Universities, Slavery, Public Memory, and the Built Landscape,” a four-day symposium with The Slave Dwelling Project.

October 22, 2018: The document “Our University to Shape” is released by “Hispanic/Latinx” students at UVA, co-signed by over 19 student organizations. The authors note that the Black Student Association’s 2015 publication of “Towards a Better University” was “our inspiration and paved the way for minority voices to be heard for generations to come” (p.1). (As a note, while I use Latinx, this document uses Hispanic/Latinx which is why the phrase is in quotation to honor students’ phrasing).

Appendix G

Timeline of Student Activism and Institutional Actions: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2015-2018

- February 2, 2015: Black students protested outside of Saunders Hall, arguing that the building should be renamed after Zora Neale Hurston, who attended the university in secret prior to desegregation. Saunders was a prominent member of the KKK.
- February 20, 2015: Student newspaper, *The Daily Tar Heel* publishes an infographic of the buildings on campus, highlighting the ones named after People of Color and ones named after white supremacists, racists, and/or eugenicists. The publication sparked continued protests throughout February and March.
- March 25, 2015: UNC-CH's Board of Trustees (BOT) meet to discuss renaming the Hall, which is the first BOT response of its kind since the earliest protests in the 1970s. Later, on May 28, 2015, the BOT voted 10-3 in favor of renaming Saunders Hall. However, the Hall is renamed as Carolina Hall, sparking more protests that the rename is unacceptable, through hashtag #WeDemandUNC.
- April 2015: Following David Horowitz's anti-Muslim and Islamophobic speech at UNC-CH (who was invited by UNC-CH College Republicans), Students of Color, particularly from the Muslim Student Association and Students for Justice in Palestine circulated the hashtag #NotSafeUNC.
- May 2015: Over 200 community members from Chapel Hill, many of whom were Student Activists of Color marched in solidarity with Baltimore in opposition of police brutality and racialized poverty; these groups included Black Student Movement, the Real Silent Sam Coalition, UNC Siren, Students for Justice in Palestine, RadAsians, and the Campus Y. Weeks later, more than 350 students held another rally to discuss the racial climate on campus.
- May 28, 2015: UNC-CH Board of Trustees passes three resolutions: (1) "Curating the UNC Campus and Teaching UNC's History" by creating historical markers with information about building contexts and exploring options for an online orientation program (passed unanimously); (2) "Renaming Saunders Hall to Carolina Hall and explaining the History of Saunders (passed 10:3)"; and (3) "Freeze on Renaming Buildings" with a 16-year moratorium on renaming campus buildings (passed unanimously). It is lifted in 2020 after the continued "Fed-Up" Uprisings.
- July 23, 2015: N.C. House legislators (via Governor Pat McCrory signing Senate Bill 22) ban state and local governments from removing historical monuments and statues, with a condition that these historical objects can be moved, posing safety concerns.

September 2015: Following the death of African-American Keith Scott by the hands of Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police, students including Student-Activists of Color, protest at UNC-CH's game against Pittsburgh and organize a die-in at Chapel Hill campus's Lenoir Dining Hall.

October 12, 2015: UNC-CH's University Day is met with student protesters chanting "tear it down" referencing the statue, Silent Sam.

November 2015: Following the protests at the University of Missouri, more than 350 UNC-CH students convene to discuss the racial climate on campus. Later that week during the Faculty Council, the rally is a key point of conversation.

December 2015: On the last day of classes, Students of Color, both from The Real Silent Sam Coalition as well as from the #NotSafeUNC created "The People of Color Takeover of the Quad" in celebration of the renaming to Hurston Hall.

August of 2015: The "Silent Sam" statue is spray-painted at least three times— each of the messages reflecting racial tensions with phrases like "Black Lives Matter," "Who is Sandra Bland," and "KKK."

October 2015: Students hold a "Silence Sam" rally to remove Silent Sam. A week later, the "Alamance County Taking Back Alamance County" (a neo-Confederate hate group) held a counter-protest in support of Silent Sam's continued presence on campus.

