

Understanding the Relationship Between Resources in Institutional Characteristics and Student
Mobilization in Higher Education Institutions

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Education Leadership, Management and Policy

Seton Hall University

2021

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COLLEGE OF EDUCATION & HUMAN SERVICES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION LEADERSHIP MANAGEMENT & POLICY

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Abstract

In 2015, a national student organization called the Black Liberation Collective, composed of local student organizations at multiple institutions, initiated, led protests, and issued demands to institutions across the United States. The student organizations that mobilized occurred at institutions with more resources including higher endowments, tuition, and faculty wages. This study used cross-sectional data on 4-year public and private not-for-profit institutions from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System to investigate the institutional characteristics that predict student organizations that protested. Evidence indicates that institutions that are more selective and have larger enrollment sizes with higher percentages of undergraduate Black students and lower percentages of Pell Grant recipients have a greater likelihood of student organizations mobilizing on their campuses.

Keywords: student collective action, student organizations, resource mobilization, social movements, institutional environment

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wife, Julia, for supporting me tirelessly throughout the years and being my best friend. It is hard to imagine my life without your love and support. It is also dedicated to Dr. Peter Savastano, a mentor, a dear friend, and a loving member of my chosen family.

Finally, in memory of my grandmother, Arnedá Mesics.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my mentor and dissertation committee. Dr. Rong Chen, for your support in and out of the classroom. As an instructor, you helped to give me the confidence I needed to forge ahead. As a researcher, you worked attentively on helping me develop my topic from its inception. You provided me with invaluable feedback and encouragement throughout the program. I am confident your insights will remain with me throughout my career. Dr. Kelchen, for encouraging me to dive into the rich scholarly community of higher education research. Dr. Richard Blissett, for all your continued support throughout my time in the program. I like to think spending countless hours in your office discussing everything from statistics to social movements made me a better researcher.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge Dr. Martin Finkelstein. I recall fondly the time I worked alongside you. It was a real honor. I remember musing with you about the future of higher education and the most essential aspects of it. The students and the faculty. As a professional in higher education, I hope I always remember that.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Student collective action has a long and rich history in higher education. Early student protestors in the 17th through 20th centuries were younger in age and wealthier than most students are today. Past student activists were primarily reacting against the *in loco parentis* doctrine and discipline structure of early higher education institutions (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Geiger, 2016; Lee, 2011). At the start of the 20th century, student activism and organizations moved away from protests about discipline and more towards broader sociopolitical issues both nationally and globally (Altbach, 1997; Lipset, 1971). As higher education was becoming more diverse towards the end of the 20th century, the victories of the civil rights movement (CRM) and Civil Rights Act (CRA) helped to quash institutional segregation at higher education institutions and thus gave access to a diverse body of students (Evans & Chun, 2015; Rhoads, 2016). Although affirmative-action policies and legislation helped to pave the way of access for students of color at these institutions, there still remains student activists protesting and calling for structural changes and reform at their higher education institutions (Bloom, 2019; Kendi, 2012; Rhoads, 2016). Calls for change by students of color still continue to present day (Ezarik, 2021).

In the wake of the shooting of Michael Brown, national protests have erupted across the higher education landscape in fall 2015, and protests have continued with students calling for an end to racism and hostility on college campuses across the United States (L. Buchanan et al., 2015; Glenza, 2015b; Johnston, 2015). The Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) administered their annual survey for that year, which consisted of 141,189 first-time, full-time freshmen responses at 199 four-year colleges and universities (Kueppers, 2016). They found that

8.5% of all incoming freshmen students planned to participate in protests on campuses (Eagan et al., 2015). In fact, in 2014 only 5.6% of the incoming freshmen class indicated that there was a very good chance they would participate in protests, so that number increased substantially in 2015 (Eagan et al., 2015). Moreover, CIRP found that the number of Black students who reported that they would likely participate in student protests at college increased from 10.5% in 2014 to 16% in 2015 (Eagan et al., 2015). According to CIRP researchers, who have been administering the survey since 1967, that percentage represents the highest number of students entering into higher education with a desire to protest (Eagan et al., 2015; Kueppers, 2016).

Although CIRP researchers did not include that question on the 2016 and 2017 surveys (Eagan et al., 2016; Stolzenberg et al., 2017), it was included again in 2018 and 2019, and roughly 11% of freshmen students planned to participate in protests in those years (Stolzenberg et al., 2018, 2019). Furthermore, tensions continue to mount in the nation at large as George Floyd was murdered by a police officer. Black students have reported that their institutions have offered more discussion than action in support of the Black community (Ezarik, 2021). So, despite CIRP's low percentage in 2019, campuses might expect that number to pick up as student activists seek to address hostile racial campus environments at their institutions.

