



Student Activism in the Contemporary Context: Lessons from the Research

By Robert A. Rhoads

Let me say from the outset that I appreciate the opportunity to address a key group of higher education practitioners, most notably those involved in the development of student leaders. I do not think it is an overstatement to suggest that the work of student development professionals is of vital importance to the well-being of the planet; with our lives increasingly intertwined at the global level, we need caring and compassionate

leaders more than ever. And, of course, today's college students are tomorrow's leaders and the opportunity to impact their development during the college years is certainly something we should take with the utmost seriousness. So I write this column for *Concepts and Connections* mindful of the increasingly global and multicultural nature of our work and with a sense of urgency about our role in shaping the kind of world in which we exist.

"Student engagement in activism is a key vehicle for their preparation as leaders and as citizens in a multicultural, global society."

ethnic student populations. Some of this latter research was published in the book *Freedom's Web: Student Activism in an Age of Cultural Diversity* (Rhoads, 1998). Around this same time, I was heavily involved in a project that examined the role of community service and service learning in the lives of college students, and I eventually produced the book *Community Service and Higher Learning: Explorations of the Caring Self* (Rhoads, 1997).

I take this opportunity to share some of the key findings from my research on student activism. A little bit about me, though, may be helpful for the readers of this column. Since the early 1990s I have been involved in a scholarly line of inquiry focused on student activism, mostly in the United States, but also in Mexico and other parts of the world. I have studied the queer student movement and the efforts of lesbian, gay, and bisexual students to forge positive self-conceptions and to challenge hostile campus environments (Rhoads, 1994). I followed this work with an extended project that examined the efforts of students of color to improve campus environments for various racial and

More recently, my work has centered on graduate student unionization, protests against rising tuition costs around the world, student opposition to corporate-driven forms of globalization, and the efforts of students of color to forge their own retention and recruitment programs. If there is one point that best summarizes my findings over these 10 plus years of inquiry it is this: Today's students are quite involved in creating campus and social change and not nearly as apathetic as they often are portrayed by some of my colleagues and by the media. A second point I would add is this: The educational programs, courses, and activities that colleges and universities construct for

Continued on page 3

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

- 🏠 **Student Activism in the Contemporary Context:** Lessons from the Research by *Robert A. Rhoads*
- 🏠 **Program Spotlight:** Wells College's Activist Symposium by *Laura J. McClusky*
- 🏠 **Learning by Design:** Harnessing the Leadership Development Potential of Student Activism by *David Cunningham*
- 🏠 **Leadership Bookshelf:** Bill Moyer's *Doing Democracy: The Map Model for Organizing Social Movements* Reviewed by *Jennifer Lau*
- 🏠 **Scholarship and Research Updates:** Student Activism as Leadership Development by *Susan Komives and Jolie Harris*

Connections From The Director

How do we teach the leadership of activism? In a democracy, citizens have a real voice in the decisions affecting their lives. Are we starting to see a youth leadership movement that represents activism that is confronting public policies that are affecting our world? Ralph Nader, at a Washington, DC rally, called for us to be as engaged with our public officials as we seem to be with contemporary sports figures and the coaches that direct the professional sports teams in our country. Nader suggested that if we treated our public officials the way we hold professional coaches and players accountable to their records, the local, state and national political and corporate setting would become a dynamic, active, creative process in which the people's will would be done. We would see governments and corporations directly accountable to the people; ultimately demonstrating to our youth that their voice and action does matter.

Unfortunately, many students do not feel like they have a voice in public policy that affects our society. This past semester has been a very rich opportunity to engage students in this important conversation about civically engaged leadership. My impres-

sion is that students felt too busy to participate or lacked information. Students expressed concern about what other people would say or think if they acted, or whether they would jeopardize prospects for future success. They also seemed to feel that our culture teaches them to sit in front of the screen (TV or Computer), trust the experts, and if they choose to vote, select the lesser of two evils.

Despite the obstacles to engagement and activism students perceive, we are seeing them express themselves in significant ways. Three weeks ago there were 1000 students on McKeldin Mall at the University of Maryland expressing their discontent with the Governor of the State of Maryland and his lack of support of Higher Education. Local TV stations and print media covered the rally. It is important to help students understand that acts of expression and the leadership that is interwoven in such efforts have caused great change for the common good. When you think about it, the changes that most improved our lives were not driven by experts, but the hard-won results of organizing by ordinary people. We must ignite this conversation with students by offering real examples like the 40-hour work week and its inception by union organizers tired of working 60-hour weeks for less than a living wage. Another example lies in the voting, property and abortion rights granted to women not by men, but by female activists. When we act as individuals, our actions may seem small and insignificant, but often create ripples that lead to change. Therefore, if we support and encourage students' beliefs that they can make a difference and teach the value of a relational mode of leadership, anything is possible.

