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Literature Review

American Higher Education Student Activism in the 1700-2016

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To create an element of authenticity to this literature review, it behooves the reader to understand that research in the area of black student campus activism is scarce and is a relatively new researched phenomenon. Much that has been written about student activism has mainly focused on white students' activism, and when written about black students, the literature has been written through a white lens that speaks to white student activism. In order to gain perspective, the researcher, at times, will provide the racial identity of groups mentioned within the literature review for greater clarity for the reader.

Student activism has been an integral part of American higher education. Activism cannot be ignored in academia because institutions struggle with the difficult tasks of living with it, and at the same time, understanding the experiences it brings. To better understand activism in America, the past, and the future, as well as the present, must be critically examined. To unravel such truth, student unrest must be examined in relation to its history in America, the causes of student unrest, the actors in such unrest, and the freedoms and responsibilities students enjoy because of such unrest (Ellsworth & Burns, 1970).

Historians described the 1940s and '50s as a period of apathy for college campuses, similar to the description of the 1920s, the period before the 1930s student movement (Kerpelman, 1972; Obear, 1970; Rhoads, 1998). Students in the 1950s were "career-oriented, politically conservative, and uninvolved in social issues" (Braungart & Braungart, 1990, p. 96). In the 1960s, students began to actively respond to the current issues of the Civil Rights Movement, free speech, and the threat of expanding the Vietnam War (Braungart & Braungart, 1991; Kerr, 1970; Rhoads, 1998).

During the 1960s, there was increased access to higher education for white men brought about by the G.I. Bill (Foley & Foley, 1969; Heineman, 2001; Kerr, 1970; Laufer & Light, 1977). The increase in access to higher education meant not only that students had an increased opportunity to attend college, but also to engage with a more socio-economically diverse white student body. Students also had more opportunities to become members of multiple student cultural communities and organizations within their universities. Colleges and universities became centers where students could meet and exchange ideas. Students were encouraged to question established beliefs and seek meaningful professions (Kerr, 1970). They found their parents and churches more permissive than those of previous generations, and peers took on more importance in their development of beliefs and values (Kerr, 1970). Indicative of this newfound freedom was the dismantling of "in loco parentis" during this time, both legally and as a matter of tradition.

The student protests of the 1960s began with the black civil rights movement (Laufer & Light, 1977). Student activism began with the first model of American higher education—Harvard. In

1639, the first students at Harvard expressed their dissatisfaction over the discipline of their “master,” Nathaniel Eaton, and his wife’s cooking (Ellsworth & Burns, 1970). Meyer (1967) described Eaton as one with every qualification on paper for being a successful university president, but his troubles began when he used the rod more freely than college students were willing to accept. Eaton was investigated after he had beaten his assistant with a walnut cudgel, “big enough to have killed a horse,” and he was dismissed.

In the spring of 1766, another recorded rebellion occurred at Harvard because of bad butter in the commons. Student rebellion flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. As Brubacher and Rudy (1958) explained:

Nearly every college experienced student rebellion or riots, some more serious than others. In certain cases, they eventuated in broken windows and cracked furniture; in others they resulted in deaths. All involved some kind of collective action either of a class or the whole student body. This outburst could be found in all sections of the country at state universities and denominational colleges, as “godless”. Harvard and Virginia and at pious Yale and Princeton. Everywhere the atmosphere was like that of a revolutionary brawl or a violent modern strike. (p. 53)

Violence was a reoccurring part of student demonstrations due to discontentment during the early nineteenth century. Student unrest prior to 1900 was revolts primarily against the confinement of collegiate life. By the 1900s, students could look back on their accomplishments, including the establishment of debating clubs and literary societies in the 1750s, Greek-letter fraternities in the 1820s and 1830s, literary magazines in the 1830s and 1840s, sanctioning of gymnastics, boat racing, cricket matches and many other sporting events as legitimate collegiate activities between 1820 and 1860, and finally, by 1900, an elaborate system of student government. Clearly, student activism was firmly established as a means of initiating and hastening reform in American higher education (Ellsworth & Burns, 1970).

Administrative responses against students involved in disorder these times, in most cases, were severe. In an 1802 college report, President Fitch discussed the position taken at Williams College in response to student protests:

We have lately have trouble in college. The judgment we drew up and published to the classes respecting their examination in March gave offense. Three classes in succession were in the state of insurrection against the government of the college. For ten days we had a good deal of difficulty; but the faculty stood firm and determined to give up no right. At last without the loss of a single member, all were reduced to due obedience and subordination. (p. 85)

At Princeton, half of the student body was suspended for participating in a violent rebellion (Ellsworth & Burns, 1970). Campus culture has been shown to greatly influence student activism (Van Dyke, 1998). The history of student activism is strongly associated with incidents of student protest. It shows that campuses with a single activism incident generally have multiple protests

due to activist subcultures present at these locations. Institutional culture clearly has an influence on the presence or absence, as well as amount of student activism, within a campus community. Participation in activism can have long-term effects on students. Student activism in college tends to be more than an occurrence happening in a single and isolated period. Studies conducted on student activists of the 1960s showed that those involved in activism were more likely to remain active in their adult years (Braungart & Braungart, 1990; Cole, Zucher, & Ostrove, 1998; Fendrich, 1977; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; Franz & McClelland, 1994; Hoge & Ankeny, 1982; McAdam, 1989; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). Most student activists continue to remain active in a variety of social movements and maintained the social networks that sustained their involvement in movements (McAdam, 1989).

Despite its turbulent history, student activism and its outrage, although isolated at first, ranged from dissatisfaction with administration and outrage over bad decisions to student altercations just gone wrong. Examples included incidents like the protest at Florida State University over the Republican state politician, John Thrasher, as the University's president. Various groups staged demonstrations, including an organized march to the city center. Another was at the University of Michigan when, amid frustration over their football team's losses, students rallied at the home of the school's president to demand that he fire the athletic director. The Florida students' protest failed to change minds at FSU, but the Michigan athletic director was quickly sent packing (Wong, 2015). Students mobilizing to get their concerns heard and met sometimes resulted in their concerns being met and sometimes it resulted in their concerns just being heard with no further action. In both circumstances, students organized to make their concerns heard to peers, staff, faculty, and administrators. There was increased emphasis on ensuring that the changes being made were sustainable, including pushing for better education funding and policy or leadership changes that engage students as decision-makers at schools.

The development of well-informed citizens has long been a goal and mission of institutions of higher education within the United States (Newman, 1985; Pascarella, Ethington, & Smart, 1988; Rudolph, 1990; Sax, 2000). At the same time, colleges and universities were criticized for the lack of attention paid to developing civically responsible students (AACU, 2002; Boyer, 1987; Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont, & Stephens, 2003; Kellogg Commission, 1999; Newman, 1985). They responded by providing a wide range of activities, such as making curricular changes (e.g., first-year programs, service-learning classes, capstone experiences), encouraging student community service participation, and establishing administrative/academic units with outreach missions (Thomas, 2000).

Current student activism is widely based on all types of educational-setting participation that includes all races, social economic backgrounds, and political perspectives. Some students have even focused on the internal affairs (faculty, curriculum, policy, cost, and campus climate) of a specific institution and broader issues, such as racism, while others have focused on regional or national policy impact, such as campaigns against government education policies. As it has been occurring in communities at large, campus protests against racism and bigotry, along with related types of discrimination, have become commonplace. Students at the University of Chicago hosted a campaign to raise awareness about institutional intolerance. A "Hands Up, Don't Shoot!" walkout was staged where roughly 600 students laid down in the middle of traffic for over 4 hours—the amount of time Michael Brown's body was left in the street after being shot. Students at

numerous other colleges did the same. At least 160 student protests took place in the United States in the course of the 2014 fall semester, and the majority of them were led by black student leaders (Wong, 2015).

According to Johnston (2014), a history professor at the City University of New York who specializes in student activism:

There's certainly something of a movement moment happening right now," he said, pointing in part to the news media, which fuels activism by putting protests on the public's radar. The campus environment right now has, for the past couple of years, reminded me a lot of the early- to mid-60s moment, where there was a lot of stuff happening, a lot of energy—but also a tremendous amount of disillusionment and frustration with the way that things were going in the country as a whole and on the campuses themselves.

He further stated that “A lot of the protests ... embrace national issues through the lens of campus policies.” He reiterated that “The University is big enough to matter but small enough to have an influence on. It becomes a site of organizing because there are opportunities to organize on campus that a lot of times you don't have in an off-campus community.”

This renaissance in student activism became a new phenomenon. *The New York Times* called it “The New Student Activism” in 2012, ascribing the trend to the Occupy Movement, but many researchers believe that this prospered because of different feelings, and triggers significant shifts in the way things are run. As Johnson (2014) pointed out:

A lot of the protests ... embrace national issues through the lens of campus policies. “The university is big enough to matter but small enough to have an influence on. It becomes a site of organizing because there are opportunities to organize on campus that a lot of times you do not have in an off-campus community.

He believed that there had been a powerful sense among student activists that the future that they were once promised was going to be taken away. He also stated that the sense of the future does not look as rosy as it was some few years ago.

Factors Influencing Individual Participation in Activism and Social Movements

Research on student activism has been centered on social justice issues in the field of sociology (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). Sociologists organized activism and the biographical consequences of involvement such as career choices, continued activism in adulthood, and political orientations. For instance, this research has consistently demonstrated that students' experiences and participation in activism continue to influence their social, economic, and political choices well into their adult lives (Rosas, 2010).

Examination of literature allows for an exploration of other factors influencing individual participation in activism and social movements. Sociologists explore how individuals are recruited

into social movement participation or differential recruitment; the influence of factors, such as individual participation, in social movements (Jenkins, 1983; McAdam, 1986; Zurcher & Snow, 1981). Two of the explanations which explain protest participation are biographical availability and structural availability. Biographical availability is defined as “the absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities” (McAdam, 1986, p. 70). Structural availability refers to “the presence of interpersonal networks that facilitate recruitment to activism” (Schussman & Soule, 2005, p. 1086).

It is important here to differentiate between social movements and activism. Social movements are defined as collective or joint action, have change-oriented goals, and have some degree of organization (McAdam & Snow, 1997). The literature suggests that activism is participating in an event (protest, sit-in, boycott) and social movements are goal-oriented, collective actions that may be sustained over time versus a moment. The types of changes that movements seek to pursue requires sustained organized activity. Sociologists, interested in the process of how a group emerges and functions, have studied the emergence, recruitment, and sustainability of a social-movement group. Examples of social movements are the civil rights, anti-war, Black Lives Matter, and white power movements. While students have been involved in social movements, and this study includes individual activism in a social movement, this study did not examine activism within specific social movements. Schussman and Soule (2005) found that young people are more likely to be involved in protests than are older individuals because young people are “more likely to be in school, unmarried, and free from obligations imposed by careers and families” (p. 1085). College students, therefore, who do not hold a job, who attend school full-time, and who live on-campus are more likely to be involved in activism. Students who attend college part-time, live off-campus, and are non-traditional, on the other hand, are less likely to be involved in activism. In addition to being biographically available, research suggests that individuals are more likely to become part of a movement if they are involved within organizations and have strong social networks involved in activism (McAdam, 1986; McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Paulsen, 1991). How connected an individual is to others increases the likelihood that he or she will mobilize. Specifically, the type of organization in which individuals are involved determines whether they mobilize. It is not necessarily who individuals are, but what they are a part of that determines their involvement. In their study examining the motivations of college student participation in service, Jones and Hill (2003) found that friends and peers played a significant role in influencing service participation. The students “consistently involved in college talked about volunteering with friends as fun, but also that this peer group shared values and social concerns” (p. 528).