Problem Statement

Over the past decade, students have been protesting many different issues on college campuses (Douglas-Gabriel, 2015; Jaschik, 2015b; Nelson, 2011; Whitford, 2018). Student collective action varies in issues from protesting racial injustices to the rising price of college (Jaschik, 2015b; Nelson, 2011; New, 2015). History demonstrates that activism on campuses is not likely to go away any time soon (Altbach, 1997; Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Flowers, 2020; Lipset, 1971; Mclean, 2020; Pettit, 2020).

Although student collective action issues have changed over the years, several factors appear to be consistent. First, research demonstrates that student protests primarily happen at similar institutions that are larger, more selective, and prestigious (R. A. Ferguson, 2017; Johnston, 2015). Second, student organizations are often the vehicles for student collective action (Altbach, 1997; Klemenčič, 2014; Klemenčič & Park, 2018). An example of both factors at play is the national protests that occurred in 2015. Protests occurred at larger and more elite institutions such as Princeton, Harvard, Yale, and University of California, Berkeley (Adams, 2017; Jaschik, 2015b). The national protests were led by a student organization that was called the Black Liberation Collective (BLC). The BLC collected and supported the demands from students protesting at those institutions (Glenza, 2015a, 2015b; Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). Despite evidence that many protests continue to happen in certain institutional environments, the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organization protests is still not understood well.

Previous empirical studies have found certain institutional characteristics such as size and selectivity to be predictors of student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2015; Bayer, 1971; Blau & Slaughter, 1971; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969; Van Dyke, 1998; Van Dyke et al., 2007). There are only a handful of recent studies that have engaged in institutional characteristics and student protests (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Byrd et al., 2019). Many of the studies reported similar results as past studies. However, researchers did not investigate how resource or financial factors may relate to student collective action specifically in student organizations that mobilize. Researchers were often controlling for institutional characteristics and not necessarily testing the relationship between the institutional environment and student organizations that mobilized. The

inclusion of student organizations to student collective action is a unique contribution the current study aims to contribute to the field. While researchers have found certain institutional factors to be significant, no study has attempted to systematically and theoretically understand the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organizations that mobilize.

Purpose

Resource mobilization theory (RMT) is a theory developed in social movement studies. RMT postulates that organizations will likely mobilize when they have adequate resources (Edwards, 2014; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The theoretical mechanism of RMT postulates that more environmental resources mean more resources to a movement sector. The more resources to a movement sector mean the more likely that a movement sector can mobilize (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Utilizing BLC student organizations that protested or not as my outcome variable tests a specific mechanism through which RMT would operate to convert institutional resources to movement resources within the student activist context.

The purpose of the current study is to test RMT and use a conceptual framework integrating RMT to obtain a better understanding of the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organization mobilization on two models (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). My study sought to understand to what extent resource factors such as structural, financial, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics are associated with student organization protests.

Theoretical Framework and Research Model

Many of the student protests throughout higher education have been organized by student organizations (Altbach, 1997; Klemenčič, 2014; Klemenčič & Park, 2018). Student organizations have been defined as collectivities of students who autonomously govern themselves on

campuses (Klemenčič, 2020). These student collectives are either institutionally recognized or they are not.

RMT is a major social movement theory that attempts to explain how organizations protest and mobilize (Edwards, 2014; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Although RMT postulates that organizations are more likely to mobilize when they obtain adequate resources, there are only a handful of studies that test social movement theories on the quantitative end in the student collective action literature (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Blissett et al., 2020; Van Dyke, 2003). Previous studies tested grievance theory, which postulates that external pressure may push students into collective action (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Blissett et al., 2020). One study attempted to test RMT but ultimately could not since their outcome variable did not account for student organizations (Asal et al., 2017). This present study accounted for that. Despite the limited use of social movement theories in quantitative studies in higher education, much of the literature indicates that factors from the institutional, student, and faculty and staff characteristics are important predictors of student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Byrd et al., 2019; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998).

A contribution to this area of study would be the implementation of a conceptual model and testing of a social movement theory such as RMT. Many of the previous studies did not test social movement theories when examining institutional factors and student protests because they were utilizing institutional characteristics as controls (Astin et al., 1975; Blau & Slaughter, 1971; Byrd et al., 2019; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969; Zilvinskis et al., 2020). By examining the findings in the literature and drawing on Berger's (2000) structural-demographics model, I have created a conceptual framework using RMT to help systematically and theoretically understand

the relationship between resource factors and student organization mobilization (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, n.d.; Chen, 2012; Fine, 2012; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). It helped me examine the resource factors that predict student organization protests. The framework is grounded in distinguishing four resource factors of structural, financial, student demographics, and faculty and staff characteristics and their association with student organization mobilization. The Integrated Postsecondary Education System (IPEDS) national data was used along with a national data set from the BLC (Black Liberation Collective, 2016). IPEDS collects survey and institutional level data from all postsecondary institutions.