October 11, 2015: Students hold a vigil with a 24-hour narration of stories by enslaved African Americans, including recordings and read-alouds.

November 19, 2015: UNC-CH administration holds a Town Hall on race and inclusion; attendance includes student groups: Black Student Movement, National Pan-Hellenic Council, the Organization for African Students' Interest and Solidarity, and the Graduate and Professional Student Federation. That same day, BSA releases "A Collective Response to Anti-Blackness," which includes demands to remove Silent Sam and other memorials of the Confederacy.

November 2015: Durham city debates the removal of Confederate Soldiers Monument.

October 2016: Members of the Latinx Unity Council and the Carolina Latina/o Collaborative hold a demonstration, entitled "Estamos Aqui UNC" (translation: We are here UNC), arguing for Latinx programming and a Latinx center.

March 2017: A plaque of Nora Zeale Hurston is anonymously placed outside of Carolina Hall and then later removed by UNC-CH administration.

- June 2017: North Carolina General Assembly ratifies House Bill 527 as “an act to restore and preserve free speech on the campuses of the constituent institutions of the University of North Carolina” (HB527, 2017, p.1).
- August 2017: Following UVA’s “Unite the Right” riot, UNC-CH campus members, including Student-Activists of Color, convene in a post-Charlottesville rally for solidarity and support.
- August 21-24, 2017: Protests and counter-protests happen during these four days, with students (including Student-Activists of Color) calling for Silent Sam’s removal and white supremacists calling for it to stay where it is. Support for both sides come from both the local Chapel Hill and Durham communities, and people driving distances as far as Maryland. By August 24, more than 1,000 people are at McCorkle Place.
- September 1, 2017: Amidst continued protests, UNC-CH law enforcement and UNC-CH’s facilities remove the belongings of anti-Silent Sam protesters, citing public safety concerns. Students raise concerns about the removals of their belongings.
- September 8, 2017: UNC system Board of Governors bars litigation of UNC Chapel Hill School of Law’s Center for Civil Rights. Protests ensued during the meeting and afterwards; the rationale was, in part, related to the Center’s most recent lawsuit against the North Carolina State.
- October 2017: Students protest outside of Peabody Hall and UNC-CH School of Education students post flyers about Silent Sam alongside a critique of silent educators. That same month, the UNC Boycott Movement begins, urging students to boycott materials made by companies where revenue would go to UNC, as a way, in part, to push the campus and system to remove Silent Sam. (As a note, the UNC Boycott Movement originated due to tensions regarding the replacement of UNC-CH student stores and the criticism of corporatization).
- October 2017: Board of Governors begin drafting a policy based on House Bill 527 which would impact students’ ability to disrupt speakers. The policy would pass on December 2017, with sanctions against repeat offenders, but leaves the punitive measures to be determined by individual campuses.
- November 8, 2017: Silent Sam protesters are shocked and disturbed to realize that campus police had intentionally planted an officer to infiltrate the student coalition. One of the Black student activists remembered speaking to the officer in August and he tried to then pose as a participant and integrate himself with the group.
- February 2018: an anonymous group of 17 faculty members write to Chancellor Folt to take down Silent Sam; on March 8, 2018, over 116 faculty members sign an open letter to Chancellor Folt, the Board of Trustees, and the Board of Governors for the removal of Silent Sam, urging for the campus to “be on the right side of history.”

February-March, 2018: Continued protests and counter protests happen around Silent Sam, with increasing coverage by national media outlets.

July 2018: Students protest against the UNC-CH administration after learning that the administration spent more than \$390,000 to protect the Silent Sam statue.

August 2018: Student group, Campus Y holds a “Portraits of Racism” event and workshop.

August 20, 2018: Silent Sam is taken down by protesters, but details are unclear of how it was achieved. UNC-CH facilities moves the statue to an undisclosed location and immediately following the removal, both UNC-CH Chancellor Folt and UNC-system President Spellings release statements, denouncing the activities as act of vandalism.