The campus setting brings students of all means and backgrounds together at a time when students are questioning and formulating ideas about the world around them. Our campus leadership agendas seem positioned to serve as a mechanism to advancing students' efficacy for engagement in leadership to advance the common good. In a soci-

ety where individuals are increasingly isolated at the TV and/or computer screens, campus leadership programs provide opportunities to establish a common ground, discuss, debate, and organize for action.

Not surprisingly, student leadership has been in the forefront of major social movements. The modern American student movement began in the 1930s when the National Student League joined with the Student League for Industrial Democracy to form the American Student Union. During its peak years, students organized on behalf of federal aid to education, government job programs for youth, academic freedom, racial equality, and collective bargaining rights. In the 1960s students opposed the Vietnam War and fought for civil rights. We are approaching the 35th anniversary of the Kent State University riots where students lost their lives actively protesting the Vietnam War. In the 1980s students opposed U.S. military intervention in Central America. Student and faculty opposition to university relationships with companies doing business in South Africa was extremely visible. More recently, students' voices were heard in the 1990s on issues of sweat shops and the World Bank.

We must offer students tangible examples of what good activism looks like for them to develop the courage and skills to engage in activist leadership. The campus setting is not just a laboratory for play-acting, but a rich opportunity to help students experience the realities of working towards a more democratic society.

We hope you find insights in this edition of *Concepts and Connections* that advance your leadership education work towards developing students' leadership abilities within the context of activism for social change.




Craig Slack





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Student Activism in the Contemporary Context: Lessons from the Research

Continued from page 1

students impact their lives in numerous and far-reaching ways. This latter thought highlights the major importance that student development professionals play in preparing today's students as leaders. I believe student engagement in activism is a key vehicle for their preparation as leaders and as citizens in a multicultural, global society.

In what follows I want to address several key themes apparent in contemporary student activism and point to some central tensions suggested by these themes.

Multiculturalism. Multiculturalism plays a central role in student activism on today's college and university campuses. Racially- and ethnically-oriented student groups around the country are actively engaged in strengthening their place within a diverse society. They see the campus as a key political and cultural location for advancing their racial/ethnic communities. Consequently, student groups such as MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), the Black Student Alliance, and the Asian/Pacific Islander Student Organization, among others, may be seen on any given school day organizing along the busiest walkways of U.S. campuses.

However, cultural diversity is manifested in ways beyond race and ethnicity as well. The cultural struggles that women face within the broader society also dominate the forms of activism we see on campus today. "Take Back the Night" marches and the "Clothesline Project" are only two examples of the many ways in which women's struggles get played out on our campuses. Additionally, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered student organizations also engage in cultural efforts to represent their identities on their own terms and to transform campuses and the broader society in a manner more conducive to their health and well-being.

Disabled students also have raised awareness about cultural differences and have challenged the cultural and physical operations of today's campuses in enumerable ways.

The central tension suggested by multicultural student activism relates to the degree to which campuses support particularized identity struggles and at the same time can create programs, activities, and educational experiences that foster cross-cultural understanding and appreciation. Efforts to enhance particular cultural identities do not necessarily limit our ability to forge strong academic communities, especially if we can conceive of community in such a way that incorporates and values difference.

Globalization. The cultural differences so common on our campuses also highlight the global nature of our society. The global demands of contemporary life remind us everyday that events taking place in one location of the world may have significant impact elsewhere. The influence of globalization is widely evident when one examines contemporary student activism. First, we see global movements being formed by college students. For example, in the mid-1990s students at the University of Wisconsin formed the Free Burma Coalition (FBC). The organization grew internationally by making full use of the Internet. Consequently, the FBC was able to launch a variety of global protests against the oppressive military junta in Myanmar (formerly known as Burma). Environmental student organizations also have forged global ties; these students have been quick to recognize the interconnectedness of environmental problems and have acted accordingly.

In addition to organizing globally, the issues impacting today's students are increasingly being shaped by global processes. One of the clearest manifestations of student activism has centered on campaigns against corporate-driven forms of globalization, as witnessed by massive protests of the World Trade Organization in Seattle in 1999, the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2001, and the G-8 summit in Genoa in 2001. In all three cases students played key roles behind the scenes and in the streets. Although such forms of resistance have been simplistically portrayed as "anti-globalization," the reality is that few involved in oppositional movements of this kind are opposed to increased international

integration; their primary concern is that global processes be structured democratically and that diverse voices are involved in advancing international integration.

A variety of student actions have reflected concerns about globalization, including protests against sweatshops operating around the world, support for a variety of human rights issues, support for workers' rights, and even graduate student organizers engaged in unionization efforts have criticized research universities for their participation in corporate-driven forms of globalization.

Given the growing influence and complexities associated with globalization, student development professionals working with student leaders should be encouraged to develop advanced understandings of the ways in which local and global tensions influence the lives

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Continued on page 4

Student Activism in the Contemporary Context: Lessons from the Research

Continued from page 3

and experiences of today's college students. We can expect that such tensions will only increase in the coming years and that their influence on student leaders and activists will expand.