To test RMT, I focused on the national protests led by the Black Liberation Collective (BLC) student organization in 2015 (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). The BLC is a national student organization composed of Black students at numerous institutions. The student organization was active in 2015-16 and was funded by Netroots Foundation (New Black Nationalism, n.d.). Researchers have noted that the national student organization represented the biggest increase in student collective action since the 1960s (Chessman & Wayt, 2016; Eagan et al., 2015). The purpose of the BLC was to build infrastructure for Black students domestically and globally to make campuses safe for Black students (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). Besides being an influential social movement in higher education, the student organizations that belonged to the BLC protested on wealthier, larger, and more prestigious campuses with more resources.

This study estimated two models on testing the relationship between institutional factors and student organization protests. The first model was a binary logistic regression that investigated the relationship between institutional characteristics and student collective action. Specifically, the dichotomous outcome variable measures whether an institution had any student

protests (through formal or informal student organizations) that mobilized and were a part of the Black Liberation Collective (BLC). Since both formal and informal student organizations receive different funding from their respective institutions (Klemenčič, 2020), in the second model, I further estimated a multinomial logistic regression to better understand that relationship. The outcome variable for that model differentiated between formal and informal student organizations that protested and those that did not as the reference group. This outcome assisted me in better understanding to what extent there were differences between resource factors and these types of organizations.

Research Questions

This study aimed to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent do institutional resource factors, including structure, finance, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics, relate to student organization protests among four-year institutions in the United States?
2. To what extent do those resource factors relate to student protests through formal student organizations, and through informal student organizations, as compared with institutions that do not contain student protests?

Significance

On the one hand, creating engaged and democratic citizens is one of the essential missions in higher education; administrators, faculty, and stakeholders may want to understand if certain institutional characteristics predict the likelihood of collective action occurring on college campuses (Lattuca & Stark, 2011). This information would assist administrators and faculty in better understanding which resources would help aid that mission end. Of course, in declaring that I realize proponents of the previous body of research may understand the connection

between institutional characteristics and student organization protests to be one of preventing or combatting future protests from occurring. I realize there is a certain risk in examining this relationship and that this interpretation may surface. Investigating resource factors and student mobilization may assist in better understanding which institutional environments are likely to furnish student voice and activism. In fact, there is a body of literature that investigates the relationship between student activism and civic engagement in terms of examining their impact on learning outcomes (Biddix, 2014), which institutional and student characteristics affect it (Lott, 2013), how activists develop their socially progressive values (Korgan et al., 2018), and finally how activist behaviors and student backgrounds relate (Morgan et al., 2019). Studies on student activism and protest found that student and administrator actions supported democratic aims and student development (Biddix, 2014; Biddix et al., 2009). These results matter greatly if higher education administrators and stakeholders are concerned with understanding which environments are conducive for student organization mobilization.

On the other hand, however, there is a growing body of literature that explores the negative side of student activism as it pertains to students of color at predominantly white institutions (PWIs). The bulk of the BLC student organizations in this study mobilized at PWIs. Studies reported that students experience activist burnout and racial battle fatigue as well as a desire to simply be students at these campuses (Givens, 2016; Gorski, 2019; Linder et al., 2019). Furthermore, researchers have shown that there is an “invisible tax” students of color pay in terms of mental, physical, and emotional resources that they pour into activist movements to address the oppressive campus environments they belong to (Givens, 2016). Activists wind up confronting issues of racism and institutional oppression during their college careers and exerting unpaid labor towards changing oppressive climates that continue to prevail at these institutions

(Linder et al., 2019). Therefore, student activists lose out on traditional student activities that are considered educationally beneficial and instead spend their time attempting to quell these toxic environments (Linder et al., 2019). For students of color who engage in activism against hostile racial climates, administrators, faculty, and stakeholders may want to better understand what institutional environments predict student organization mobilization. It is important to better understand the institutional environment and make changes to alleviate the burden of activism for students who simply want to be students at these institutions (Givens, 2016; Linder et al., 2019).