August 21-31, 2018: Continued protests occur at McCorkle place, during which police deploy smoke bombs and tackle protesters; by the end of month, 17 individuals have been arrested.

December 3, 2018: Chancellor Folt and the UNC-CH’s Board of Trustees propose Silent Sam be housed in a \$5.3 million facility near the athletics building; students and faculty subsequently protest and on December 15, 2018, the UNC Board of Governors reject the proposal.

December 2018: Protests regarding Silent Sam continue, including at UNC-CH’s Winter Commencement. In addition, during UNC’s School of Public Health’s “Summit on Student Safety and Wellbeing: A Call to Action,” students protest the presence and speaker-roles of Chancellor Folt and Chapel Hill Chief of Police Chris Blue, arguing how they do not know how to keep students safe.

Appendix H

Resolutions Passed between 2015-2018 University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Faculty Council

- Res. 2015-11. On Support for Academic Freedom and the "Literature of 9/11" Course
- Res. 2016-12. On Commitment to Diversity and Inclusion
- Res. 2017-09. On the Proposal to Bar UNC Centers and Institutes from Engaging in Legal Actions
- Res. 2017-10. On the removal of Silent Sam from McCorkle Place
- Res. 2017-12. On Supporting Permanent Legal Status for DACA-Eligible Individuals
- Res. 2017-14. On Protecting Free Speech
- Res. 2018-03. On Principles for the Promotion and Protection of Free Speech
- Res. 2018-05: On Supporting a Statement from UNC Black faculty on the permanent removal of Silent Sam from campus (revised to resolution 2018-7)
- Res. 2018-07. On Supporting a Statement from UNC Black Faculty on Silent Sam
- Res. 2018-09. On Faculty Opposition to the Recommendation to House a Confederate Monument on Campus.
- Res. 2018-10 On Implementing a Plan for the Disposition of the Confederate Statue

Appendix I

The Daily Tar Heel, dated April 3, 1991

THE 1990s

Institutionalized Racism

The Daily Tar Heel/Wednesday, April 3, 1991/5

Subtle racism from kindergarten to workplace still exists in 1991

By Matthew Hoyt
Staff Writer

Since the end of the civil rights movement in the late 1960s, racism has taken on a new guise.

Ku Klux Klan rallies, racial slurs and defaced posters still abound, but most of today's prejudice is subtle, even unseen, by many not looking for it. Institutionalized racism is the racism practiced, policies and customs on all levels of society, from the business world to elementary schools, said Zenobia Hatcher-Wilson, director of the Campus Y.

"People in the '80s know better than to practice racism in obvious ways. Now it is more subtle and inconspicuous," said Laura Anderson, minister of information for the Black Student Movement.

Hatcher-Wilson said that while institutionalized racism was found in almost all areas of society, it was most common on the scholastic and professional levels, where minority leaders were few and far between.

"The heads of most schools and businesses represent the majority," she said.

Anderson agreed. "People who make the decisions in these areas are still mostly white males," she said.

Institutionalized racism in the public school system usually takes form in the curriculum and school activities that are geared toward whites and leave little room for minority involvement, Hatcher-Wilson said.

"There is a lack of attention in the classroom given to contributions by minority groups, and there are few opportunities for people to participate equally in extracurricular activities," Anderson said.

in the lower schools was tracking, the practice where minorities were intentionally steered toward certain classes because teachers assumed they could not handle the upper-level courses required for a higher education.

"Counselors tell blacks to go to vocational schools. They are not told about the college route," she said.

The same problems appear on the university level. Anderson said the curriculum at UNC ignored many important contributions by African-Americans in history and literature.

"You have to pick a specific course here to learn about African-American contributions," she said.

Rosalind Fuse-Hall, associate dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, said the absence of black contributors hurt minority students.

"Professors are not showing them any role models," she said.

Many blacks agreed that problems also existed in the University's admissions process and financial aid.