Privatization. The privatization of public services is a global phenomenon that is directly impacting colleges and universities around the world. Given the growing power of pro-market and pro-capital economic policies, there is much pressure to privatize state-supported forms of higher education. Such a trend often is manifested by a relative decline in state support for colleges and universities, accompanied by sizeable increases in tuition and fees (this represents a shift from "public" support to an emphasis on "user fees"). The push toward increased privatization is evident in many countries, including the US, Mexico, Great Britain, and Canada.

INTERESTED in Sharing?

Interested in sharing best practices? Do you have a website for your leadership development program? The NCLP currently hosts a collection of leadership development programs and their web links. This resource is useful in benchmarking efforts as well as showcasing promising practices. We are currently updating this list. Should you wish to showcase your program, please send an email with your web page link to jdugan@union.umd.edu.

The result has been increased student activism and efforts by student organizations and lobbying groups to curtail or roll back tuition increases. In the most dramatic example of this phenomenon, students at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) closed down the university for nearly the entire academic year 1999-2000 as part of their effort to resist fee increases. The proposed fee increase was linked to structural adjustment programs advanced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as part of the organization's effort to re-structure Mexico's debt by shifting funding away from state-supported higher education. As the push for privatization expands, we can expect to see mounting student resistance. Clearly, the tension here revolves around whether higher education is to be defined as a public good or simply as a commodity for sale on the free market. In either case, we can expect that student leaders will be engaged in the battles to shift such debates one way or the other.

Service Learning. No discussion of contemporary student activism would be complete without mention of the strength of the service learning movement and its impact on today's college students. Although the lines drawn between service/outreach and activism may be somewhat foggy at times, we cannot neglect the key role that engagement in community problems can play in the development of future leaders. However, with increased engagement in communities comes many problems and challenges, and educators involved in creating and supporting service learning programs must be mindful of the tensions that are inherent in such encounters. My own research in this area suggests that issues related to mutuality—the degree to which we

"mutually" involve communities and students in identifying needs and solutions—is one of the key tensions.

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In conclusion, it would be somewhat presumptuous of me to claim complete knowledge of the many ways in which student activism is manifested on today's campuses. The brief summary contained herein is simply one attempt to synthesize some of what I have learned through years of research on student activism. Much of what I have studied reflects some of my own interests root-

ed in advancing democracy and democratic processes. Of course, I contend that such concerns ought to be a key part of our work with student activists as well as student leaders. ■

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Program Spotlight

Wells College's Activist Symposium

By Laura J. McClusky

When word got out that the Wells College Board of Trustees was coming to campus to vote on whether or not to "go co-ed," many of the students became outraged. Nearly half of the residential students organized a protest blocking the building where the trustees were to meet. About 30 students clad in "Save Our Sisterhood" t-shirts stood arm-in-arm blocking the entrance, chanting "Vote Today, Vote No Way." As the trustees approached, groups of 10 or so students marched arm-in-arm, like phalanxes of soldiers, to join the blockade. Their pounding footsteps echoed as their numbers reached approximately 130. It was a well-organized protest. Student activism is not dead.

Protest is not the only form of activism. It's just the most visible form. At Wells College students have been increasingly interested in how to make their voices heard and how to change the world for the better. Our students find many opportunities to study the complexities of the world's social and environmen-

tal problems, but study alone doesn't seem to satisfy them. They want to ACT. A few years ago, the head of student government, Saira Raza, saw this frustration and took action. She organized a symposium where faculty, staff and students could talk to each other about what we were doing either in classes or in our personal lives to make the world a better place. Talking to each other, she felt, was the first step to organizing our efforts and making a greater impact. Her vision was to make Wells College a resource for advancing social justice and community development. We are currently organizing our fourth annual "Activist Symposium."

The Symposium follows a conference model. It is a day-long event that begins with a keynote address, followed by concurrent workshops and presentations, lead by members of the Wells College community (faculty, students and staff) and a few off campus guests. Last year we had four fifty-minute timeslots, with each time slot hosting six sessions. In the middle of the day, we all come together to hear a lunchtime speaker as well.

It's a grassroots event. It's not based or guided by academic writings on how to be an activist, or how to build pedagogy that supports social justice, nor is it based in activist strategies of building affinity or lobbying groups. It's merely a space, a time, a chance to hold workshops, give presentations and exhibit art that has, in some way, something to do with "activism" in the most general sense. As a result we are able to explore the many ways our institution and activism intersect.

Some of the presentations are decidedly academic, presented by scholars who have devoted a lifetime to understanding some injustice. Other presentations are "hobby" activism; the kind of activism faculty and staff do on the side or in their spare time, like our piano instructor who creates bio-diesel in her garage on weekends, and the librarians who volunteer with Farm

Sanctuary and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Some presentations are "bipartisan," like the College Republicans discussing campaign strategies, and others are inspirational and testimonial, like the trans-gendered alum that returns after graduation to talk about the difficulties ze faced at the college and in the world outside. Yes, this is a no-holds-barred, all-inclusive, tell-me-what-you're-fighting-for event. Everyone is welcome to submit a proposal as long as they are doing something that can be defined as "activist," and everyone is invited to participate, as long as they are willing to be inspired.