There is also the fact that student collective action can be directed towards the institutions they attend. The collective action movement I am investigating, the BLC (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.), belongs precisely to this category. As Charles H. F. Davis III (2019) mentioned at the end of his study on student activism on campuses, civic engagement and activism have been at the heart of understanding central issues in higher education (C. H. F. Davis, 2019). Particularly, it has helped to expose and raise issues of racial and ethnic minorities and other marginalized groups on campuses. In the case of the BLC in 2015, Black student organizations felt like they had to protest against their institutions to address microaggressions and racial injustices (Jaschik, 2015b; Black Liberation Collective, n.d.; Simon, 2015; Turner, 2020). Unfortunately, the other side of that picture is that Black student activists have also experienced burnout and fatigue for needing to be the catalysts for change at these hostile racist environments (Gorski, 2019). To that end, it could be argued that institutions should bear the brunt of the responsibility for implementing change in these hostile institutional environments and not student activists.

Since the evidence seems to suggest that these institutional characteristics are relatively stable over time and likely to influence student organizations that protest, administrators may want to understand the reason this relationship is occurring at these particular institutional environments (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). By examining the relationship between institutional characteristics and student collective action, this study offers a unique contribution that will add to our knowledge base of studies in this area. Additionally, this study may allow us to better understand how environmental resources translate to student movement resources for mobilization. My study may assist in better understanding the role institutional environments play in student organization protests.

Organization of the Dissertation

Research demonstrates that institutional characteristics are important in predicting student collective action (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Van Dyke, 1998). Wealthier, and more elite higher education institutions were found to contain more student protests than other institutions (Altbach & Cohen, 1990; Flacks, 1967; Van Dyke, 1998). Reviewing what institutions appeared on the BLC's student protest demand list in 2015 (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.), reveals that there is overlap to what previous studies suggested (Van Dyke, 1998). However, previous empirical studies did not investigate systematically and theoretically the relationship between institutional characteristics as resource factors and student organization protests. This study aims to understand what institutional characteristics are more predictive of student organization protests than others.

Chapter I introduces the topic of institutional characteristics and student collective action as well as the purpose and significance of the study. Chapter II features a literature review on the topic. I define key terminology, discuss the historical significance and context of student

collective action, expound the relevant social movement theories, and review empirical studies on institutional characteristics and student collective action. I conclude that chapter with remarks on the limitations of studies. Additionally, I propose a conceptual model for the study. Chapter III contains an exposition on the methods and research design of the study. I elaborate on the two national datasets and criteria for my sample, the variables I selected for the study, and how I dealt with missing data. I elaborate on how I conducted data management, diagnosed and addressed multicollinearity issues, and the methods I utilized and the purpose for them. The results are presented and analyzed in Chapter IV. Finally, Chapter V contains a discussion and conclusion of the results and recommendations for future research.

Chapter II

Literature Review

In studies on student collective action, there are some institutional characteristics that predict student protests in higher education. However, there is a need to synthesize research findings to better understand the relationship of the predictors to student collective action. Particularly, it is uncertain what, if any, relationship there is between institutional characteristics and student organizations that mobilize. Developing a conceptual model that aims to understand this relationship could be used for future research on student collective action.

The purpose of this literature review is twofold: first, to review and systematically understand the institutional characteristics that predict student collective action and second, to propose a conceptual model for the present study.

This literature review examines the topic on institutional characteristics and student collective action. First, I provide definitions for important terminology and technical terms for this area of study. Second, I briefly survey the history of student collective action in higher education. Next, I introduce social movement theories that have been used in both the literature and the discipline to understand student collective action. After, I review and examine empirical studies that connect institutional characteristics and student collective action. I breakdown these studies into the following categories: structure, financial, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics. Finally, I identify the gaps in the literature and propose a conceptual framework.

Terminology

The three important terms in the literature on student protests are *student activism*, *student collective action*, and *student organizations*. Student activism is largely synonymous with student protests (Klemenčič, 2020). It refers to student engagement, expression, and action based on concerns for local or broad sociopolitical issues (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Klemenčič, 2020; Klemenčič & Park, 2018). Student activism may also refer to individual or collective actions, and they may be either short-lived one-off events or more durable. Durable protests may imply that students form a collective identity like the brief I, Too, Am (ITA) movement or longer social movements such as Occupy Wall Street (OWS). Many of these protests involved student organizations. Student organizations have the potential to transform into student movements by employing informal and formal networks that consist of a collectivity of students focused on similar goals (Klemenčič, 2020; Klemenčič & Park, 2018).