"Many applicants (for financial aid) fall in a gray area. They can pay for college on paper, but not practically," Fuse-Hall said.

Anderson said she would like to see a change in present policy. "I would like to see financial aid expanded," she said.

Fuse-Hall also said that admissions, specifically SATs, were unfavorable toward minority applicants.

"SATs are unduly biased," she said. John Pope, a member of the Board of Trustees who recently called for a change in UNC's admissions process by using an applicant's candidacy solely on his or her SAT scores, said he thought the standardized test was completely fair.

"There is no proof that SATs are racist at all. SAT scores are about the only objective means we have to look at applicants," Pope said.

The problems of institutionalized racism on the professional level also seem to center around the assumption by some employers that minorities are not as capable as whites, according to many blacks.

"It is accepted practice that blacks are put in a position in which they can't move up," Hatcher-Wilson said.

Fuse-Hall said blacks could see opportunities for advancement but were unable to reach them.

The glass ceiling in the reality of the business world for blacks, she said, was the best way for minorities to stay away from pink collar jobs was by seeking a more technical education.

"They need to choose technical majors and try to go into more strictly technical positions that can't be easily deleted," she said.

Harris said minorities were at a disadvantage when entering the career field because of their lack of connections.

"Minorities usually don't have as many contacts through family and friends as whites," she said.

A number of groups on campus have tried to combat institutionalized racism on the university level, but most shy from outright protest.

Protests and rallies became ineffective when they happen once a week. We would lose our credibility with the students on campus and end up being like lawyers chasing ambulances," Anderson said.

Instead, BSM fights racism through programs of cultural awareness, exposing



ing students to African-American culture through programs such as the gospel choir and The Black Ink, the newspaper sponsored by the BSM.

UNITAS, a program started four years ago to ease racial tensions, seeks to make students aware of minority cultures by putting them in the same

environment. Students from different ethnic and racial backgrounds live together in Carmichael Residence Hall, sharing each other's experiences.

Eric Houck, a UNITAS leader, said he did not consider UNITAS to be a group of radicals. "We are not activists, just people seeking a human approach

to combat racism."

While institutionalized racism is a threat, many people feel optimistic about the present quality of race relations.

"Things have gotten much better since the '50s. In fact, comparatively, things are wonderful today," Anderson said.

Asians want more awareness, understanding of their culture

By Colleen Rodie
Staff Writer

Asian students get all science or math majors. True or false?

Many Asian students gravitate toward these subjects because they feel insecure with the English language and secure with the job market in these fields, said Eric Henry, faculty adviser for the Asian Students Association.

"Technology has an international language. Asians feel more secure with science and math because everything is limited whatever their race may be. This stereotype may exist, I've found that that most second- and third-generation Asian students are not bothered by racism and really don't think about it."

Sunil Malkani, president of SANGAM, an Asian-Indian association, said the majority of Asian-Indians did tend to major in science or math.

"However, we are becoming more diversified," he said. "There is growing and upcoming trend to enter different fields of study. More Asians are majoring in other things such as pre-law."

Malkani said he had never experienced prejudice personally. He said most prejudice occurred against non-English speaking Asian-Indians.

"I think that some Asian-Indians that come directly from India do feel some prejudice," he said. "A lot of it is because they just don't understand English very well. SANGAM's goal is to help to stop these negative feelings by promoting Asian-Indian awareness."

Kaioqua Fu, a third-year public health student from China and a member of the Friendship Association of Chinese Students, said most people expected Asians to excel in science and math and to be hardworking.

"But now things are progressing differently," Fu said. "With more and more Asians coming to the campus, people are recognizing that we are just normal students with personalities and emotions just like others."

Fu said prejudice came from a misunderstanding of different cultures.

"There is still a boundary between us and others because of the different backgrounds that exist."

It will take time and education for society to culturally accept Asians, Fu said. "The community is becoming multi-cultural now, and the new generation should be prepared."

"Education systems should help students learn how to relate to racial relationships. UNC needs to educate students more so that they will be able to adjust to other cultures better," he said.