The types of participation and activities students engaged in were influenced by the activities and participation of their peers. Connections to organizations matter for a number of reasons. Organizational involvement integrates people into activist social networks, deepens their ideological commitment to the cause, and develops an activist identity. A number of empirical studies have supported that networks matter (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam, 1986; McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Morris, 1981; Passy & Giugni, 2001; Paulsen, 1991; Snow, Zurcher, & Eckland-Olson, 1980; Walsh & Warland, 1983). For example, Morris (1981), in explaining the black, southern student sit-ins of the 1960s, found that the sit-ins were initiated through organizational and personal ties, which produced the first clusters of sit-ins in the South. For activists involved in the anti-nuclear protests, activists reported higher levels of political

organizational affiliations, as well as participation in past protests (Walsh & Warland, 1983). Individuals who are also involved in a variety of political organizations are already joiners. The number of organizations that individuals belong to encourages activism because of the joining phenomenon. McAdam (1986) found that organizational participation produced feelings of personal efficacy in their success as activists. The more active individuals were within an organization, the more likely they were to regard activism as effective and worth participating in.

The research on the types and amounts of participation of college student activists supports these findings. Student activists tend to belong to more campus activities than are non-activists (Kerpelman, 1972). This phenomenon is not surprising. Engaging in campus activities provides opportunities for students to come into contact with other students and adults who are activists, and to learn about opportunities to become involved in activism. In fact, Heffernan (1992) studied the motivations of students involved in community service and found that students self-identifying as activists mentioned the influence of faculty members, peers, and mentors as reasons for becoming activists. VanDyke (1998) also found that “institutions where students are able to maintain a greater number of connections with other students are more prone to protest activity than those institutions where students are more isolated” (p. 213). A student’s network, in which there are shared political beliefs and values, opens up the opportunity for students to come in contact with student activists who encourage their involvement.

Black Student Development and Student Development Theories

There have been several concepts and theories on African American students in cases of student activism. These theories are presented based on research on specific groups of African Americans in society, with particular reference to higher education in some cases.

Bakari, (1997) argued that African American students and college personnel who enroll at PWIs must understand that their racial identity will play a dominant role in determining their academic success. Black student racial identity is an important factor that leads black students’ success while attending PWIs. Ahmann, (1961) quotes James Baldwin saying that “to be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time.” As black students become critically aware of the conditions that they are facing on and off campus, it creates rage. Grier and Cobbs (1968) define black rage as being black people living in a racist, white supremacist society and are psychologically damaged by the effects of racist oppression. Black students attending PWIs experience this rage through this definition. There are two notable African American/black student development theory models which have been utilized to understand black students’ development in higher education—Nigrescence and Afrocentric Cultural Identity.

Nigrescence Theory, or Black Identity Development, (Cross, 1991) means the process of becoming Black. The identity development model has five stages. First, “pre-encounter” is characterized by self-hating. Next, “encounter” is the beginning of the awakening of one’s mental shift into being curious about one’s black identity. The third stage is “immersion-emersion” where old identities are battling new identity formations for dominance. Fourth, “internalization” is the process where one has found their black identity and does not want to accept anything outside of this identity. Finally, “internalization–commitment” is the process where one is comfortable living in their new black identity, well beyond the pre-encounter stage.

Asante (1991) described the Afrocentric Cultural Identity model as phenomenon that is described from the viewpoint of African people, thus, it is methodology. It is also defined as a thought process rooted in the interest of African people and a life orientation. Afrocentric Cultural Identity model encourages African students understand the African cultural values, morals, traditions, and to connect with the ancestors' struggle for the current-day presence. Lastly, this reclaiming and reconnection with their African cultures creates power by having knowledge of self. There are five stages to the model that include the following: skin recognition, environment recognition, personality awareness, interest concerns, and Afrocentric awareness.

Research has shown that there is a correlation between the degree of a student's involvement on campus and cognitive and affective development (Astin, 1984). Research with a national sample that included 82 outcome measures found that the strongest source of this development is the student's peer group. The nature of those groups and the amount of interaction within them has the potential to greatly influence a student's involvement on campus, leading to significant development in virtually all aspects of a student's experience. This study also identified non-involvement, such as being a part-time or commuter student, watching television, working an off-campus job, or working full-time as having a negative effect on this development (Astin, 1996).

Astin (1996) also linked positive peer group interaction with the likelihood a student engages in community service work and volunteerism, which are significant aspects of active citizenship. "Some of the specific forms of student interactions that have positive effects on volunteer participation include participation in religious activities, involvement in campus activism, and socializing with members of different ethnic groups" (p. 130). It is also clear that faculty strongly committed to social change do well in influencing their students to become involved in community service activities.

Chambers and Phelps (1993) associated student activism to student leadership. The key component connecting leadership and activism is the longing and action for change. In order for such change to be sustainable, it must be based in morality with a system-wide purpose (Fullan, 2005). Instead of being threatened by activism and dissent, administrative responses have been to recognize and design learning outcomes for these types of student engagements for the benefit of the campus community (Biddix, Somers, & Polman, 2009). According to Quayle (2007), there are three learning outcomes of student activism in this generation: "appreciation of differences, cultivation of students' voices, and connection to global society" (p. 3). He believed that colleges should encourage student activism to foster hope and student learning in this age of cynicism. In order to move past cynicism or relativism, higher education has the potential to move students "from naiveté through skepticism to commitment" (Parks Daloz, Keen, Keen, & Daloz Parks, 1996, p. 223).

The outcomes of activism identified are organized around the factual significances of participation such as career choices, continued activism in adulthood, and political orientations. While the research in sociology does not neatly package the long-term effects into easily identifiable learning outcomes, it does point to gains made along a variety of learning domains. For instance, sociological research has consistently demonstrated that students' experiences and participation in activism continue to influence their social, economic, and political choices well into their adult lives. Research on the post-college impact of student activism have focused on the student activists

of the 1960s, when students voiced their concerns on a number of issues, such as the Civil Rights Movement, free speech, and anti-Vietnam protests. Some studies were longitudinal, following student activists in the years after college and examined the effects of activism through different phases of their lives.

Campus Climate for Black Students attending Predominantly White Institutions (PWI's)

The experience of black students attending PWIs differs from that of the white peers. In order to change this reality, leaders of PWIs and student affairs professionals need to intentionally examine their racial climates on campus to determine factors that desegregate their campuses, reduce racial hostility, and create racially inclusive environment (Karkouti, 2016). Thelin (2004) stated that PWIs have a history of exclusionary practices and limited access opportunities for students of color, suggesting that white students account for the majority of the student body. Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998) argued that PWIs provide limited opportunities for cross racial interactions and, thus, PWIs should consider increasing opportunities, cross racial interactions to increase students educational experience, learning outcomes, retention rates, and promote racially inclusive environment. Harper and Hurtado, (2007) found that students attending PWIs were more satisfied with the social environment than their Black, Asian, Latino, and Native American peers. The white students were unfamiliar with how their peers of color felt about their institutions. Students of color, in general, and black students specifically, who attend PWIs, experience racial stress.

Friess-Britt and Turner (2001) concluded from their research with 15 black students attending PWIs that they experienced daily challenges through peers and faculty questioning their academic capabilities. The theme of racial stereotypes for black students emerged through the research. These stereotypes lead to deterioration of students' academic sense of self-leading to a decreased academic performance.

African American/Black Students Campus Activism

Historically, ongoing campaigns to abolish legalized racial segregation in the United States and the non-violent direct-action protest strategy by students, both black and white, in colleges and universities is considered a significant innovation. College students in the South were ready to put their lives on the line for the cause of social justice. The student sit-ins and the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) represented a turning point and historical marker in the evolution of civil right movements in the United States. Then, there was a slight shift in the 1960s from civil rights to black power. With the emergence of the Black Power Movement came a significant challenge to not only nonviolent strategies, but also a change in the representation of the ideology for African American students (Franklin, 2003).

Rogers (2012a) argued that throughout the history of the Black Campus Movement, students fought against four main elements: moralized contraption, standardization of exclusion, normalized mask of whiteness, and ladder altruism. Moralized contraption is the assimilation of black students at historically black colleges and universities. This included policies of paternalism that restricted the freedom of students. Standardization of exclusion is the negating of Blacks to gain positions of power in higher education and the prohibiting of African American Studies curricula within higher education. Normalized mask of Whiteness is the practice of maintaining

white superiority and disapproving of non-Eurocentric scholarship. The final theme, Ladder of altruism, is the concept that states that by black students getting college degrees, their current condition in society would change.

The conceptualization of black power not only created a new and exciting era for black student activism, but also intensified it. In 1966, SNCC was transformed into a black-power organization with the surfacing of Stokely Carmichael as its leader, who inspired students to challenge institutional racism. At Cornell, students founded the Afro-American Society “to initiate and support programs which are devoted to the eradication of the social, economic, and psychological conditions which blight black people” (Downs 1999, p. 62). As Edwards (1970) explained, “The schools no longer were merely bases of operations and recruitment ... Now they had become the main battlegrounds in the struggle” (p. 62).

Black campus activism reached its pinnacle in reaction to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968. His death, more than any other historical incident, gave life to Black Civil Engagement and the need for African American Studies at colleges and universities. While many cities burned, legions of black students formed Black Student Unions (BSUs), requested, demanded, and/or protested throughout the country, including on campuses like Carthage College, Wellesley, Harvard, Colgate, Fayetteville State, and Tuskegee, where the entire student body was expelled and forced to reapply after students took the president and trustees hostage (Brisbane, 1974; Hill, 2006; Martin, 2004; Rogers, 2009a, b; Trotter, 2001). In the weeks after King’s death, many administrators, including those at San Fernando Valley State, University of Nevada, and Princeton, introduced Black Studies courses or committees to launch programs, trying to dodge student activism. In late April, 1968, a crippling blow hit Columbia when black students famously occupied Hamilton Hall (as Whites controlled other buildings) to block the school from building a gym in adjoining Harlem Park. This protest, though not initially for Black Studies, galvanized the spirit of black campus activism and carried the three-year-old Black Campus Movement into the mainstream of American consciousness.

In January, 1969, black campus activists all over the nation were demanding, and usually winning, measures to make their education more relevant. With every victory, threats from the opposition intensified. State legislatures talked about or instituted laws to curb student activism (Rogers 2012b); Roy Wilkins, the major black antagonist of the Black Campus Movement, declared the NAACP would sue any institution that established “autonomous racial schools within colleges and universities.” Roy Innis, the national director of CORE, called Wilkins’ threat “the last straw,” and pledged to commit his organization’s resources to “defend and safeguard the students in their demands” (Burks, 1969, p. 25; Scully, 1969, p. 1). Nathan Hare continued the defense of the movement in *Newsweek* in February, 1969. In examining the “Black mood on campus,” Hare and Wilkins made the case for and against separatism, respectively. “Our cries for more black professors and black students have padded white colleges with more blacks in 2 years than decades of whimpering for ‘integration’ ever did,” Hare wrote. He further called for Black Studies programs that are “revolutionary and nationalist” because if they are not, then they are “quite profoundly irrelevant” (Hare 1969, p. 56). Wilkins (1969) said he sympathized with the students, but “in demanding black Jim Crow studies ... they are opening the door to a dungeon” (p. 57).

February 13, 1969, proved to be the most intense day of the Black Campus Movement, as demonstrations occurred in almost every region in the United States. Diversity Thursday, as it was called, forced Black Studies into higher education. Students demanded and/or protested for Black Studies at San Francisco State and UC-Berkeley through student strikes. At the University of Illinois, City College, Duke, Roosevelt, and Mississippi Valley State, the striking student bodies was expelled (Dyer, 1990; Kornberg & Smith, 1969; Rogers, 2009a, b, p. 189; Williamson, 2003, 2008). Black campus activism persisted during the rest of February, 1969, at schools like Wiley College, as students charged into the administration building, took hostages, and surrounded it. Seeking to avoid disruptions, Central Missouri State instituted two black history courses, while Stony Brook and Hunter both granted their students autonomous departments and significant roles in their creation. The need for autonomy was central because, according to Stony Brook student leader Calvin Canton, “A program for black [people] cannot be run by people who have oppressed us” (Cook, 1992; Rogers 2009a, b, p. 192).