Studies on student activism examine different types of protests such as sit-ins, issuance of demands, hunger strikes, and other forms of demonstration, and these types of protests represent collective action efforts (Asal et al., 2017; Bloom, 2019; Byrd et al., 2019; Rhoads, 2016). Student collective action emphasizes the collective aspect of student activism (Klemenčič & Park, 2018). It is when organized collectivities are engaged through various political means aimed at opposing or holding authorities accountable (Klemenčič & Park, 2018). In short, student collective action is subsumed under student activism when it is a collective or organization of people organized around sociopolitical issues. It is not, on the other hand, singular or individual participation. In that regard, student collective action and student activism are sometimes used as synonyms for protests in the literature (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018;

Edwards, 2014; Klemenčič & Park, 2018). For the remainder of this chapter, I use the terms of student activism and student collective action synonymously.

Finally, an underutilized term in the literature is student organizations. Student organizations have had a rich legacy of student activism in higher education (Altbach, 1997; Boren, 2019; Lipset, 1971). Student organizations are perennial or short-lived collectivities composed of students who autonomously govern and manage organizations (Klemenčič, 2020). Student organizations can run the gamut of being either formal or informal. Formal organizations comprise student government associations (SGA), Black student unions, academic clubs, student newspaper organizations, or any other formalized student organizations that are recognized and legitimized by the institution they belong to (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019). On the other hand, informal organizations can be anything from a short-lived student group to a biweekly bingo group that meets on campus. The difference being informal organizations are not recognized or formally legitimized by the institutions. Such informal organizations may not receive any funding or resources from the institution because they are not formalized (Klemenčič, 2020). On the other hand, formal student organizations may have the advantage of having institutional financial resources at their disposal. Additionally, as long as formal student organizations continue to register and comply with institutional policies and procedures of their organizational classification they will remain in good standing (Kuk et al., 2007).

It is important to understand how student organizations are funded by their institutions. At many higher education institutions there exists a student governance body that permits student organizations to oversee fee money distribution through procedural measures as well as to regulate their organizations (Miles et al., 2008). In the case of formal student organizations, authorities and student affairs officials provide funding and other material resources as well as

structural norms that may constrain student organizations' autonomy (Klemenčič & Park, 2018). These structural constraints on student collectivities within formal organizations include policies, procedures, and the need to fill official positions within the student organization such as secretary, treasurer, vice president, and president. The secretary may organize, plan, and schedule events for the organization; the treasurer may be responsible for handling the organization's money resources; the vice president is second in charge; and the president is the leader of the organization. It is difficult to generalize about where funding for student organizations derives from since higher education institutions vastly differ, and there exists little research on the topic (Kuk et al., 2007). One qualitative study that examined the ways student organizations provide spaces for Black identity expression and development briefly touched on a funding issue from an interview they conducted with a student association member from a flagship institution (Harper & Quaye, 2007). The student mentioned that Black organizations at their institution tended to be underfunded because they do not have representation and are not invited to attend the meeting when funds are allocated (Harper & Quaye, 2007). They stated distribution of funds happens at the beginning of the year (Harper & Quaye, 2007).

On the other hand, there are numerous strands of research pertaining to student organizations in higher education. Research on student organizations focuses on several areas of inquiry including leadership (Astin, 1993, p. 199; Renn, 2007; Rosch, 2017; Rosch & Collins, 2017), student involvement (Astin, 1999), retention (Lau, 2003; Tinto, 1999), as venues of expression and racial identity (M. Davis, 2017; Harper & Quaye, 2007), achievement and satisfaction (Yin & Lei, 2007), and civic outcomes (Biddix, 2014; Biddix et al., 2009; Miles et al., 2008). There are several studies that investigate student activist development of values and behaviors but not many that examine student collective action in protesting organizations or

funding of student organizations (M. Davis, 2017; Korgan et al., 2018; Kuk et al., 2007; Lott, 2013).

My study examines formal and informal student organizations that were involved in the national protests in 2015. Those formal and informal student organizations that protested were members of the national student organization called the Black Liberation Collective (BLC). The BLC was a national student organization that comprised a decentralized and autonomous network of 86 student organizations that issued protest demands at their respective institutions in 2015 (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). An activist organization called We the Protestors started compiling local, regional, and national demands to empower and connect student organizations across the United States and to underscore the interconnectedness of the protest demands that were being issued across the country (We The Protestors, 2015). Those student organizations were connected and given a space to unite on the Black Liberation Collective's (BLC) website and other social media outlets. We the Protestors stated the BLC formed within the context of the Ferguson uprising and nationwide protest movement following the murder of Michael Brown by a police officer (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.; Black Liberation Collective, 2016). The BLC stated the demands website serves as a resource for communities fighting for equity and justice (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.).