Our title this year is "The Activist's Tool Belt." So far it looks like we're going to bring together a computer technologist who will talk about using the internet as an activist tool, an environmental economist who will provide personal reflections on the direct action of the 1980s anti-nuclear movement along with a discussion about today's energy problems, a public artist who will guide us in a mural project, a home-grown rock band who will sing protest songs, bicycle activists who will talk about creating a community bicycle project and, of course, a group of students talking about the co-ed protests. Since we will be in our last semester as a single-sex institution, the student organizers of the Symposium feel

"Protest is not the only form of activism. It's just the most visible one."

Thank You!

The NCLP would like to extend its deepest appreciation to ACPA, NASPA, and all the conference staff, presenters, small group facilitators, and participants that made the first Leadership Educators Institute an enormous success. A special thanks goes to our wonderful hosts at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. We look forward to convening again in 2006!

Program Spotlight

Continued from page 7

strongly about having a focus on women's activism. Our keynote speaker will be Marjorie Agosin, an academic and artist who has worked with Chile's Mothers-of-the-Disappeared, and has written about human rights and gender. Another campus organization, in support of the Symposium, is arranging a production of Agosin's play *Tres Vidas* which portrays the lives of three women activists, who each use a different "tool belt."

The way the Symposium is organized has changed from year to year. Our goal this year is to make the event sustainable, to provide a structure and a support base that will be there from year to year. In the past, the Collegiate Association completely funded the Symposium. This year, we've obtained dedicated funding from the college's administration and are searching for outside support. This will help us to improve and expand the event.

We see the Symposium growing in many different directions. We have always invited a limited number of people from the "outside," both from activist organizations and colleges to present and to participate. However, students want to open the event to the wider community making it a more regional event, inviting students, faculty and activists from a wider region to participate. We want to move beyond Wells talking to Wells. The students have also considered expanding the event by publishing a journal of the Symposium's proceedings. Since the first Symposium there has been talk of having an organization fair that would take place on the same day, where activist organizations from near and far could recruit volunteers. Now that we have dedicated funding, we will be able to move forward integrating the Symposium into the academic program.

The entire event is organized and run by students. As the faculty advisor my job is to act as an overseer making sure things get done when

they need to, and reminding students of their responsibilities. This year I will be offering internship credit for those who are most dedicated to the event. The students themselves will design the logo, send out a "call for papers," decide which abstracts to accept, decide on which local activist organizations to invite to participate; they will arrange the logistics of the event, work with the campus' Public Relations Office to promote the event, etc. The students decide on the theme and develop a list of possible keynote speakers. I step in and contact the folks on the list and see what they might cost. It's my job to interface with the Wells administration and faculty as well. We have found that some people respond better to someone with faculty credentials.

While there are problems with our structure, especially in terms of sustainability, there are a lot of benefits. Students gain experience in organizing a large event, providing them useful leadership and organizing skills. Some of them do presentations themselves. At the very least, they contact local activist organizations and/or invite their activist friends to campus to tell us what they are doing. This keeps it organic, providing a flavor that changes according to the particular students who organize it and allows the conference to "feel real," not contrived by administration or professors. I'm just there to guide and watch for potential problems.

The students attending the Symposium gain knowledge about what is going on out there and how to

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get involved. However, its format also prepares them to go to professional conferences with a down-home kind of comfort that is important since many of our students are first generation college students who often find the academic rituals of conferencing intimidating. Many students get the experience of presenting information, not just to a group of people that sit together all semester in a classroom, but to a diverse group made up of professors, fellow students, community members and local activists. They gain confidence and recognition. They become leaders.

The Symposium, by providing a space and time for activists of all kinds to come together, provides us all with an understanding of the many ways to be an activist. We all present on equal ground, breaking down the hierarchies that sometimes divide activists and academics, and for that matter students, staff and faculty. Furthermore, it makes the college and by extension academia in general, a natural place for activism to happen.

For more information regarding program structure, benefits, and/ or challenges, contact Dr. McClusky at lmccclusky@wells.edu or (315) 364-3252. 🏠

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Learning by Design

Harnessing the Leadership Development Potential of Student Activism

By David Cunningham

As Richard Flacks remembers it, C. Wright Mills' 1959 book *The Sociological Imagination* hit him "like a truck" (as cited in Miller, 1994, p. 160). Mills' call to actively engage social science in politically-relevant tasks inspired Flacks' subsequent interest in student activism, which in turn sparked his entry into the then-embryonic (in 1961) campus organization Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). He soon emerged as a central leader of SDS, which would ultimately claim hundreds of campus chapters and well over 100,000 student members before succumbing to factional struggles in 1969. The story of SDS's rise and equally spectacular collapse has frequently been recounted (Gitlin, 1993; McMillen & Buhle, 2003; Miller, 1994; Sale, 1973), but Flacks' words offer a powerful testimonial to why campuses are ideally situated as "hotbeds of activism" (Van Dyke, 1998), and further, why such activities possess unique potential for student leadership development.