The eyes of the nation were fixed on Cornell in late April, 1969, when pictures were plastered on newspapers showing black students exiting a building that they had occupied with guns. They not only grabbed the attention of the nation with their weapons, but also, that their university officials established an autonomous Black Studies department after the protest (Downs, 1999). Just as had been the case the previous April when King was assassinated, black campus activists were further emboldened by the reports coming out of Cornell. Yet, unlike the situation following King’s death, the academy did not grow more sympathetic towards the movement due to fear of additional violence; black students did not care. Cornell’s protest sparked an explosion of violent protests. Using weapons, black and Puerto Rican students gained control of the entire south campus of City College and closed it for 14 days—the longest campus closure of the Black Campus Movement at a white college (Dyer, 1990; Foley & Foley, 1969).

The Black Campus Movement thus began its descent, even as new black universities with Black Studies curricula, such as Malcolm X Liberation University and Nairobi College, ascended. Black campus activists did demand programs and classes at smaller colleges like Central Connecticut State, Akron, Fisk, and Vassar—schools that were just achieving a critical mass of black students—as well as on larger Midwestern campuses such as The University of Wisconsin. Administrators tended to quickly arrest protestors, implementing a new, hard line against black campus activists (Rogers 2009a, 2009b). In 1970, the decline of the movement continued, specifically as the off-campus jailing and killing of black-power leaders garnered students’ attention. Also, in February, 1970, about 200 black students from five area institutions staged an occupation of four major buildings at Amherst College calling for “the right to determine our own programs, policies, and directions” (Cohodas 1997; Palcic, 1979; Rogers 2009a, 2009b, pp. 298-299). Mississippi Valley State students, in their campaign for more black courses, welcomed Fannie Lou Hamer to speak in early February, 1970. She passionately attacked the school’s president. “I’ve seen some of the world’s greatest Toms in service, but this man must be a Nuclear Tom,” she implored. Still sizzling from Hamer’s fiery speech, students boycotted classes the next day and on February 11, and staged a march on campus in which 896 marchers were arrested—the largest mass arrest in higher education history. The Mississippi repression escalated in May, 1970, with the killing of two Jackson State protestors by police, spawning a tidal wave of disruptive activism across higher education (Spofford, 1988; Williamson, 2008, pp. 140-141).

Even though its initial steps were not idyllic, the discipline was successfully established, and black student activism had to be positioned at the center of the creation of Black Studies. Several black students died, hundreds more were injured and imprisoned, thousands were suspended and expelled, tens of thousands sacrificed their education through waging protests, and hundreds of thousands of black students participated in the protracted freedom fight—the national Black Campus Movement that compelled the diversification of higher education (Rogers, 2012b).

Quinney (2014) argued that black students campus activism of yesterday has provided the stage for black student activism today. Students reconstituted higher education by way of policy changes, increased recruitment, retention of black students and faculty, and multi-racial curriculum inclusion. Untenable racial campus climates, low retention, and graduation rates, limited black faculty and support staff, and isolation and marginalization of black students are still impacting higher education. Aggregating those scarcely researched narratives or data points and bringing them to the forefront of the scholarly community is the rationale which creates better understanding of the purpose and need of Black Student Campus Activism, and the lived experiences of black students create opportunities and conversations that otherwise go unaddressed regarding concerns of black students within higher education.

Last, Black Student Campus Activism exposes the imperfection of higher education and it allows for the demonstration of new knowledge and the intellectual fervor for a liberating knowledge by black students. Black students do not want to be assimilated; rather, they are seeking acculturation into higher education through the democratic practice of activism (Quinney, 2014).

Critical race theory & critical race theory in education, and critical race theory as a methodology. The Critical Race Theory (CRT) movement is a collection of scholars and activists interested in studying, dismantling, and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). This scholarly work continues the work of the Civil Rights Movement and ethnic studies, but it has a broader scope that includes context, history, economic feeling, and the unconscious (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The origins of the CRT movement began in legal studies, but it spread creating an interdisciplinary movement that includes history, political science, economics, gender studies, and education. Derrick Bell, Alan Freidman, and Richard Delgado are noted as some of the early scholars of this theoretical framework. After watching the stalling of the Civil Rights Movement and its efforts, it was felt that new approaches to moving the work was necessary, thus, CRT emerged.

Dr. Bell also believed in what he calls the permanence of racism. Bell argues that racism is as American as apple pie, and it is embedded into the infrastructure of the United States (policies, laws, regulations, institutions, media, religious institutions, housing, education, and banking, to name some), and it is an organism that affects all; it is in the air we breathe. Bell (1992) shared his thoughts about the permanence of racism:

I realize that even with the challenge to rethinking these stories pose, many people will find it difficult to embrace my assumption that racism is a permanent component of American life. Mesmerized by the racial equality syndrome, they are too easily reassured by simple admonitions to “stay on course,” which come far

too easily from those—black and white—who are not on the deprived end of the economic chasm between blacks and whites.

The goal of racial equality is, while comforting to many whites, more illusory than real for blacks. For too long, we have worked for substantive reform, then settled for weakly worded and poorly enforced legislation, indeterminate judicial decisions, token government positions, even holidays. I repeat. If we are to seek new goals for our struggles, we must first reassess the worth of the racial assumptions on which, without careful thought, we have presumed too much and relied on too long. (p. 13)

Core tenets of CRT. CRT has some core tenets. Racism is ordinary. It is as normal as the air one breathes. Race is a socially constructed phenomenon and there is no biological purpose for race. White over color serves material and psychic purpose or white skin is perceived superior over darker skin. Another tenet akin to this study is the experiential knowledge also known as counter storytelling. This allows for people of color to tell and create their own narratives to combat the dominant narratives that have been created by white society for them (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). The following paragraphs will expound in greater depth about some of the core tenets of CRT.

As aforementioned above, CRT scholars believe that there is no biological purpose for race, and that it is a socially constructed. With this social construction, there is a racial hierarchy that creates racial division and that white supremacy is the following function. Delgado argued:

By white supremacy I do not mean to allude only to the self-conscious racism white supremacist hate groups. I refer instead to a political, economic, and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material sources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings. (Ansley, 1997, p. 592)

Revisionist history is the process of examining America's history through the narratives and interpretations of people of color through historical times. This interpretation of America's history confronts that dominant view of the depiction of America's history and unearths things covered up by the dominant depiction of the formation of America (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001).

Delgado and Stefanic (2001) stated that interest convergence (IC) is core tenet of CRT. IC is the convergence of interest for self-gratification. Dr. Bell wrote in a Harvard Law Review Journal that the decision of Brown vs. Board of Education of 1954 was not down for the moral reasons of "let's desegregate schools because it's the right thing to do," rather, the decision was made because America at the time had an image problem worldwide (having just ended World War II, and America was currently locked in the Cold War, and it needed to make strides to project positive image a of upward mobility). Interest convergence is the convergence of interest for self-interest, not for morality.

Critique of liberalism attacks liberal's colorblindness and neutral principles of constitutional law (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). The notion that race does not exist or colorblind ideologies cannot be focused on in anything other the most extreme undeniable cases of racism is something that CRT scholarship is adamantly

against. Incrementalism and gradualism is not drastic, transformative, radical change that combats white supremacy and racism, and is required to stop oppressive systems from inflicting pain on humankind, in particular, people of color.

Delgado and Stefanic expounded on this:

Critical Race Theorist (or “crits”, as they are sometimes called) hold that color blindness will allow us to redress inly extremely egregious racial harms, ones that everyone would notice and condemn. But if racism is embedded in our thought process and social structures as society the routines, practices, and institutions that we rely on to effect the world’s work will keep minorities in subordinate positions. Only aggressive, color-conscious efforts to change the way things are will do much to ameliorate misery. (p. 22)

Experiential knowledge or story telling is also referred to as the “voice” (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). This tenet states that the experiences of people of color have to be considered. People of color have experienced racism to different degrees than Whites, and their stories have to be validated in courts of law and public opinion, as they are experts in the experiences of racism. Counter-storytelling dealing is a form resistance to dominant narratives that often negatively portray people of color. These counter narratives are ways to create new narratives that are positively centered around people of color by people of color.

Intersectionality is the concept that a person of color may be experiencing more than one form of oppression. For example, a Latina lesbian could be facing three different forms of oppression.

Essentialism and anti-essentialism is racially oppressed groups needing differing forms or strategies for social change which will be necessary to achieve the transformation. Delgado and Stefanic (2001) stated, “When groups organizes for social change, it must have a clear concept of what it is fighting to achieve. Essentialism, then entails a search for the proper unit, or atom, for social change.”

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) introduced the world to the emergence of CRT into the field of education citing that race is still a factor in inequities in America, and that society is based on property rights rather than human rights. They lamented the intersection of race and property as a foundational construct in understanding CRT in the field of education. Leonardo and Grubb (2014) argued that racism in education is a structured condition that many, if not all, students of color will be exposed to throughout their education. American Studies of Higher Education (2015) reports:

We believe critical race theory offers much utility for determining the “why” to the question of change. Much of the literature underscores the pervasiveness of how White superiority and its performative discourse of Whiteness is very much the cornerstone of higher education delivery. It shapes People of Color’s experiences, no matter their role. (p. 32)

CRT in education allows for the examination of school funding, assessment, tax properties, desegregation, curriculum, and teaching within education through the centrality of race. CRT in education challenges the experiences of Whites as the norm (Taylor et al., 2009). For the purpose

of this study, CRT in education is the theoretical framework to capture the narrative and rich experiences of black students attending a Midwestern, predominately white institution.

Using Critical Race Theory as a methodology, Solorazono and Yosso (2002) stated that there are three types of counter-narratives and/or stories. Personal stories or narratives are typically autobiographical reflections of the author with the lens of CRT at the core of the story. The second is other people's stories that reveal people of color experiences with racism and sexism. Dr. Shaun Harper, a critical theorist professor and researcher, recently studied the lives of African American males from around the nation who were successful in higher education. In the article, *Niggers No More: A Critical Race Counternarrative on Black Male Students Achievement at Predominantly White College And Universities*, he wrote about the rarely heard stories of successful black males attending higher education institutions, and he shares what strategies these young men used to become successful in their respective spaces. By doing so, he challenged the dominant discourse that black males are not successful while attending higher education institutions. The third and final type is the composite story. This type utilizes data to tell the experiences of people of color experience with racism, sexism, and classism.

Summary

As indicated in the literature review, the role of Black Student Campus Activism has evolved over the years. The role and purpose of BSCA has been predicated on the experiences of black students attending higher education and the relationship to what is happening in society to black people. A routine overt and covert irritant to the experiences of black students on and off campus has been white supremacy and racism. The literature also speaks to the racial hostility and climate of higher education campuses for black students. Furthermore, the literature also expounds on the development of black students' racial identity, and the amalgamation of these factors must be considered when examining the role of BSCA. Currently, Black Student Campus Activism is under-researched, thus, the scholarly community is missing narratives of black students engaging in BSCA. By employing the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory, in particular, CRT in education, this study seeks to provide qualitative experiential knowledge and the voices of black students to provide a rich narrative of Black Student Campus Activism. Chapter 3 will describe the methodology used to aggregate and interpret data in this study.

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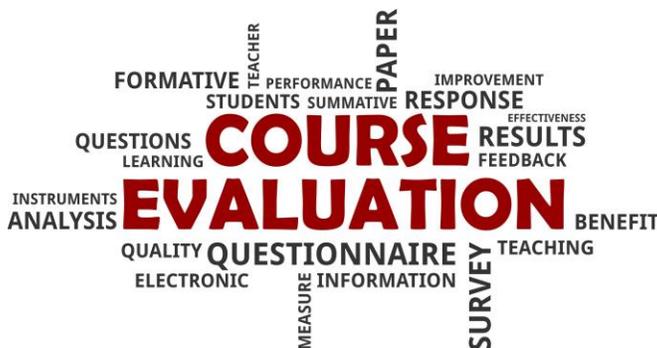
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Commentary:

Questioning the quality of Learning Experiences in View of the Pandemic

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Institutions of learning including colleges, universities, and K-12 organizations in the last six months have been focused on responding to the ongoing crisis wrought by the current pandemic. Some institutions made the necessary transitions more easily than others. Within a few days of closing the physical doors several learning organizations were able to provide effective instructional and learning experiences for students resolving issues as they arose.