During the fall semester of 2015, higher education institutions experienced the biggest increase in student collective action since the 1960s (Chessman & Wayt, 2016; Eagan et al., 2015). The catalyst for mass mobilization and Black student movement participation may have been when Michael Brown was unarmed and shot and killed by a police officer in August 2014 (L. Buchanan et al., 2015; Turner, 2020). The national organization described themselves as a collective of a Black students whose purpose is to transform the direction of higher education

through unity, coalition building, direct action, and political education (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). The organization was a fiscally sponsored project by the Netroots Foundation (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.; New Black Nationalism, n.d.).

Since the BLC student organization was funded by the Netroots Foundation, it is important to understand the type of organization that partnered with the BLC. The Netroots Foundation is a nonprofit organization; their mission is to advance values of justice, equality, and community in the political conversation in America (Netroots Foundation, n.d.). To obtain fiscal sponsorship from the Netroots Foundation, organizations must enter into a legal agreement. The legal arrangement allows organizations not recognized as nonprofits to indirectly receive donations and services from the foundation (Netroots Foundation, n.d.). As per the legal agreement, the Netroots Foundation charges a percentage-based service fee for every donation received (Netroots Foundation, n.d.). In addition, the organization offers services for organizations it partners with; these services include financial administration, human resource management, governance and compliance services, and a plethora of benefits from other Netroots Foundation programs (Netroots Foundation, n.d.). Although it is unclear how much the Netroots Foundation spent or contributed to the BLC, a quick glance at their tax statement of functional expenses for fiscally sponsored projects in 2015 filing year reveals they spent \$416,975 (Netroots Foundation, 2015). It appears the BLC's website domain is still functional even though the organization no longer appears to be active (New Black Nationalism, n.d.). There are several resources for protestors on the BLC's website such as electronic registration forms for conference calls, electronic registration forms for actions, a demands tool kit, a direction action planning manual, two templates for fliers that are 600x600jpg and 1159x1500jpg (#StudentBlackOut, n.d.). The demands tool kit and the direct action planning manuals provide

potential protestors with information on recruitment, organizing and planning, mobilizing, event logistics, program communication, security, media, and staff and decision making information (#StudentBlackOut, n.d.). It is unclear on whether these resources were provided by the Netroots Foundation or not.

There were two national actions held by the BLC on November 18, 2015, and December 3, 2015 (Brown, 2015; Simon, 2015). To garner support for these actions, they held several national conference calls. The first national conference call was held on November 15, 2015, at 10:00 p.m. EST, and 298 guests attended (#StudentBlackOut Conference Call I, 2015). The purpose of the call was to explain the #StudentBlackOut initiative that called for student organizations to mobilize against institutional racism and advocate for free tuition. This call for action and purpose are detailed in their mission and vision statements as well as their national demands (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). The second national conference call was held 2 days later at the same time, and 62 guests attended. The third national conference call was held on November 22, 2015, and 40 guests attended. The BLC bolstered that the first conference call contained over 300 participants from the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, France, and South Africa (#StudentBlackOut National Conference Call III, 2015). The organization held the final conference call 8 days later, and 64 guests attended. It is not certain who attended these conference calls and whether it was student organizations that belong to the BLC or not. It is unclear how the resources on the website were distributed and allocated among the student organizations within the BLC. That information along with the fiscally sponsored project funding by Netroots Foundation would be helpful information for knowing how the student organization mobilized its resources.

History of Student Protests

Student collective action has a long and rich past in higher education. To better understand this phenomenon, it is essential to examine the history of student protests. Student collective action can be broken down into roughly two periods: the classical and contemporary eras. The classical era was dominated by the doctrine of *in loco parentis*. The contemporary era represents the collapse of that doctrine and the rise of student rights.

Early student collective action ranged from the 17th to the early 20th centuries. In these periods, student protests were often viewed as being synonymous with revolt, rebellion, and unrest (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019). Student protest groups were mostly concentrated on local issues like dissatisfaction with the curriculum, poor food quality and lodging, and restrictive schedules (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Burton, 2007; Moore, 1976; Rudolph, 1990). The students protesting at those institutions were primarily from wealthier backgrounds (Altbach, 1997; Boren, 2019; Geiger, 2016). The focus on issues of discipline, institutional policies, and practices was primarily due to the doctrine of *in loco parentis* (Geiger, 2016; Lipset, 1971; Rudolph, 1990). *In loco parentis* is a Latin phrase that means “in the place of the parent” (Lee, 2011, p. 66). Since students enrolled were often much younger than students are today; there was a philosophy among faculty and administrators that they were to be considered like fatherly figures to their students (Boren, 2019; Geiger, 2016; Rudolph, 1990). Thus faculty and administrators believed they had complete justification for disciplining students as they would children (Jackson, 1991). This, along with poor campus conditions, often resulted in student collectivities revolting against faculty and administrators (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019). Institutions such as Harvard, University of Virginia, and other hotbeds of protests, would often respond to these

revolts by tightening up the rules; this exchange would continue for several centuries (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Novak, 1977).