Eugene Lao, former president of the Asian Students Association, said he was aware of prejudice more when a group of Asians congregated together. "This usually brings about a lot of stares," Lao said.

Lao also said UNC did not actively see Asians as a minority because there were not many minority programs that included them. The University does not cater to Asian needs, he said.

"This is why we have created the Asian Students Association," Lao said.

"When we see the University overlooking Asians, we tackle the problem. However, Asians are a quiet minority and we do search every nook and cranny for unfair situations. We try to promote Asian awareness and to change things as they develop. When this is completed, racial problems will correct themselves."

In response to a trend to favor white students in the admissions process in some west coast universities, Malkani said, "The entire program is silly. The best-qualified students should be admitted whatever their race may be. This program is going to hurt Asian students."

This practice allows more white students to be admitted in place of the abundance of qualified Asians.

Fu said this tendency developed out of a fear of other cultures. "Much of this type of discrimination occurs because others see Asians as a threat."

Charissa Del Mundo, a freshman at Duke University, said she had not felt any prejudice against her because of being Asian.

"Prejudice is not that bad at Duke," Del Mundo said. "Even though there are a lot of Asian students here, the different races are not afraid to mix with other cultures."

A pre-law major, Del Mundo said people were surprised when they discovered she was not a pre-med major.

Another misconception is that, because of this hardworking, science major stereotype put on many Asians, employers are more likely to hire Asians.

"I think that some Asian-Indians that come directly from India do feel some prejudice."

Sunil Malkani
President of SANGAM

Henry said Asians were not concerned with this stereotype when applying for jobs, but in many cases, the stereotype was true.

"Many Asians are truly organized and persistent," Henry said. "This is what creates success in a society."

There is also a concern that some Asians have a disadvantage in the workplace because they do not have the same connections that white people have.

Marsha Harris, director of Career Planning and Placement at UNC, said she had not seen any advantage or disadvantage for Asians in the job market.

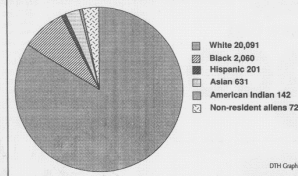
"I have not heard of one single case where an Asian has responded better or she has felt discriminated against."

Fu said there was some discrimination present in the job market and that because Asians were a minority, they must work harder at their careers.

"If Asians want to have an equal position with white people," Fu said, "then we have to work harder and with more effort than average."

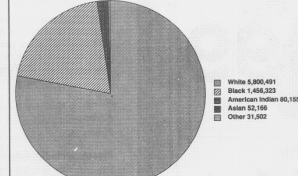
Sunil said he believed hiring practices were equal. "If you're good enough, someone will hire you."

UNC-CH student population by racial breakdown



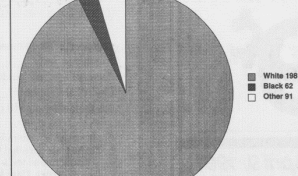
DTN Graphic

North Carolina population by racial breakdown



DTN Graphic

UNC's total full-time faculty by race



DTN Graphic

Low exposure creates cultural misconceptions of Hispanic community

By Eric Bolash
Staff Writer

Hispanic students and faculty are unquestionably minorities at UNC. Of the 23,000 students at the University, 201 are Hispanic, and among the 2,134 full-time faculty at the University, 27 Hispanics hold positions.

But do they experience the same discrimination as other minorities on campus, such as African-Americans or Native Americans?

Seemingly not. "I have felt very welcomed here," said Maria Elena Valenzuela, a visiting professor from Chile. "Instead of racism I've felt interest from students and faculty to know more about Latin America."

Valenzuela said she had not seen examples of racism in her short visit as a sociology instructor at UNC.

"I've seen a lot of interest from people to know the real facts about Latin America because there are a lot of stereotypes or myths about Latin-American people," she said.