It was no small coincidence that Flacks' awakening to the ideas of sociologist C. Wright Mills, and other early SDSers' attraction to philosopher Arnold Kaufman's "participatory democratic" framework for political empowerment, was nurtured by their campus surroundings. Indeed, studies of activist mobilization have consistently demonstrated that the intellectual culture that characterizes campus life – specifically the ready transmission and exchange of critical-theoretical frameworks – provides necessary raw material for student political engagement. The structure of campus relations, typically characterized by large numbers of densely-connected students largely freed (temporarily) from compet-

ing family and career-based obligations, provides an ideal context for translating such critiques into durable political action. The insulated character of many student groupings, as well, encourages experimentation with non-traditional forms of organization and action (McAdam, 1988; Miller, 1994; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998).

Thus, it is not surprising that many innovative collaborative leadership structures – from SDS's experimentation with participatory democracy, to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's "beloved community," to various contemporary anarcho- and anti-racist organizations' aggressive anti-hierarchical stances – have their origins in college and university students' efforts to self-consciously wed theory to everyday practice. While these campus activist structures have evolved largely outside of the constraints of courses and curricular programs, their success in engaging students to develop and sustain individual or collective leadership roles speaks to the power of social spaces that nurture clear links between theory and practice. And the leadership skills developed in such settings are not confined to the contentious political world; to be sure, the impact of SDS and other consensus-based organizations has been felt in a wide range of settings,

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from civic groups to corporations and schools (Miller, 1994).

But while campuses may be ideal incubators of student activism, the ensuing leadership development payoff remains limited so long as students view their political activity as divorced from their day-to-day academic mission, something they autonomously happened upon and chose to pursue. To provide a systematic vehicle for ensuring that a broader and more representative range of students benefit from this self-conscious linking of theory and practice, hundreds of campuses now offer programs that connect students to out-of-class curricular experiences. The roots of such experiential

learning initiatives hark back to John Dewey's (1938) emphasis on the direct pairing of thought and action (and, as Julie Carlson [2003] demonstrates, they can be traced back much further to Rousseau and even Socrates), with the explosion of contemporary initiatives most commonly subsumed under the "active" or "service" learning umbrellas. Such efforts have become increasingly broad, with "service learning" programs at times referring to such diverse activities as field trips, internships, co-ops, individuals volunteering for credit, and full class participation in local community organizations (Mooney & Edwards, 2001).

Learning By Design

Continued from page 7

How can these sorts of curricular efforts best reap the significant leadership development benefits produced by campus activism? Some service learning programs incorporate an explicit advocacy component, with students self-consciously serving as social justice agents, critical of the status quo and engaged in efforts to rectify injustices (Cornelius, 1998; Marullo & Edwards, 2000; Mooney & Edwards, 2001). However, rather than linking students to a particular social justice organization, innovative programs can also focus on the practice of activism more generally. In the classroom, this link can be achieved through engagement with the considerable academic and professional literature associated with social movements and contentious political processes (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004). Such theoretical and conceptual considerations can then be supplemented by collaborative work with a range of activist organizations, providing students with a comparative framework to develop a conceptual toolkit that they can then subsequently apply in innovative ways to pursuits of their choosing.

One example of this model is "Possibilities for Change in American Communities," a year-long program I have developed at Brandeis University. This program is based on the "CCC model," Collectively engaging students in Comparative study of Community-based settings (Cunningham & Kingma-Kiekhof, 2004). Its centerpiece is a 30-day sleeper-bus trip around the eastern half of the U.S., where students and faculty visit a range of communities, meeting and working with social justice organizations in each. Preparation for this on-the-road component occurs through a semester's worth of readings and in-class discussions prior to our departure. These sessions are designed with two ends in mind: to connect students with the places and

organizations they will be directly experiencing, and to introduce a set of theories and concepts directly applicable to their collaborative community-based work. Additionally, during the semester following our travels, students reflect upon their experience and complete a project based on data that they themselves have gathered.

Throughout, our focus is on understanding how varied community organizations come together within particular local contexts to work toward specific goals. Over the course of a month, we typically visit and collaborate with 12-15 groups in nearly as many states. While our limited time with any particular group precludes sustained contributions to campaigns or observation of processes and outcomes that emerge over longer periods, this framework does expose students to a wide range of strategic and tactical approaches unfolding within varied community contexts. Our comparative approach provides a means to effectively link specific strategic and programmatic approaches to the constraints and opportunities associated with each local setting. Further, the intensive on-the-road living experience (we actually live and sleep on the bus for the entire month) provides a means to apply abstract ideas about organizational forms to our own "community."