Around the beginning of the 20th century, student activism shifted from local issues to broader societal concerns both on and off campuses (Altbach, 1997; Broadhurst & Velez, 2019). Towards the end of the 19th century there was a widespread demand for increased student power on campuses (Lipset, 1971). Lipset suggested that this was partly due to the major changes occurring in higher education in the late 1890s. Institutions were growing larger and becoming more formalized and bureaucratic (Veysey, 1970). In addition, more student organizations were being birthed (Altbach, 1997; Veysey, 1970). For instance, the creation of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS) in 1905 ushered in a new era of student activism that reimagined higher education as a reorganizing force for ideological themes and actions (Altbach, 1997; Lipset, 1971). The ISS helped higher education further cut loose from the traditional church and conservative mold that shaped it previously (Altbach, 1997; Lipset, 1971). By the 1930s, there were over one million students enrolled, and higher education institutions were accumulating greater wealth and resources (S. Baker, 2011; R. A. Ferguson, 2017; Geiger, 2016; Lipset, 1971). Altbach (1997) mentioned that during the period of 1900s to 1960s, there were primarily three major student activist groups: religious, liberal-radical and conservative. Of the three activist groups, the liberal-radicals had the biggest impact on higher education (Altbach, 1997). They were the group of students who protested during the peace activism of the 1920s to the 1930s and the civil rights movement and women's liberation movements of the 1960s (Altbach, 1997; Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Lipset, 1971; Rhoads, 2016). Ultimately, contemporary student protests varied from the classical period by focusing on broader sociopolitical concerns as well

as the rise of institutional wealth and resources along with the massification of higher education (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Geiger, 2016).

By the 1960s, the doctrine of *in loco parentis* was challenged by student activists, and higher education began to shift towards recognizing students as adults with rights (Geiger, 2016; Johnston, 2015; Patel, 2019; Rudolph, 1990). This was due to several factors such as stakeholders' concerns with issues in higher education, institutions' concerns over legal liability, shifting societal norms, and student and civil rights movement protests of the 60s (Patel, 2019). As demographics began to shift, the 1970s to the 1980s saw student activists expanding their concerns toward global issues (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019). The issues ranged from anti-war protests to tactics of building shantytowns to protest divestment from Apartheid in South Africa (S. Baker, 2011; Boren, 2019; R. A. Ferguson, 2017; Lipset, 1971; Soule, 1997). From the 1990s onwards, student activism shifted from global issues to a rise in multicultural and racial justice issues on campuses homeward (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Rhoads, 1998). From the 2000s onwards, we have witnessed the rise of Black Lives Matter (BLM), OWS, ITA, and the Black Liberation Collective (BLC) movements to name a few recent student protest movements (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Dean, 2012; Johnston, 2015). Student collective action has shifted from local issues of discipline to more broader sociopolitical issues of social and racial justice in a global as well as national context (Rhoads, 2016). Movements like the BLC cumulated in 2015 as the result of ongoing poor institutional environments and microaggressions experienced by minority students on college campuses (Byrd et al., 2019; T. L. Ferguson & Davis, 2019; Jaschik, 2015b).

Although student activists started out wealthier in the earlier periods of higher education, it appears that the group of students attending colleges have become more diverse (Bloom, 2019;

Boren, 2019; R. A. Ferguson, 2017; Geiger, 2016). Additionally, institutions have gained more wealth, and this was certainly advantageous for student activist organizations (Altbach, 1997). It appears that although the issues protested seem to shift, there are certain institutions that experience protests more often than others (Boren, 2019; Van Dyke, 1998).

Since student activism, student collective action, and student organizations are terms that comprise organized and protesting collectivities throughout time, it is important to understand the major theories that explain this phenomenon. In sociology, the subfield of social movement studies has developed several key theories that help explain how social movements emerge. I now direct my attention towards this discipline.

Social Movement Theories

Social movement studies are a subfield within sociology that has undergone major changes in recent years. The field emerged as a separate and multidisciplinary area of study in sociology by the early 1970s (Buechler, 2004; Edwards, 2014). Before then, social movement studies were subsumed under an area of sociology known as collective behavior (CB) studies (Blumer, 1971; Buechler, 2004; Edwards, 2014; McAdam, 2010). CB studies emphasized theories of social breakdown when describing the reason social movements occurred (Buechler, 2004). During the late 1970s, a landmark paper was published that divorced social movements from CB studies and established it as a discipline in its own right (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). There are three classic theories in the field of social movements that explain the reason for collective action. Those theories are grievance, resource mobilization, and political process.