At the K-12 level private schools with a rigorous academic emphasis worked to ensure that their customers received educational experiences that allowed the students to academically engage in substantive ways through guided learning experiences. Students were also pushed to develop more self-regulated skill sets particularly in the areas of STEM. Some might indicate that those schools were providing the quality of education that parents and caregivers pay for their children to receive. However, I disagree. An examination of how these schools were functioning in comparison to public schools suggest issues of training, professional development, schools' cultural learning norms, and preparedness for the unexpected may account for the quality of learning experiences. In conversations with parents, faculty, students, and a few colleagues it became apparent that teachers in these private institutions with a heavy academic emphasis are given professional development that fosters the ability to effectively utilize learning management systems (LMS) and other technological support to enhance student learning and overall development. Students' assignments, important information, and communications are all put on the LMS used by the school. Students use these systems to download assignments as well as upload those they complete. They are expected to conduct searches and engage in research; once they complete assignments, research projects, and fulfill other coursework it is the students' responsibility to upload. Parents and students also check grades and student progress throughout the academic year. Therefore, the cultural norms associated with these schools not only develop students' self-regulation skills but, proactively prepared teachers to conduct school even in a time of crisis in a similar manner to

“normal times”. Based on feedback obtained from faculty employed at some of these institutions, as well as, from students who attend these private K-12 schools and their parents, the teachers conducted classes in a business as usual manner. For example, one institution structured the classes into 45-minute blocks of time with 9 periods per day just as they would during face-to-face class time. Students were expected to attend via Zoom the video conferencing selected to engage in synchronous lessons. They were given 10-minute breaks at specific times in between classes, had a lunch break and were expected to show up for class on time. Students also had opportunities to collaborate when they worked on projects in virtual breakout rooms. These are occasions for both the development of academic pursuits and positive social interaction with peers. This school also hosted a virtual science fair in which students had to make presentations related to their research projects. Guest reviewers including scientists and science professors provided feedback to each of the students. While some of the students indicated that they would prefer to return to in-person instruction because they missed the interpersonal interactions and felt that somehow they would gain more academically, they admitted that this experience did push them to further develop their self-regulation skills. Students, faculty, and parents also indicated that apart from the in-person learning experiences in terms of physically being on the school compound, the tradition of using LMS and receiving professional development on how to effectively use and integrate technology into learning experiences made the transition easier as this was part of the culture of these schools.

Based on other dialogue with faculty, students and parents of students embedded within the public-schools there seems to be some disparity in terms of the quality of learning experiences that public-school students received. In contrast to private institutions, some public-school students did not seem to receive equitable or equal learning support as they navigated learning during the spring 2020 semester. Students within the public-school system who had access to I-pads or chrome books were able to take the devices home and had early access to the coursework and other projects that were assigned. These students included those who are part of the Horizon programs or other special programs. Others who did not have regular or any access to I-pads or laptops were slow in receiving the technological support. It took approximately between two weeks to three months for some students to receive a laptop or an I-pad. The consequence was serious as students were unable to complete assignments on time. This dilemma brings about the concern that some of the students who lack the type of support needed from caregivers and parents might have been unable to successfully complete many of the assignments. Those who are fortunate in terms of having parents or caregivers who can academically support their educational needs would have been more likely to succeed even though they got a late start. This experience possibly would negatively impact the students’ motivation to academically engage. In addition to this problem, teachers did not have or felt that they had adequate professional development training or experience effectively using and integrating technology. Beyond putting assignments up on Google classrooms teachers did not regularly receive assignments such as essays or projects online. Many still accepted them in pen and paper format. This supported students who did not have access to technology outside of school. Further, students did not receive substantive support. Teachers were not conducting school in a manner that aligned with regular class sessions. Students were not receiving instruction from their teachers in ways that would support academic success. Learning sessions scheduled to begin at 9.00 a.m. in some cases ended by 9.30 a.m. Other schedules included a 9.00 a.m. to 12.00 p.m. timeframe. Once teachers logged off coursework and assignments were put up online without further explanation or feedback. The students were not given opportunities to go into break out rooms where they could work together, obtain responses to questions, or receive extra help. Students who are identified with special needs for example, students with IEP’s who may be diagnosed with a reading disability or those who require a paraprofessional to support their learning needs would have found this type of learning

challenging. Again, this experience could negatively impact their motivation as well as their ability to achieve without the appropriate and necessary support.

Observation and dialogue with faculty and parents of students in three rural communities along the Appalachian chain established that all students had access to chrome books; the use of google classrooms already instituted meant that even more would be done on that platform. Administrators and faculty also considered and addressed the question of how to support the students without internet access at home. Based on informal conversations with colleagues, parents, caregivers, and friends across the southern state of Georgia, students were furnished with technological support whereby assignments were placed on Google classrooms. When students had questions, they could reach out to their respective teachers who were expected to monitor computers and phones to support students. The effectiveness of these approaches and experiences will manifest later on state tests and relative to the degree of success experienced in higher grades and college.

Consideration of the differences in the response to learning in a pandemic induced virtual educational experience begs reflection on the issue of the quality of experiences. Are students in public schools receiving a good quality of education in comparison to private K-12 institutions with an academic emphasis? Moreover, if teachers are not conducting class but, sitting at a computer or phone how are such experiences facilitating students' positive adjustment (i.e., social, behavioral, and academic success)? Also, as taxpayers, parents are posing the question as to why their children are not receiving the type of education that would allow them to experience cognitive development and academic success that supports future intellectual development? Given that it has been six months since schools went into virtual mode, I hope that teachers, administrators, and other key individuals in education receive the type of professional development that would allow them to provide rigorous and effective pedagogical approaches. This is not only applicable to K-12 faculty as many higher education faculty lacked experience teaching in an online format. Considering the apparent opportunity gap in some cases due to inequitable funding whereby schools in redlined districts receive less funding, educators and policy makers who are the current stewards need to consider providing more equitable opportunities to close the existing gaps. School funding comes from property taxes. Therefore, houses in neighborhoods where the houses have low value, receive a smaller amount of funding because less property taxes are collected. It is imperative that in such neighborhoods, schools should receive better and more funding because it is necessary. An equity-based approach to funding is essential for schools and should be mandatory. All of our nation's children deserve good quality educational experiences.

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Racism, and Sense of Isolation from an African American Perspective

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Abstract

There is a growing concern that African American males in the field of social work are underrepresented in social work programs and as social worker practitioners. This conceptual paper will focus on how social work implicit and explicit curriculums support African American men by addressing diversity. In 2004, African American men comprised 7% of registered social workers, according to the National Association of Social Workers. It is important to investigate how the social work curriculum supports the education of African American males. This conceptual article uses data from the Council on Social Work in Education's educational policy and accreditation standards to see how diversity is assimilated through the social work curriculum. In this conceptual paper, the author argues that social work programs lack educational support systems for African American males, and more effective supports are needed.

Keywords: African American males, Afrocentric, social work curriculum

The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) released the 2015 educational policy and accreditation standards (EPAS) in a first attempt to address one aspect of the implicit curriculum. Although the attempt to incorporate diversity was implied by CSWE, social work programs still have the choice of addressing diversity, student development, faculty, administrative and governance structure resources to implement and evaluate, therefore not holding social work programs accountable to address the diversity concern of the lack of African-American males in social work. Nevertheless, social work 2015 EPAS afford African American males a one in five chance of supporting their learning (CSWE, 2015). However, it would be beneficial for social work programs to include diversity to see if this would address the lack of African American males within the field of social work. Afrocentric theory speaks to the importance of making every culture important; more specifically, African American culture. One of the key assumptions of the Afrocentric paradigm theory is that all relationships are based on centers and margins and the distances from either the center or the margin (Asante, 2009). For the majority of the research, the words Afrocentric and Afrocentricity are used interchangeably as both a theory for describing human phenomena and as a movement to strengthen and liberate African Americans from cultural oppression, spiritual alienation, and social injustice (Sherr, 2006). Afrocentricity is a paradigmatic intellectual perspective that privileges African agency within the context of African history and culture transcontinentally and transgenerationally, crossing ideas from continent to continent (Asante, 2007).

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this conceptual paper is to explore the possibility that the social work curriculum has an effect on the lack of African American men in social work. This paper examines the barriers to success among African American men in social work, focusing on racism and a discussion of whether the social work curriculum lacks diversity that would allow African American males to feel connected to the social work curriculum.

Theoretical Framework: Afrocentricity

Since the inception of accreditation standards for curriculum development, social work programs have experienced significant changes. The latest curriculum in 2015 seems to instruct social work programs to evaluate the implicit curriculum. In 2007, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) published an article asking, “Where are the African-American men in social work?” In 2015, the CSWE released the latest EPAS that added an emphasis on the implicit curriculum specifically aimed at diversity. Have the social work curricula blocked or supported African American men from completing a degree in social work? Social work education has made an effort to address diversity, but not for African American males specifically. There are limited articles that specifically discuss if the social work curriculum isolates or is unfair/racist towards African American men. The most recent articles that address the social work curriculum were published in 2008. However, there are some articles that address the barriers African American men face in higher education. Afrocentric theory helps in finding the African American voice in the social work curriculum because the theory gives authority to Black ideals and values and expresses the highest forms of African culture. Afrocentricity theory was coined by Dr. Molefi Kete Asante and is based on the idea that African people should reassert a sense of agency in order to achieve sanity in their way of thinking (Asante, 2007). Afrocentric theory stretches with its roots grounded in African tradition. Afrocentric theory is a shift in thinking proposed as a constructural adjustment to Black disorientation. The theory gives authority to Black ideals and values and expresses the highest forms of African culture.

The social work curriculum is divided into two parts—the explicit curriculum, which mainly focuses on the structure and course material, and the implicit curriculum, which deals with the educational environment within which the explicit curriculum is delivered. The Afrocentric theory can apply to both the implicit and explicit curricula, as outlined in the following sections.

Implicit and Explicit Curricula

The Afrocentric paradigm is a revolutionary shift in thinking proposed as a constructural adjustment to Black disorientation, de-centeredness, and lack of agency. Furthermore, it is based on the idea that African people should re-assert a sense of agency in order to achieve sanity in their thinking (Asante, 2009). Afrocentricity enthrones the centrality of the African; that is, Black ideals and values, as expressed in the highest forms of African culture, and activates consciousness as a functional aspect of any revolutionary approach to phenomena (Asante, 2009). Generally, the Afrocentrist asks the question, “What would African people do if there were no White people?” In other words, what natural responses would occur in the relationships, attitudes toward the environment, kinship patterns, preferences for colors, type of religion, and historical reference

points for African people if there had been no intervention of colonialism or enslavement? Afrocentricity answers this question by asserting the central role of the African subject within the context of African history, thereby removing Europe from the center of the African reality. In this way, Afrocentricity becomes a revolutionary idea because it presents ideas, concepts, events, personalities, and political and economic processes from a standpoint of Black people as subjects and not as objects, basing all knowledge on the authentic interrogation of location (Asante, 2009).

There are three factors to consider when viewing the social work curriculum through the Afrocentricity lens:

- The philosophy of Afrocentricity as expounded by Molefi Kete Asante is a way of answering all cultural, economic, political, and social questions related to African people from a centered position.
- Asante believes that Afrocentricity cannot be reconciled to any hegemonic or idealistic philosophy. Afrocentricity is opposed to radical individualism as expressed in the postmodern school and also opposes spookism, confusion, and superstition.
- The postmodernist would go on to say that if there were Africans and if the conditions were as described by the querist (questioner), then the answer would be that Africans had not fully developed their own capacities in relationship to the global economy; therefore, they are outside of the normal development patterns of the world economy. However, Asante notes that the Afrocentrist does not question the fact that there is a collective sense of Africanism revealed in the common experiences of the African world. The Afrocentrist would look to the questions of location, control of the hegemonic global economy, marginalization, and power positions as keys to understanding the underdevelopment of African people (Asante, 2009).