This model provides students with identity and leadership development tools that they can then apply in innovative ways to groups of their choosing. Student evaluations have consistently indicated that the experience has a profound empowering effect, providing not

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only practical intellectual tools, but also confidence and motivation to apply their knowledge to groups that they choose to develop and work within. The CCC framework provides but one model to harness the identity and leadership development potential of student activist work, imparting valuable lessons to a representative set of students in a systematic way. Ideally, such programs provide a means for new cohorts of students to connect with theories and ideas, witness how they are put in place, develop group-oriented organizational skills that parallel the chal-

lenges faced by activist organizations, and most importantly feel empowered to enact these ideas in innovative ways. In short, they imbue the curriculum with a hard-hitting equivalent to Flacks' truck.

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The Leadership Bookshelf

Doing Democracy: The Map Model for Organizing Social Movements

By Bill Moyer with JoAnn McAllister, Mary Lou Finley & Steven Soifer

Reviewed by Jennifer Lau

Social movements, according to Moyer et al. (2001), are comprised of the, "Collective actions in which the populace is alerted, educated, and mobilized, sometimes over years and decades, to challenge the powerholders and the whole society to redress social problems or grievances and restore critical social values" (p. 2). In *Doing democracy: The MAP model for organizing social movements*, the Movement Action Plan (MAP) is presented as a comprehensive strategy for activists working in any social movement. Combined with an analysis of the four roles crucial to all social change, the book addresses the perceived gap in the US between citizen and activist, arguing instead that they are actually one and the same.

Divided into three parts, *Doing Democracy* begins by reviewing the MAP Theory of Social Activism, the Four Roles Model and the eight-stage MAP model itself. Advantages of MAP are highlighted in the context of past and present paradigms within social movement theory. Five progressive post-1960 U.S. social movements – civil rights, anti-nuclear energy, gay and lesbian rights, breast cancer and globalization – are examined through the lens of the model. The book concludes with guiding thoughts from the late Bill Moyer on the future of activism.

MAP's methodology appears to be primarily grounded in Moyer's experience as a full-time activist involved in many of the social movements that dominated the

United States from 1960 to 1990. Some of these movements form the basis for the selected case studies (such as the U.S. civil rights movement) while many others are included anecdotally throughout the book. Secondary sources on nonviolent action and social movement theory round out the text.

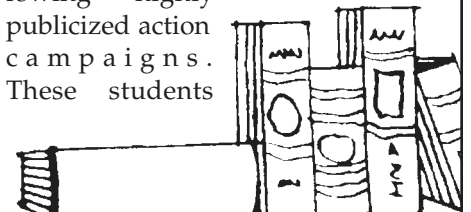
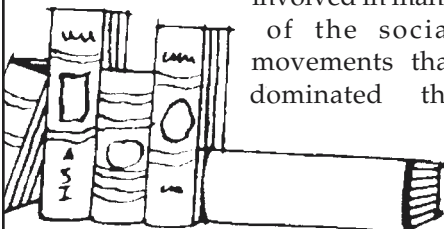
Moyer et al. (2001) claim that, "The absence of a practical model that describes and explains the normal path of successful social movements disempowers activists and limits the effectiveness of their movements" (p. 5). The gargantuan and complex nature of most social issues can lead to despair amongst activists without an effective strategy. For this reason, the detailed nature of the MAP model is its strongest point, allowing activists and their allies to identify the particular stage their social movement has reached, celebrate successes and create effective strategies for moving on to the next stage. The text provides a general description of each stage and the role that the movement, powerholders, and public typically play in each stage. The model also delineates the goals for each stage, typical pitfalls and the crisis that ends each stage and prepares the way for advancement to the next stage.

The MAP model provides a number of useful constructs for student affairs professionals working with college students engaged in social change. The Four Roles Model

"The MAP model provides a number of useful constructs for student affairs professionals working with college students engaged in social change."

delineates activists into the categories of citizen, rebel, change agent and reformer, thus presenting a compelling argument for multiple roles as critical to the success of any social movement. Whereas college students may perceive social activism to be the sole domain of the rebel, the Four Roles Model offers an opportunity for all students to contribute substantially, regardless of their approach, as one role is usually predominant in any particular stage.

The authors further posit that opposition to a social issue is generally not recognized as a social movement until halfway through the model. In **Stage Four: Take-Off**, a **trigger event** must occur in order to catapult the social problem into mass consciousness. It is this trigger event that launches the most familiar images associated with activism, such as the lunch counter sit-ins of the 1960s or the WTO demonstrations in Seattle. However, its position in the middle of the model is a clear sign that there is still much work to be done. Student affairs professionals would do well to address issues of burnout amongst student activists with unrealistic expectations of overall success following highly publicized action campaigns. These students



would also benefit from a critical engagement with all four roles of activism. Even though the rebel is most publicly associated with activism, it is essential that our students learn to play the roles of citizen, change agent and reformer as well so that they are able to create change at all stages of the social movement.