Alicia Rivero-Potter, adviser to the UNC Hispanic Society and professor of Portuguese and Spanish, said, "I haven't myself experienced racism on campus. And I have not been told by Hispanic students whether or not they have experienced any discrimination."

Rivero-Potter could only think of a couple of places where Hispanics were in a disadvantage. "Obviously there is a small number of minority faculty, and I would prefer to have a more representative minority here on campus," she said.

"However, I know the University is trying to work on this."

She also said, "There is discrimination in the real world, but for Hispanic graduates) might have that working against them when they graduate, and that's just being realistic; it's not that that will necessarily be the case."

Senior Yafira Hurley proves that this is not always the case. She has a scholarship from the DuPont company which she said she got because she was a minority.

Hurley is a student from Mexico and has been in the United States for four years. One reason she said she had not felt discriminated against was because she had blonde hair and no real Spanish accent.

"I really don't feel any racism because people don't know I'm Hispanic," she said. "I find it funny that people say, 'You're from Mexico and you have blonde hair?'"

Hurley said aside from the fact that she belonged to the Hispanic organiza-

tion CHISPA (Carolina Hispanic Association), life for her as a Hispanic on campus was no different from other students.

She also said the other Hispanic students in CHISPA had not told her they were bothered by discrimination either.

Hurley said CHISPA concentrated on creating public cultural awareness of Hispanics since they will be the biggest minority by the year 2000. They try to deal with some of the stereotypes that Hurley spoke of, such as the fact that Hispanics are just black-haired, dark-skinned people. She said there are Hispanic students in CHISPA that are black or have blonde hair and blue eyes.

Rivero-Potter said she had also seen a lot of misconceptions about Hispanics in general.

"I teach a civilization course, and I have to debunk a lot of stereotypes that people have about Latin America," she said. "I think very often it's a case of students not having been exposed to various groups of people. I would say that culturally the exposure me has in this area (Chapel Hill) is different from other parts of the country."

Rivero-Potter said she had also seen a lot of misconceptions about Hispanics in general.

"I teach a civilization course, and I have to debunk a lot of stereotypes that people have about Latin America," she said. "I think very often it's a case of students not having been exposed to various groups of people. I would say that culturally the exposure me has in this area (Chapel Hill) is different from other parts of the country."

Concerning these stereotypes, Rivero-Potter said, "If one thinks of the political situation in Latin America, students think all the governments are unstable and revolutionary."

She said countries like Costa Rica and Mexico were examples of Hispanic countries that were democratic and not revolutionary. And she said there were countries that had had unstable governments, and students needed to learn why these governments are unstable.

Valenzuela agreed saying, "There is an image which is not always reality. Latin America is not all the same. You have different realities among the countries such as social, political and economic realities."

Rivero-Potter had some suggestions on how to eliminate these misconceptions.

"On campus, I think students need to take courses that teach non-Western perspectives if they have not had the possibility to travel. Ideally that should begin earlier than college so that multicultural exposure should be part of the general education of students."

She also said requiring students to study a foreign language at UNC was a good thing, but that it should be required at an earlier level, such as in grade school.