Using the Afrocentric theory keeps social work grounded in viewing all persons equally and ensures inclusiveness. Afrocentric theory contributes to the fair allocation of societal resources and to the extension of opportunities to more social groups. For example, the Afrocentric idea must be the steppingstone from which the multicultural idea is launched (Asante, 1998). The Afrocentric theory takes the initiative to reach out in a multicultural approach. The Afrocentric theory contributes to the expression of marginalized voices and exposes unquestioned assertions that obscure the structures and processes causing inequality. For instance, Afrocentricity addresses the White supremacist educational system with the concept of centrality, which is a method of teaching any student to place his or her group within the center of the context of knowledge (Asante, 1991). Afrocentricity provides an opportunity for each culture to be included, which is to become centered in one's own culture empowerment. After establishing the theoretical framework of Afrocentric theory, let us examine the social work curriculum.

Social Work Curriculum

Faculty at California State University, East Bay examined the intersection between the teaching of racism and their role as educators. The faculty created a teaching note that displayed a case study

of an innovative MSW program committed to infusing content on racism into its curriculum (Phan et al., 2009). This article reports on the experiences of a new MSW program in designing a gateway race, gender, and inequality course (Phan et al., 2009). Faculty decided to anchor the material in a gateway oppression-focused course and to build upon it in subsequent classes (Phan et al., 2009). The attempt to address diversity within the curriculum at California State University was embraced by the students and community, claiming it to be a strength of the program. The faculty implies that one course is not enough to prepare effective multicultural social workers to be ready for practice. This one teaching note describes how faculty are experiencing difficulties applying diversity to the curriculum. However, once some form of diversity is applied, the results are encouraging.

Nicotera and Kang (2009) address diversity in curriculum development by employing a critical consciousness route. The premise of such strategies arises from an examination of the social work educational policies and standards that require attention to the experiences and conditions of marginalized populations (Nicotera & Kang, 2009). The purpose of the authors' article was to encourage social work educators to extend the learning that begins in the required multicultural course by explicitly attending to social justice concerns in the content of other courses. Nicotera and Kang concluded by offering a conceptual position that suggested three teaching strategies to further investigate the role of unearned privilege and oppression in social work practice and research. With such a great effort to address diversity in the social work curriculum, only a piece was attempted with implications for additional research (Nicotera & Kang, 2009). Holosko, Skinner, MacCaughelty, and Stahl (2010) described a 2-year, five-step process that was adopted to build and evaluate the implicit curriculum of a BSW program at a large southern university. This framework was characterized as flexible and distinctive of the nature of the program. However, a limitation of this study was that it was developed for a BSW program and not an MSW program. Grady, Powers, Despard, and Naylor (2011) were the first to publish a standardized instrument for evaluating the implicit curriculum. The instrument was developed based on the 2008 EPAS for an MSW program. The study included 110 participants; however, the reliability and validity of the measures were not tested. It would benefit the social work curriculum if more studies were completed to be tested as models for social work programs to follow. Grady et al. made an attempt to evaluate their works in addressing diversity; social work education could benefit from their efforts in creating a uniform tool to evaluate the implicit curriculum.

Osteen, Vanidestine, and Sharpe (2013) take a different route by seeking the opinion of MSW students. This was accomplished by a convenience sample of 528 participants in a mixed methods study. Multivariate analysis of variance revealed significant differences between students in programs with required multicultural coursework and those utilizing an infusion model with respect to attitudes toward African Americans, but not on measures of diversity or social equality and justice (Osteen et al., 2013). Osteen et al. (2013) disagree that conflating all of the pertinent issues of human oppression may lead to a watered-down curriculum that fails to adequately address issues of power, prejudice, and privilege. This study may extend the literature on the impact of multicultural curricula on MSW students' attitudes about race and diversity. Elsewhere, Miller (2013) presented and tested a framework for the professional socialization of social workers. This paradigm identified and integrated features of the explicit and implicit curricula that may be essential in promoting a strong commitment to social work values, positive attitudes toward the profession's history and mission, and a variety of forms of social work identity.

Limited research is available on the correlation between student experiences and the implicit curriculum. Peterson, Farmer, Donnelly, and Forenza (2014) make the effort through the use of a latent profile analysis to identify groups of students based on their experiences with the implicit curriculum in school and field contexts. The study examined differences between profile groups on measures of professional empowerment. Profile groups consisted of the students' educational level (BSW or MSW), gender, age, and race. The purpose of the study was to extend their previous pilot work by testing a greater range of potentially empowering characteristics of the implicit curriculum in both classroom and field placement contexts (Peterson, Farmer, Donnelly, et al., 2014). The findings indicate that an empowerment-based approach may be useful to institutions as they develop tools to measure their implicit curricula (Peterson, Farmer, Donnelly, et al., 2014). The authors' research suggests further research is needed to develop assessment tools used to evaluate the implicit curriculum. This article points out that social work faculty do not have a clear direction in assessing their efforts to address diversity within the social work curriculum.

In another article, Peterson, Farmer, and Zippay (2014) examine how the implicit curriculum empowers students in an urban setting. This study evaluated measures and tested a path model that included perceptions of characteristics of implicit curricula, which are faculty and staff diversity, supportive faculty, opportunity role structure, and access to information (Peterson, Farmer, & Zippay, 2014). The mediating variables were participation, sense of community, and feeling valued by the school as predictors of professional empowerment (Peterson, Farmer, & Zippay, 2014). Findings from Peterson, Farmer, and Zippay's (2014) study indicated that opportunity role structure and access to information had the strongest total effects, including both direct and indirect effects on students' professional empowerment. The authors recommend that the implicit and explicit curricula should be applied equally. The authors also referenced the 2008 EPAS, which are a little different than the 2015 EPAS, which further support the request for more research in this area.

All things considered; the social work curriculum is still evolving. There is no clear example that models diversity in the social work curriculum that could be replicated by other programs. Many tools have been created to evaluate the implicit curriculum; however, the tools created have not been successfully replicated.

Barriers African American Males Face in Higher Education

A limited number of articles has been written about African American males in the field of social work, which prompted a broader search on African American males in education. An article published in the professional newsletter of *Social Work Today* titled, "Wanted: African American Men in Social Work" by Morris-Compton (2007) speaks to the need for African American men in the field of social work. Morris-Compton also brings the numbers to life, drawing statistics from the NASW list of registered licensed social workers, which showed that in 2004, 7% of licensed social workers were African American males. The statistics only provide readers with a glimpse into the world of African American men in the field of social work. Morris-Compton (2007) states, "more insight could be gained from the minds of African American men who are in the profession" (p. 24), providing an in-depth look into the profession. Therefore, this article on the use of the Afrocentric theory to explore variables of social work curriculum, racism, and sense of isolation

from an African American perspective is very important. Morris-Compton had limited statistics on African American males in the field of social work because only licensed social workers are counted. However, the 7% listed by NASW is still a small margin in comparison to the majority. It is very important that Morris-Compton lists the percentage of African-American males posted by NASW; however, the author could have made a stronger argument by inquiring the membership list from the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) and the CSWE, or the author could have been more specific in identifying African-American males in undergraduate or graduate who are licensed. This article asks the question, “Where are the Black men?” which complements my research question, “What are the issues that affect African-American males in the field of social work while working toward completing a graduate degree in social work?” This current research adds a deeper meaning to Morris-Compton’s (2007) question, “Where are the Black men?” by identifying factors that prohibit African American men from graduating. Identifying these factors will help increase the statistic listed by NASW that 7% of social workers were African American males.

McGowan, Palmer, Wood, and Hibbler (2016), in their edited book, discuss how African American males have always displayed a predilection for education since the time of slavery. This book’s perspective is relevant because it discusses African American men’s current position in higher education. The book’s goal is to provide a deficit perspective surrounding African American men and education. Discussing issues affecting the success of African American men is a critical point; however, the authors believe it is equally important to focus on the achievements of Black men in education. The overarching purpose is to reframe African American male academy from a deficit perspective to an anti-deficit approach, exploring narratives of resiliency, success, and achievement of African American men in the academy.

African American Male’s Foundation

When one thinks about African American male success in graduate social work programs, one must consider the foundation of their education. Do Black males have a skill deficit in reading and writing that influence their success as graduate students? Farmer and Hope’s (2015) article discusses the retention of African American men in higher education and some of the changes African American men face. The results of the research indicated that African American males who had low grade point averages (GPAs), low Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, and who did not take precollege classes had a harder time getting into college and continuing through to graduation. It is important to understand the educational history of African American men in order to identify some of the issues they face in college and the professional world. Farmer and Hope (2015) provide great implications on factors that influence African American male retention, but they did not expand on environmental factors such as whether the males attended low-performing schools with fewer resources. The common theme throughout the article was that precollege courses and students’ GPAs better prepared them for college. These factors are important to this current article in determining the issues within social work education. Through this conceptual paper, the author hopes to add that a strong foundation in secondary education will yield strong possibilities for an African American male to complete a graduate degree in social work. The additions may help to advocate for more interventions for African American males in secondary education.

African American Male Educational History

Another aspect to consider in an African American male's educational history before graduate school would be to review the success of African Americans at the undergraduate level. Matthews-Whetstone and Scott (2015) discuss factors affecting bachelor degree completion among Black males with prior attrition. In their study, the authors address three questions: "What causes Black males to discontinue their postsecondary degrees and leave college?"; "What factors influence their decisions to return to postsecondary education?"; and "What factors help or hinder them in completing their degrees?" (Matthews-Whetstone & Scott, 2015). Matthews-Whetstone and Scott discovered that the lowest average number of years it took to complete a degree was 5 years and the maximum was 27 years. Matthews-Whetstone and Scott also noticed that males who attended a 4-year institution versus a 2-year institution completed their degrees in a shorter period of time. This study relates to the future research of the issues that affect African American males in the field of social work while working toward completing a graduate degree. Although the key concept in the Matthews-Whetstone and Scott (2015) article is the attrition rate for Black males, the article still provides readers with a snapshot into some of the challenges African American males face. The authors' limitations include the participants primarily lived in the state of Texas and that they did not explore social and emotional learning supports. Common themes in the article were retention, dropouts, and degree completion. Future research with the issues that affect African-American males in the field of social work while working toward completing a graduate degree in social work could only add to what is already established because Matthews-Whetstone and Scott (2015) primary focused on undergraduates, and this current article focuses on African-American male success within the social work curriculum.

Now that some background literature has been established regarding the challenges African American males face prior to higher education, let us view some of the factors African American males face when selecting social work as a profession. Warde's (2009) study focused on African American and Hispanic males' experiences in selecting social work as a profession. Warde (2009) interviewed seven minority males in a focus group and identified three factors that influence their social work care choice, which are "personal experience with a social worker, . . . wanting to give something back to the community, and . . . preexisting internalized altruism" (Warde, 2009, p. 129). This article provides an idea of why African American males select social work as a major. This article also brings attention to the gender differences in the profession of social work. The common themes in the article were "personal experience with a social worker, wanting to give something back to the community, preexisting altruistic values, bringing a needed perspective to the field and progress academically and professionally" (Warde, 2009, p. 136). A limitation of Warde's (2009) study is a small sample size of seven males. Warde's (2009) main focus on males of color in social work reinforces the need to examine African American males' experiences within the profession. Another factor to explore in the African American males' selection of social work as a major would be to consider personal influences.

Undergraduate Experience

Bowie, Cherry, and Wooding (2005) examine undergraduate experience in an empirical research study that focused on MSW students. Bowie et al. surveyed 207 African American alumni from

three predominantly White universities—two universities in the state of Florida and one in the state of Tennessee. The authors’ findings revealed enrollment factors included social work as an undergraduate degree, influence by a social worker, family, and social work undergraduate faculty (Bowie et al., 2005). Stronger enrollment factors included geographical location, type of social work program, class scheduling, and cost of tuition. Bowie et al. (2015) state, “The number of minority students and number of minority faculty, academic reputation and type of social work program . . . and the number of minority faculty and school climate toward minorities were the strongest enrollment decision factors for students” (p. 169). This article relates specifically to this current article on the issues African American males experience with the social work curriculum. The limitations of this study are that the authors did not explore students at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), and more females were interviewed than males.

Matthews-Whetstone and Scott (2015) researched three questions around why African American males drop out of higher education and take an extended period of time to enroll back into higher education, as well as the contributing factors causing African American males to drop out of higher education. In their article, Matthews-Whetstone and Scott discover that African American males who attend 4-year institutions have a higher chance of graduating than African American males attending 2-year colleges. Another aspect that arose in the research was how prepared the men were in their primary and secondary schools. There are no specific articles found that relate to variables affecting African American men’s success in social work education. However, there are a few articles that discuss the issues that affect African American males face in higher education overall. Further examination of African American males in social work will likely explore in more detail the issues affecting African American males in the field of social work.