Doing Democracy claims that it will appeal to activists, academics and ordinary citizens interested in better understanding today's social movements. Activists – particularly those who view themselves as 'rebels' – may find it difficult to settle into this book initially, instead choosing to critique its idealism, reform-oriented approach or formalized structure. But in the end, it is this formalized structure that is MAP's greatest contribution to social movement theory. The toolbox created by this eight-stage model allows activists not only to strategize – a valuable skill when effecting social change – but also to invigorate both themselves and their fellow citizens. By becoming aware of these eight stages, activists are forced to look at the bigger picture of social change, thus providing crucial links between seemingly disparate sub-movements. The Four Roles Model will also appeal to the ordinary citizen hoping to engage in social change. The book will appeal less to academics seeking detailed historical analyses of the impact and dynamics of social movements. While accessible, the case studies tend to gloss over rifts and sub-movements in order to remain focused on overall movement strategy. An expanded discussion of the cyclical and linked nature of social

movements (i.e., the rise of the anti-abortion movement in response to the *Roe v. Wade* decision) would have provided a more balanced view of social change. However, the bibliography does provide a starting point for those seeking to do further research on the selected social movements.

Doing Democracy would also have been improved by additional details about

the authors themselves. For a book based on lived experience, the brief biographies at the end offer few glimpses into the authors' lives as activists. Though they claim to base their theory on "society's universal values and principles" (p. 11), there is a lack of recognition of the central influence of Western philosophy, to the point where the Chinese characters introducing each stage seems anachronistic. A deliberate effort on the part of the authors to situate themselves would

have added to this text greatly.

As a text for leadership scholars, *Doing Democracy* presents a useful model for analyzing citizen-based collective actions. While one must take care not to over-theorize activism, the MAP model will produce fruitful discussion on the critical role of activists in today's complex global society. 🏠

"As a text for leadership scholars, Doing Democracy presents a useful model for analyzing citizen-based collective actions."

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Scholarship and Research Updates

Student Activism as Leadership Development

By Susan Komives and Jolie Harris

When asked “leadership for what?” leadership educators often reply “for the common good, or for social justice, but always for change.” The constructs of leadership and student activism are intertwined. Indeed, all student activism is leadership (Chambers & Phelps, 1993). Chambers and Phelps defined activism as, “The active participation of individuals in group behavior for the purpose of creating change in attitudes, knowledge, behavior, and/or symbols” (p.20). While activism can take many forms, activists on college campuses typically function within groups, therefore, activism is a powerful leadership pedagogy.

“Activism is a powerful leadership pedagogy.”

Benefits to Activism. While it may be tempting to view student activism as disruptive or a nuisance, there is evidence that the outcomes produced through most activist activity are usually healthy, desirable aspects of campus culture (Miser, 1988). Perhaps, the disconnect rests in failure to recognize that activism is a singular means to multiple ends. While students may be organizing around issues ranging from the war in Iraq to the fat content in food being served on campus, they are simultaneously engaging in developmental processes that are often overlooked. Hunter (1988) aptly concludes that, “Campus activists [are] maturing youth who are becoming aware of the injustices of the world, the tentativeness of authority, and striving to individualize their moral judgment” (p. 35).

Student activism manifests the same developmental outcomes we know to be associated with student involvement. In their work connecting out of class activities and desired outcomes of college, Kuh, Douglas,

Lund, and Ramin Gyurmek (1994) linked student involvement to persistence and educational attainment, student satisfaction, social and academic integration, and cognitive complexity. In addition to producing outcomes that were linked generally to student involvement, there were a number of desirable qualities and behaviors fostered specifically by activist endeavors including critical thinking and interpersonal skills, public speaking opportunities, and increased contact with faculty members, administrators, and state representatives. These findings supported that exposure to diversity of thought - an unavoidable aspect of campus activism - increased students’ satisfaction with their college experience.

“Powerful Partnerships,” a joint 1998 report produced by AAHE, ACPA, and NASPA states that learning is enhanced by taking place in the context of compelling situations that balance challenge and opportunity. In other words, students will learn the most when they are passionate about whatever is being addressed at the moment. The learning process is most effective when students are engaged in constructing knowledge rather than passively receiving it - shaping as well as being shaped by experiences (Powerful Partnerships). These sentiments echo Astin’s (1984) earlier finding that the amount of educational benefit associated with any activity was directly proportional to the quality and quantity of a student’s investment of time and energy. Quality increases with personal or emotional investment. If students are passionate about what they are involved in (as student activists are), the quality of their involvement will be greater, thus contributing to a more valuable learning experience.