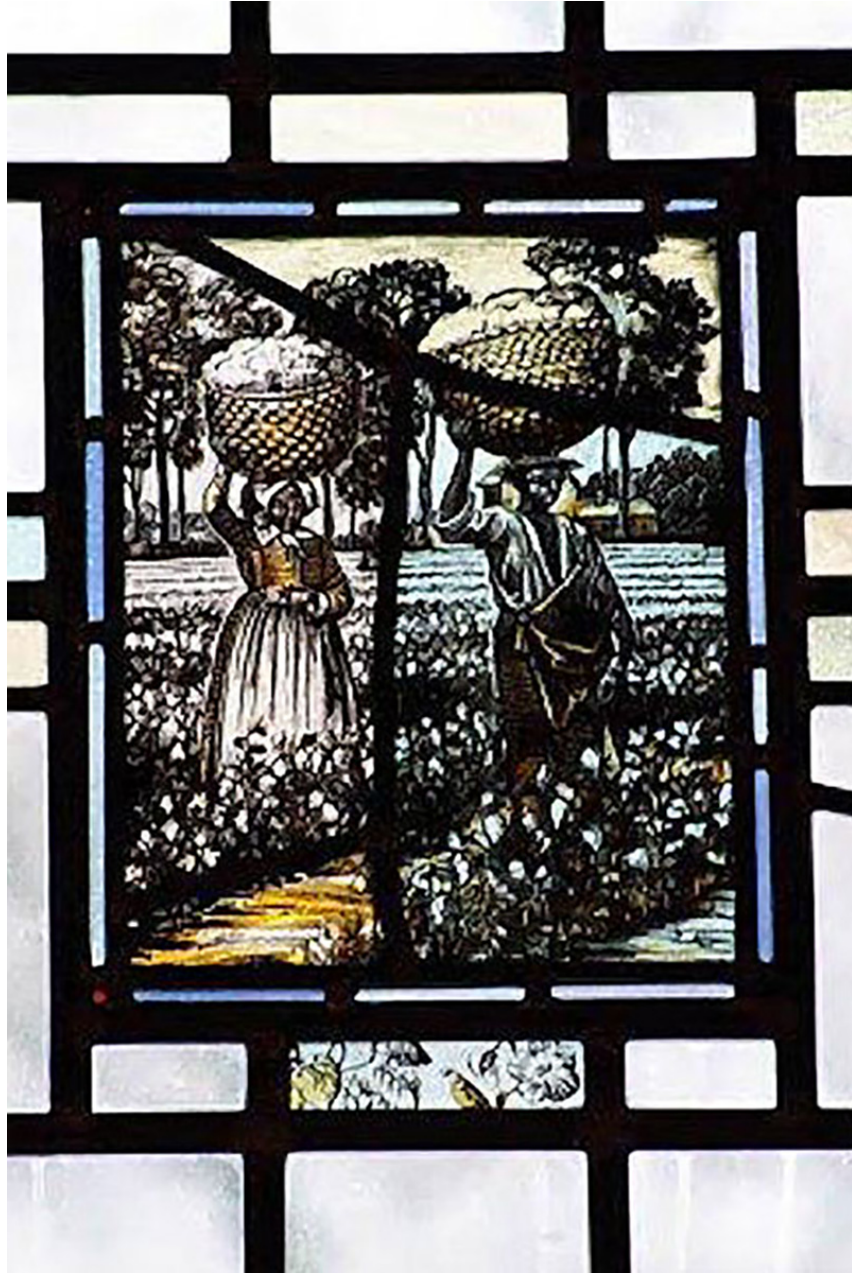
Appendix J

Projected 2020 Completed Images of UVA's Memorial to Enslaved Laborers



Appendix K

Stained Glass Image Formerly at Yale University



Appendix L

Search Terms and Article Distribution of University Student Newspapers, 2015-2018

Category	Search Term	Article count for UVA's <i>The Cavalier Daily</i>	Article count for UNC-CH's <i>The Daily Tar Heel</i>
Terms describing what happened	Protest	639	1000
	Rally	760	789
	Riot	66	65
	Demonstration	900	642
	Boycott	14	74
Terms related to manifestations of campus racism	Racist	257	290
	Racism	291	410
	Bias	192	141
	Discrimination	283	474
	Tension	220	217
	Confederate	191	348
	Slaves	157	136
	Enslaved	124	70
	Hate Crime	65	75
Eugenics	50	46	
Campus-specific terms	Black Student Alliance	228	N/A
	Latinx Student Alliance	52	N/A
	Asian Leaders Council	19	N/A
	Minority Rights Coalition	123	N/A
	Jefferson	773	N/A
	Unite the Right	818	N/A
	Silent Sam Coalition	N/A	89
	Black Student Movement	N/A	271
	Carolina Hispanic Association	N/A	49
	Saunders Hall	N/A	154
Silent Sam	N/A	813	

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