African American Males and Oppression

It could be an emotional undertaking for Black males to cope with being the only Black male in class and facing oppression, with limited or no support from social work faculty. African American males may experience a disconnect with the social work curriculum by the lack of incorporation of diverse lessons. Two primary issues impacting African American males in a pluralistic society include societal racism and oppression (Elligan & Utsey, 1999). In their study, Elligan and Utsey (1999) make use of a case study design to outline the use of an African-centered group approach as a way to help African American men develop coping skills in dealing with societal racism. The results of the study indicated that the men reported a decrease in conflicts and anger, gained an appreciation of each other, and learned to accept constructive criticism. Also, looking into contributing factors of retaining African American males in college, as well as their acceptance into college/degree programs, was another connection. Elligan and Utsey make great points in how to deal with oppression; however, their stance is limited because the participants were in support groups which is another supporting layer to consider. Elligan and Utsey’s structure of the article creates an allusion that African Americans are angry and confrontational, which is not the case for all African American men. This article is important to the manuscript; for one, it demonstrates how African American males are viewed in initial reactions. It also identifies a contributing factor that affects African American males who are pursuing a social work degree.

Oppression

Otuyelu, Graham, and Kennedy (2016), in their recent publication under the graduate school of social work at Touro College in New York, New York, discuss unmasking of cultural competence

and oppressive practice. The authors examined the relationships between cultural competence, oppressive practices, and micro-aggression within the field of social and the larger community (Otuyelu et al., 2016). Otuyelu et al.'s article addresses how the Council on Social Work Education requires that topics of race, power, privilege, and cultural competence be included in the graduate schools of social work (Otuyelu et al., 2016). The authors state the impact of race, culture, class, and privilege in society and the work environment in the form of micro-aggression remains ignored within the human service field (Otuyelu et al., 2016). Recommendations were rendered to help improve the issues of microaggression, which involved creating specific diversity courses, consortiums, and trainings within schools of social work. This research is important concerning the issues that affect African American males in social work education because it highlights a diversity of issues that are not being addressed by the social work curriculum. This research was very specific that some social work programs are not preparing culturally aware social workers. The current article of the issues that African American males face with the social work curriculum adds a fresh perspective to this research article.

Fletcher, Bernard, Fairtlough, and Ahmet (2015) describe educational experiences among African American men. Findings from a qualitative study indicated that social work educators tended to place more emphasis on equality of access than equality of outcomes, resulting in a lack of focus on other aspects of the student's life cycle such as inter-group dynamics and rates of progression through the social work program (Fletcher et al., 2015). Fletcher et al. (2015) have provided research around equal access to equal outcomes. In this qualitative study the authors examine diversity and progression within social work programs in England that focused on the experiences of disabled; Black and ethnic minorities; and lesbian, gay, and bisexual students (Fletcher et al., 2015). The authors interviewed 95 students from eight different institutions. However, the article provides factors to consider such as inter-group dynamics. By examining this phenomenon, social work educators will likely enhance their understanding of diversity within social work education.

Diversity

Goggins and Dowcett (2011), in their presentation for a call for diversity training, discuss the development and impact of effective interactions with African-American males in a course designed to engage social work and education students in a critical examination of the social and emotional effects of racism on the academic, occupational, cultural, and relational well-being of African-American males. This presentation brings significance to the research of the issues that affect African American males in social work education. The presentation's focus is on diversity due to the fact that social workers and educators in Durham Public Schools who work with African American males are not really prepared due to the lack of diversity courses in their social work and educational programs. The limitations of this article are that it is written as a presentation and it is not specific to African American male social workers. The researchers could add to this publication a focus to identify specific factors within social work programs.

The focus of the issues that affect African American males in social work education is related to men's experiences. Masocha (2015) states that race and racism are salient determining factors in the negative experiences of Black students within social work education. Masocha (2015) reframes understandings of the perceived failures of Black males to relate to the world of higher education.

A limitation of this research is that it is a perspective on African American males in the United Kingdom only. The issues that affect African American males in social work education could add a positive perspective to this research by strengthening a view that does not limit African American males' success to just support groups and having to adapt to the privileged society.

It is important to view other research with similar topics that provide implications to some of the factors that affect African American males. Research of this nature may offer a plan of action that could be extended for the benefit of social work education. Gilkey (2012), in her dissertation, shares that support of peers through friendships and organizational memberships as predominant factors for persistence and success for African American males. Brown (2013), in her dissertation titled "A Phenomenological Study of African American Men Who Were Mentored while Pursuing Their Bachelor's Degree at Historically White Colleges and Universities," had a similar interest of viewing contributing factors that affect the success of Black men. Brown's (2013) findings revealed that African American men's self-confidence and the ability to feel comfortable on campus were impacted. Also, the presence of a mentor was instrumental in confidence building, which led to greater academic achievement (Brown, 2013). The limitations of both dissertations were that they focused on bachelor degree-seeking students and were not specific to students in undergraduate and graduate social work programs. However, the dissertations provide solutions to contributing factors that affect the success of African American males in higher education. With research on the issues that affect African American males in social work education, the researcher hopes to assist social work programs in developing policies and programs that enable African American men to succeed in their program of study.

Discussion

The literature surrounding African American males in social work education is very limited and the information reviewed supports the argument that the social work curriculum has an effect on African American males. The NASW reports that African American men are among the lowest numbers of licensed social workers compared to other races. Social work education has not defined a clear way to measure the implicit curriculum that could be replicated by social work programs. Reasons for African Americans to select social work as a major were gender differences, minority faculty present, academic reputation, and school climate toward minorities. The attrition of African American males in higher education is attributed to their secondary education preparation. Oppression was noted as a contributing factor for some African American males who were the only males in their program with no support. Although some graduate programs address CSWE requirements on topics of race, power, privilege, and cultural competence, more content on diversity specifically addressing African American men is needed. This is why there are so few African American men in social work. It was discovered that social workers are not prepared to work with African American males due to the lack of diversity courses offered in some social work programs. A contributing factor to African American male success was attributed to support of peers, friendships, and organizational memberships. In higher education in general, much research reports that the lack of African American males in higher education is due to challenges with low GPA and SAT scores, as well as poor reading and writing skills. Findings from studies indicate the need to conduct future research on African American males in social work (Farmer & Hope, 2015). It is significant to recognize the lack of African American males in social work and possibilities of barriers that contribute to this dilemma. A limitation of this article is the lack of information on African American males in social work. A future qualitative study will be

conducted to examine African American men in social work in order to determine their challenges within the social work curriculum. The next step would be to interview more African American men to validate factors that contribute or hinder their success in social work education.

Conclusion

African American males face many challenges in higher education and more specifically, in social work education. It is imperative that more information is added to the literature on the subject matter of African American males in social work. CSWE would benefit by incorporating a diversity assessment in social work programs across the country. It is recommended that CSWE provide social work programs with suggestive curriculum guides and evaluation tools that include diversity as a key component. It is suggested that social work education embrace images and literature of African Americans in teaching social work courses. This article gives insight into social work programs on ideas on how to support African American males in their perspective programs. Support for African American males in higher education, and more specifically in social work education is needed.

Recommendations

A recommendation to CSWE would be to require social work programs to incorporate evaluating two aspects of the implicit curriculum, with one of the aspects being diversity. However, the factors explored in this article support what I would like further research as contributing factors that influence African American males who complete their social work degrees. Masocha's implications for the field of social work are important to consider, as they bring to the foreground the salient role of race and racism in shaping differential outcomes. Social work pedagogy should also actively seek to address the racial disparities in the ways in which the curriculum is accessed and experienced (Masocha, 2015).

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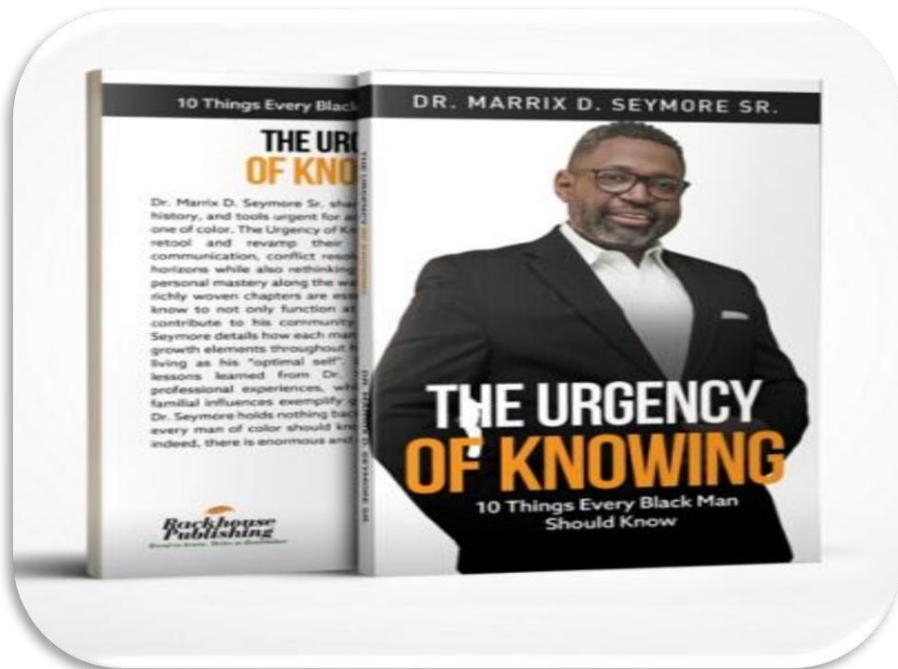
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Recommended Reading





Ramsey County Civil Unrest Report

“Learning Lessons from the Civil Unrest of Summer, 2020”

11 September 2020

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Special thanks to Ramsey County residents for their input and engagement.

We hope that Ramsey County officials use this report as a guide to steer the county in the right direction in being more transparent, visible, and impactful in the community. Furthermore, following the recommendations provided in this report, Ramsey County officials, both elected and employed, can start rebuilding trust, accountability, and community engagement.

Learning Lessons from the Civil Unrest of Summer, 2020

The protests and civil unrest that followed the death of George Floyd on Memorial Day Weekend 2020 reveals significant issues Ramsey County, Minnesota officials need to contemplate as they consider how they are perceived in the community, and what role they should play if there is a reoccurrence of these types of events.

To better understand community sentiment following the recent unrest, an online survey of nearly 300 Ramsey County residents was conducted. In summary, residents are dissatisfied with the County's response to the civil unrest, in terms of the county's preparedness, they are unhappy with the response and visibility of county officials during the events, as well as the community's lack of participation in assisting residents during these difficult times.

Preparedness and Responsiveness

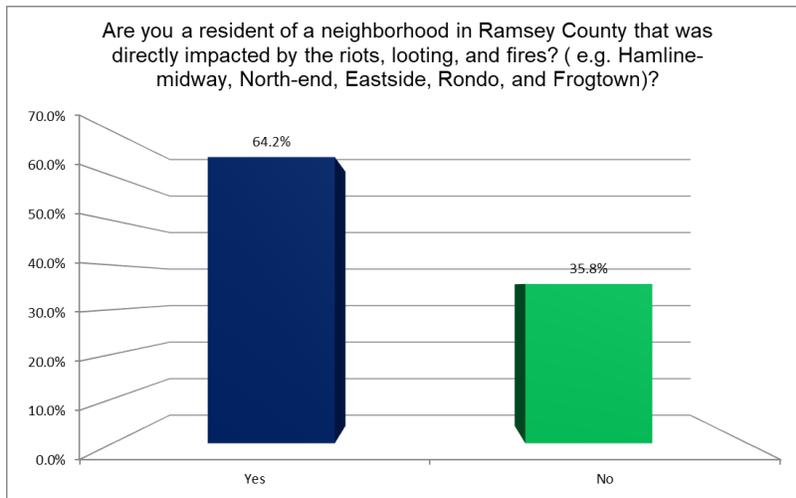
"The entire government proved to be and continue to be weak and incapable at the most important task they are there for and that's keeping us safe."