The point in recounting this seemingly endless list of positive associations is to remind us of everything we have to win, through very little energy of our own, despite the inconveniences and challenges sometimes presented by demonstrations at our institutions. Focusing on the fact that students protesting on our campuses may never have a direct impact on what happens in Iraq misses the point completely. Whether or not their stated goals are attained, student activists manage to harness their passion and enthusiasm for core values in a way that achieves many of the developmental outcomes we hope to instill in all of our students by graduation. In these circumstances, the unstoppable energy student organizers exhibit is an invaluable resource - more cost efficient than even the most skeletal leadership development program.

Scholarship on Activism. Several authors have chronicled student activism. Paul Loeb (1994) keenly illustrated campus activism in the 1980s across more than 100 institutions. In his phenomenological-journalistic style, he concluded that the dynamic tension between those driven by “relentless individualism” and those drawn toward “common responsibilities” will likely define and shape the contributions of that 1980’s generation (p. 379). In contrast to those decidedly independent Generation Xers, Millennials largely exhibited characteristics that are particularly conducive to campus organizing. Raines (2000) reported that Millennials tended to prefer teamwork, experiential activities, structure, and the use of technology. Their strengths included multitasking, goal orientation, positive attitudes, and a collaborative style.

Rob Rhoads, lead author of this C&C issue, chronicled the Multicultural Student Movement in *Freedom’s Web* (1998) including a series of student protest and advoca-

cy events by the Chicano Studies Movement at UCLA, the Mills College strike, the struggle of American Indians at Michigan State, gay liberation activity at Penn State and African American resistance at Rutgers. After reviewing over 200 incidents of activism, Rhoads asked, "How can sociological theory about social movements be helpful in making sense of contemporary student activism?"

"Student activism manifests the same developmental outcomes we know to be associated with student involvement."

and observed Blumer's helpful concept of "collective consciousness" (p. 227). Indeed, contemporary advocacy movements have broadened their base and formed effective coalitions with key partners. These movements connect the advocacy of a personal identity with social change. Rhoads observed, "Committing oneself passionately to change is contingent on having a vision of *what ought to be* and experiencing that vision at the deepest levels of the self" (p. 242). Indeed, "Contemporary activism tends to revolve around identity politics and reflects in a broad sense a commitment to building a multicultural democracy" (Rhoads, 1997, p. 508). Loeb presented a similar observation that student change agents are drawn to the concept of "human solidarity" through having a personal commitment and connection to an issue.

Laura Osteen's dissertation research (2003) developed a grounded theory on students as change agents. Her findings affirmed the observations of Rhoads and Loeb. The core category of her findings was Leading Change through Involvement supported by such key categories as Sense of Self, Context, Involvement, and Learning to Lead Change. These findings demonstrate the intertwining of activism, change agency, and leadership.

Civic Engagement. Activism, in all of its forms, is the most founda-

tional form of civic engagement – a quality most institutions are desperate to instill in these critical times of political importance. "In many ways, campus dissent can be seen as service-learning or community improvement work" (Hamrick, 1998, p. 457). Chickering (1998) spoke to this dynamic directly explaining, "Though student activism can be disruptive and difficult, it can also be a major vehicle for strengthening

responsible citizenship" (p. 2). In this vein, activism also exemplifies the theory to practice model – offering students a way to practically apply the knowledge they gain in higher education to the world around them. Additionally, see earlier issues of *Concepts & Connections* (Vol. 7, #3 on Citizenship and Civic Leadership and Vol. 12, #1 on Civic Engagement) and the NCLP monograph by Kraft and Owen (2001). Also check out a report from undergraduates at Princeton on civic values at <http://www.princeton.edu/%7estorbert/STFCV/report.htm>.

Student Activist Resource and Networking Websites. Activist web sites provide useful training materials and links to select issues. Check out these sites: the Raise Your Voice Campaign (<http://www.actionforchange.org/>) is a site sponsored by Campus Compact focused on civic engagement and political action. Campus Activism: Student Activism Resources (<http://www.campusactivism.org/>) has tremendous links to

diverse issues, campaigns and resources among nearly 400 member groups and networks. Web-Based Resources for Campus Activists (<http://www.campusdemocracy.org/links.html>) includes anti-corporate and organizing materials. The Student PIRG network (<http://www.student-pirgs.org/>) is helpful as well. Their website says, "Student PIRGs are independent state-based student organizations that work to solve public interest problems related to the environment, consumer protection, and government reform." Foundations also have materials available; check the Kellogg foundation web site (www.wkkf.org) to order free copies of such publications as *Grassroots Leadership Development*.

"Developing the individual capacity to influence change and the perspectives to join with others in those change efforts are central leadership development processes."

Developing the individual capacity to influence change (i.e., doing leadership) and the perspectives to join with others in those change efforts (i.e., doing leadership together) are central leadership development processes. The research indicates that leadership educators can develop students' leadership capacity by helping them identify causes and issues for which they have a passion, link with others who share that interest, and work together to influence change. Engaging in this type of activism should be viewed as

synonymous with leadership development. 🏠

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Continued on page 14

Scholarship and Research Updates

Continued from page 13

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