Specifically, 48.9% of Ramsey County residents stated they are "somewhat" or "very" dissatisfied with the County's response during the civil unrest.

Similarly, when asked, "based on your experience, how prepared was Ramsey County leadership in responding to the civil unrest? (i.e. rioting, looting, and fires) 67.9% felt that the county was unprepared or extremely unprepared, while 19% had no opinion. Only 13.1% felt the county was prepared in some fashion.

Finally, residents believe that county officials are still not being responsive to their needs.

"I would like the government to step up and help the small businesses who have lost their locations to find new facilities in the neighborhood."



These opinions and issues should concern Ramsey County officials, as nearly two out of three residents reported that they live in a neighborhood directly impacted by the civil unrest.

As you will see later in this report, there is a simmering discontent across the county.

Communications and Visibility

Some of the community’s dissatisfaction with County officials stems from two key factors: the level of communications received during the unrest, and County official visibility in these communities both before and during the events of this summer.

“I’ve been here 21 years and can’t recall ever seeing anyone from the County ever, except Janice Rettman at community events when she was our commissioner.”

When asked, to respond to the statement, “Ramsey County leadership has been visible in the community, following the civil unrest,” 66% of the respondents disagreed with the statement, with only 15.3% agreeing with the statement

Also, many residents expressed uncertainty about what the County’s roles and responsibilities were in this particular situation, or in the general regular operation of Ramsey County.

“There is much confusion about what is Ramsey County response and what is St. Paul response. Ramsey County needs better visibility in the city.”

Similarly, 44.8% of residents said they were very or somewhat dissatisfied with “the resources and services” provided by Ramsey County during the civil unrest. Only 23.4% said they were satisfied in one manner or the other.

In summary, a review of the survey’s results indicates that Ramsey County officials should be deliberating, at a minimum, the following principal questions:

1. What kind of assistance do residents need when businesses and residences are severely impacted during civil unrest?
2. How active should Ramsey County officials be in helping deliver that assistance?
3. How visible are Ramsey County officials under normal circumstances, and how does the lack of clarity around the county’s role in caring for residents impact residents during a crisis?
4. How divided are Ramsey County residents in their perceptions of conflicts like the unrest in the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area this summer, and what does that mean for the decisions county officials need to make to serve and protect residents in the future?

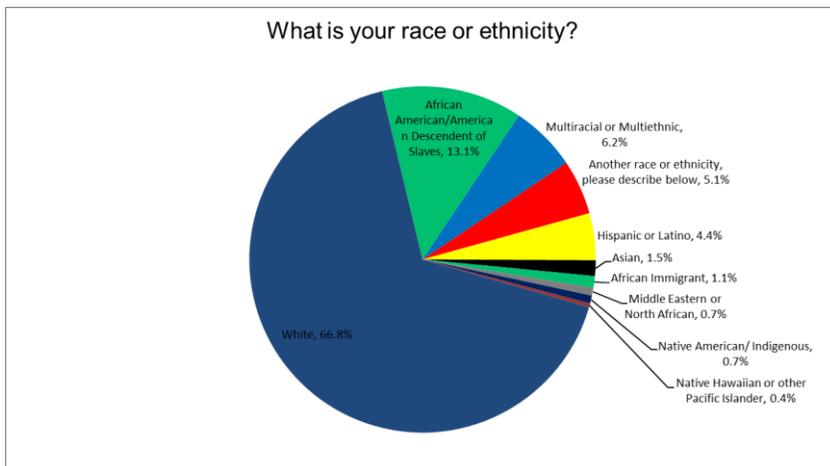
The rest of this report serves to explore the survey’s results in greater detail and provide some context around the data.

Survey Methodology:

An online survey was conducted from July to September, receiving 505 responses. Removing nonresidents and incomplete surveys, we only considered the results of 274 respondents for the purposes of this report.

Demographics

ETHNICITY



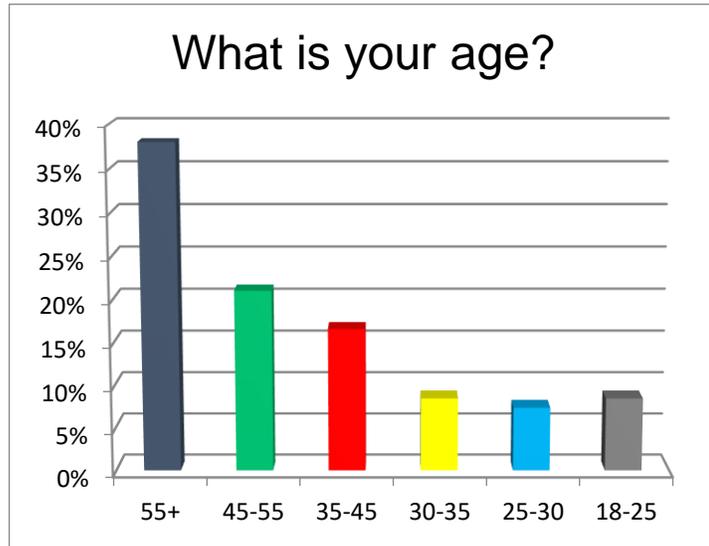
Of those residents who responded, 66.8% stated they were white, while 13.1% reported being African American/American Descendent of Slaves, and another 1.1% reported themselves as African Immigrant. Some 6.2% reported being Multiracial or Multiethnic, and 4.4% reported themselves as Hispanic or Latino. Asian

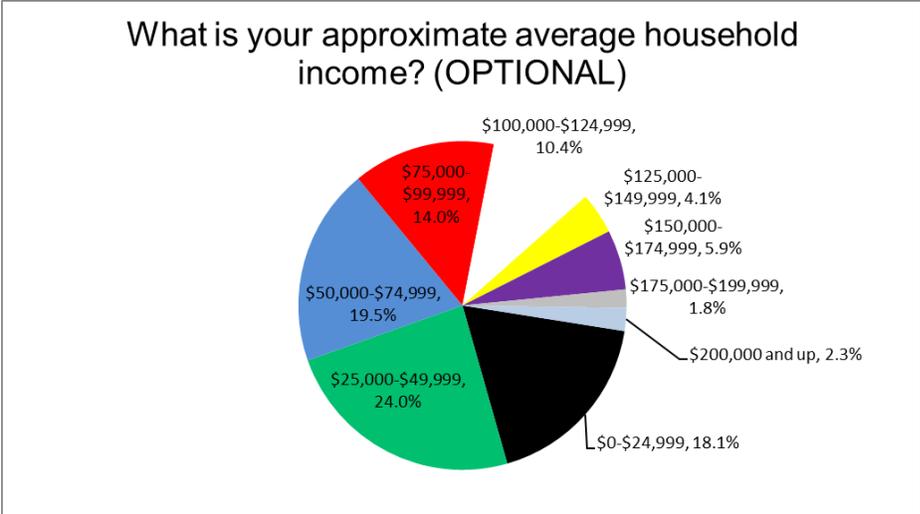
respondents represented 1.5% of the total, while 5.11% declared themselves as having another race or ethnicity.

AGE

Of the 271 respondents who shared their age, 38% reported being 55 years of age or older, 21.03% reported their age as 45-55, and 16.6% said they are 35-45 years of age. Individuals under the age of 35 represented 24.4% of the respondents.

Also, most respondents reported owning their own home (69.7%), while 27% said they rent.





HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Providing an approximate average household income was an optional question answered by 221 respondents.

Of that group, 18.1% earn less than \$24,999, 24% earn \$25,000-\$49,999, 19.5% earn \$50,000-\$74,999, 14%

earn \$75,000-\$99,999, 10.4% earn \$100,000-\$124,999, and 14% reported their household income as being more than \$125,000.

Impact to the community:

Of the businesses within Ramsey County’s borders, 11.7% reported that they were impacted in some way by the civil unrest, while 16.8% of residents said their housing was impacted. Additionally, 64.2% of the respondents said that they are a resident of a Ramsey County neighborhood that was “directly impacted by the riots, looting and fires.”

At the time of the survey, 7.7% of the respondents reported being currently unemployed as a result of the rioting, looting, and fires to businesses.

Additional results:

Of the full respondent population, 5.8% stated that they are a person of color who owns or partially owns a small business.

When asked “How would you respond to the statement, Ramsey County has invested economically into the American Descendants of Slavery (ADOS), Indigenous and People of Color community,” 14.2% agreed with the statement, while 39% did not. Some 46.7% neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement.

When asked, based on their personal experience, how residents view the frequency of events related to civil unrest in Ramsey County, 36.9% said there were either too many, or far too many events. Some 40.2% said there were too few or far too few events.

Due to the survey sample size, we were unable to cross tab results in order to extrapolate how segments of Ramsey County’s population feel about the questions asked (e.g. local business owners whose businesses were impacted; versus those whose businesses were not).

Lessons Learned

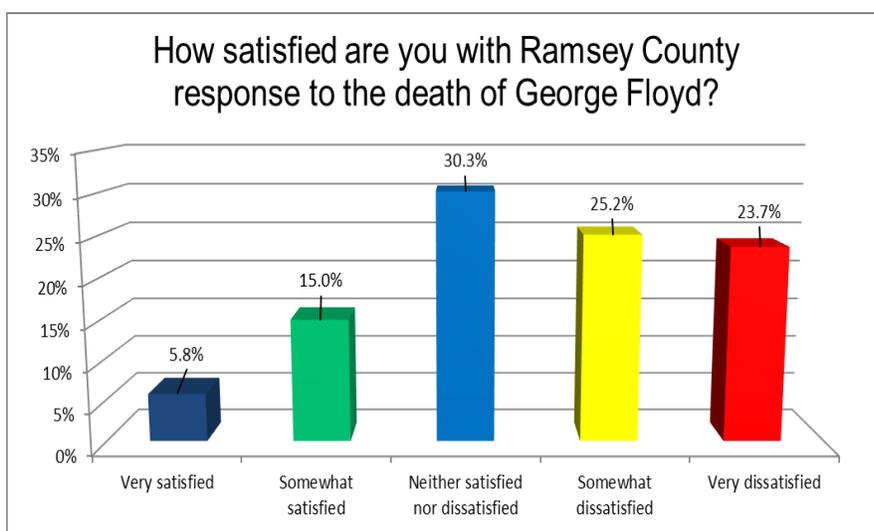
Preparedness and Responsiveness:

Residents do not feel that the County was prepared for the events of this summer, nor were officials responsive once residents began to feel an impact to their neighborhoods.

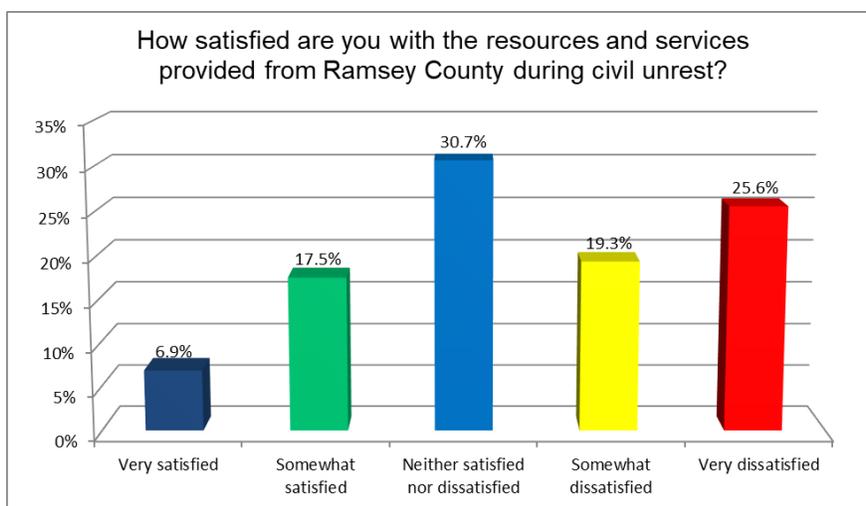
When asked, “Based on your experience, how prepared was Ramsey County leadership in responding to the civil unrest? (i.e. rioting, looting, and fires) 67.9% felt that the county was unprepared or extremely unprepared, while 19% felt neither answer matched their opinion, and just 13.1% felt the county was prepared in some fashion.

When asked how satisfied they are with the county’s response to the civil unrest, 48.9% of residents split relatively evenly between somewhat dissatisfied and very dissatisfied.

Some 20.8% of residents said they were satisfied, and of that amount, only 5.4% said they were very satisfied. Meanwhile, 30.3% of residents said they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.

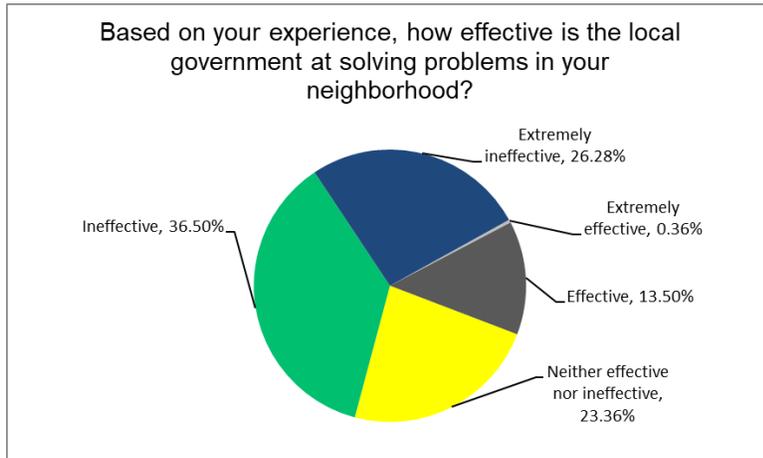


A good deal of this dissatisfaction appears to stem from the level of direct support and services they’ve received – 25.6% said they were very dissatisfied, while an additional 19.3% said they were dissatisfied.



While County officials take much of the brunt of this dissatisfaction, residents also don't feel that their neighbors rallied to their side through the form of direct support.

When asked to respond to the statement, "I have received adequate direct support from private companies and non-profits, in the response to the civil unrest," 53.7% of the 274 respondents said they neither agree nor disagree with the statement. 16.8% agree or strongly agree. And 29.6% disagree or strongly disagree.



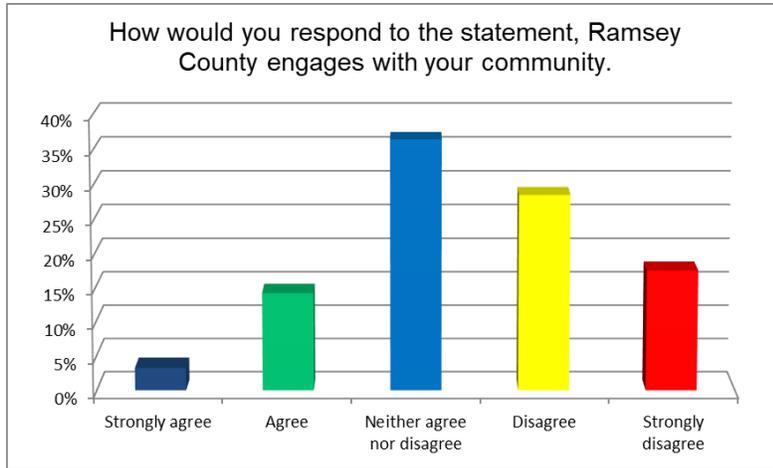
Residents associated their experiences during the civil unrest this summer with their general perception of local government's ability to solve problems in their neighborhood.

When asked how effective Ramsey County has been in delivering support outside of this summer's events, 62.8% stated the County has been ineffective or extremely ineffective. Some 23.4% said

neither. Only 13.9% said the county was effective, with less than 1% saying the county is extremely effective.

County Officials' Communications and Visibility:

Dissatisfaction with the county's lack of preparedness and direct response was compounded by a lack of visibility of officials before, during and after the events of this summer.



When presented with the statement “Ramsey County engages with your community,” only 17.5% of the survey’s respondents agreed with that statement, including just 3.3% saying they strongly agree.

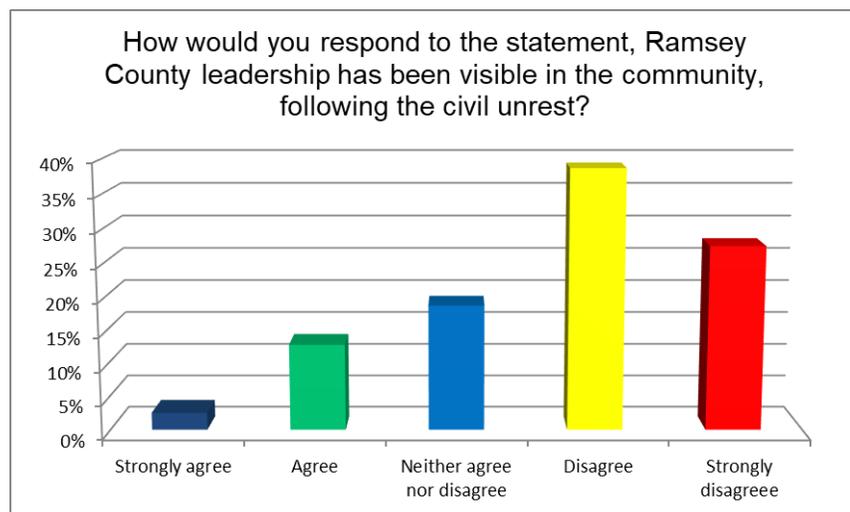
Some 36.5% said they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, while 46% said they disagreed with the statement – including 17.5% who strongly disagreed with the statement.

Indeed, in the open-ended questions, many respondents provided extensive comments expressing their frustration.

“Convey to the community your role. This survey is bizarre because I imagine so few people know what Ramsey County employees actually do.”

“... county commissioners... show up for a photo op or write a letter to the editor but do not respond directly to residents’ questions.”

When asked how they would respond to the statement, “Ramsey County leadership has been visible in the community, following the civil unrest” 66% of the respondents disagreed with the statement, with only 15.3% agreeing with the statement.



“I have not heard anything from the County regarding resources, cleanup efforts or just reassurance. What engagement? Ramsey County has done essentially nothing, the City of Saint Paul has been the active entity.”

“... make an effort to be more active in the community. The more you show up, the more willing folks directly impacted will be to work with you. Where was the support from Ramsey County after everything? All of the local support drives weren’t facilitated by any county government as far as I’m aware, which is really disappointing.”

Throughout the survey, especially in the open-ended questions, respondents expressed their confusion about what role the county played during the unrest, as well as what their responsibilities are in the day-to-day management of the community, vis-à-vis the City of St. Paul municipal government.

“There is much confusion about what is Ramsey County response and what is St. Paul response. Ramsey County needs better visibility in the city... I don’t know what actions were taken by the city and what were taken by the county.”

“This survey is odd since it is the city government not the county government that was and would be more relevant and visible regarding any civil unrest in St. Paul.”

The authors of this report feel that if residents and businesses are to recover from the aftermath of this summer’s unrest, it is crucial that the County Commissioners more clearly establish their roles and responsibilities and coordinate those efforts more clearly and transparently with the city of St. Paul. Once roles and responsibilities are well established, the two entities should ensure they are clearly articulating these roles and responsibilities to residents.

While this survey did not directly ask residents to evaluate law enforcement in Ramsey County before and during the civil unrest, the open-ended questions revealed significant disparities in how many residents view local policing.

For example. A sizable group of the comments called for stronger local law enforcement to prevent future destruction and punish those who participated in the destruction of property this summer. Others called for more spending for local police.

These comments often reflected fear by residents that their local police departments would be “defunded,” a sentiment frequently shared by many respondents. Other residents expressed anger about how the riots and unrest could go unchecked for so long.

One resident even offered their gratitude for the New Brighton Police Department, who they felt “were visible and actively patrolling.”

Due to constraints from the structure of the survey, these qualitative comments cannot be segmented by demographics. As a result, this report’s authors cannot assess whether these comments reflect the opinions of any individual group(s) of residents (e.g. based on ethnicity, age, or income).

Some residents want stronger law enforcement.

“Teach people to obey the commands of the police when confronted.”

“Support taxpayers, homeowners, business owners by getting tougher on crime.”

“Beef up security and protection from the thugs.”

“Support local law enforcement by allowing them to do their jobs. Leaders could have denounced the civil unrest instead of endorsing it.”

“Take back the streets and enforce the laws currently on the books. Stop allowing law and order to be tossed aside for fear and chaos.”

“We need support from police to help keep this under control. Right now, crime, whether it be real or copycat, is running rampant in my community. I cannot even walk around my block due to so much crime in my Neighborhood.”

“Put together a team of city police departments and create a FAST-ACTING assault team.”

“Police are the only protection most of us under-privileged people have against thugs taking our money, cars, hurting our children by shootings in my neighborhood.”



Other residents advocate for focusing on solving systemic problems.

“Set up programs for free services to the Elderly, disabled and fixed-income residents.”

“Work with Community Ambassadors to help de-escalate tense situations, redirect excitable younger folks, and provide needed services. Maybe train up scores of volunteers in our communities who can be ready to assist in real peacekeeping---NOT paramilitary behavior.”

“People living in tents in my local park, and on public sidewalks in downtown is a sign that our county is not caring for its most vulnerable citizens. More shelters with better living conditions, more mental health services, more drug programs, more outreach are all needed.”

“Deal with the underlying issues!!!”

“I would have liked to see more support of BLM.”

“We need to make sure all law enforcement departments are trained to de-escalate racial tensions and cases with people with mental illness and other medical diagnoses like Tourette’s and Autism...”

“Good people don't want their neighborhoods to have drug and gang violence. Moms are tired of losing their children to death and prison. Start reaching out to these young children in positive ways letting them realize there's a better way.”

“What control do you have to effect change on systems built with white supremacist scaffolding? If you have the power to develop systems that honor people’s humanity - especially the underserved and marginalized- DO IT and TELL THE GREATER COMMUNITY ABOUT IT.”

While some residents are seeking more funding for police, other residents expressed a desire for County officials to reform local law enforcement to reduce tensions between the police and residents.

These individuals also are seeking investments in the social issues law enforcement is often called to address. These respondents are seeking more collaborative local policing with community members, and more “de-escalation” training.

In one instance, a resident asked that the county retrain police officers “to be culturally competent and make discharging a weapon a last resort tactic.”

Another respondent requested that county law enforcement be required to undergo mental health evaluations and asked for more community policing designed to engage residents with local law enforcement as a partnership for local policing.

Recommendations:

Based on the participants' input in the survey, we have compiled a list of five suggestions that Ramsey County leadership should implement to be more visible, prepared, and responsive to civil unrest if it were to occur again.

1. Establish an apparatus for communication that can quickly disseminate critical information to Ramsey County residents, including, but not limited to, locating necessities, identifying areas impacted by rioting and looting and "safe zones," safety precautions, how to reduce the impact of fires, and interpreting executive orders.
2. Create a "Community Response Team" to assist community leaders in providing support to community members impacted by civil unrest. CRT should consist of community-based organization leaders, public safety personnel, and county officials. Additionally, the county should make funding quickly available for community-based organizations that offer support services to residents during civil unrest and other emergencies. Many respondents feel that the county has complicated funding processes that delay community-based organizations from providing more resources to residents.
3. Develop a platform that educates residents on the county's role and its relationships with cities like Saint Paul and Roseville. Survey results revealed that many residents were unclear on the part of the county and whose responsible for keeping the peace during civil unrest, providing resources, and disseminating information.
4. Whenever possible, county officials should be visible in the community through attending community forums, events, and responding to community concerns via email. We suggest that the county invest more money into hiring staff who is responsible for direct community engagement.
5. Initiate a countywide climate survey that identifies the top priorities for the county based on input from residents. Additionally, use the results from the climate survey to develop a strategic plan to address those issues. Be sure to allow residents to be involved in the planning phase of the project.



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● 2021 THEME ●

**“Synchronizing Education and Technology As Resource Tools to
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