Grievance is the oldest theory in the bunch, and it has fallen out of favor with current scholars and researchers in the field (Edwards, 2014). Grievance theory postulates that social movements emerge when the emotion levels of people reach a tipping point, and it thrusts them

into action (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Snow et al., 1998). Grievance had a monopoly on protests and social movements studies up until the late 60s (Edwards, 2014). It received a major challenge from scholars and researchers in the field that tested and found evidence that protestors were not creating unrest due to emotive strains (Currie & Skolnick, 1970; Hirschi, 2002; McAdam, 2010; McPhail, 2017; Oberschall, 1968; A. Scott, 1990; Snyder & Tilly, 1972; Tilly, 1978). Studies found a weak correlation between protests and short-term hardships (McAdam, 2010). Other studies found that the levels of anger and frustration experienced by both non-protestors and protestors could not account for why some participants protested while others did not (McPhail, 2017). Finally, research found that those who protested were more connected than those who did not (Edwards, 2014; Tilly, 1978). In fact, that body of research may have influenced the absence of grievance in higher education studies throughout the late 60s onwards (Keniston & Lerner, 1971). Despite falling out of favor with scholars in the field, recent researchers in higher education have tested it in studies on student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Blissett et al., 2020).

Resource mobilization theory (RMT) helped to create the subdiscipline of sociology called social movement studies (Buechler, 2004; Edwards, 2014). Furthermore, it shifted the perspective on social movements away from the emotive vantagepoint of grievance (Blumer, 1971, 1995; Edwards, 2014). RMT shifted that vantagepoint by borrowing from rational actor theory (RAT; Buechler, 2004; Edwards, 2014; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973; Olson, 2009). RAT indicates that participants are rational actors that pursue common and shared interests (Edwards, 2014). RMT, building off of RAT, suggests that social movements will emerge when rational actors in organizations obtain adequate resources (Diani & McAdam, 2003; Freeman, 1973; Oberschall, 1989; Pichardo, 1988; Tilly, 1978). In terms of utilizing RMT

in a quantitative manner, there is a precedent. Fine (2012) tested RMT and political process theory (PPT) on assessing the likelihood of LGBT center presence on campus. Partly due to the death of Matthew Shepherd and response to heterosexism, Fine argued that campuses have begun to respond to the needs of LGBT students and mobilize resources. The study used IPEDS data with a sample set of 1,751 institutions. Although they were not interested in examining student collective action and instead were interested in ways political opportunity and resources were mobilized by campuses, they found RMT institutional characteristics such as total enrollment, prestige, endowment, and tuition rates were significant resource factors for the likelihood of an LGBT center on campuses. The study quantitatively connected resources of the institution to mobilization of resource centers.

An aspect of RMT was recently used in a study that attempted to explain where OWS protest events were occurring on college campuses (Asal et al., 2017). Unfortunately, this study was not able to utilize RMT because they tested student protest events and not student organizations that mobilized. Other studies on activism appear to provide supportive evidence that institutional resources such as selectivity, student and faculty size, and faculty and staff salaries may be predictors of student collective action in higher education (Barnhardt, 2015; Byrd et al., 2019; T. L. Ferguson & Davis, 2019; Korgan et al., 2018; Lott, 2013; Soule, 1997).

Another theory that may be subsumed under the camp of RMT is critical mass theory (CMT). CMT postulates that if large numbers of people gather, then there is a higher likelihood that a protest might result (Crossley & Ibrahim, 2012; Edwards, 2014; Marwell et al., 1988; Oliver & Marwell, 1988). Higher education studies in the 60s proposed CMT as one plausible explanation for the reason institutional size was a predictor of student demonstrations (Astin et

al., 1975; Bayer, 1971). A study from the 90s that found size to be a predictor suggested it aligned with those previous studies (Van Dyke, 1998).

Political process theory (PPT) emerged as a response to RMT. PPT postulates that collective action movements are most likely to emerge when political opportunities are within scope (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001; McAdam, 1990; Tarrow, 2011; Tilly, 1978). Scholars in the field proposed that resources were necessary for social movements but could not account for the reason that some protests occurred despite a lack of resources (Edwards, 2014; McAdam, 2010). Researchers and scholars considered that political opportunity might account for that gap (McAdam, 2010; McAdam et al., 2009; Tilly & Tarrow, 2006). There has been a lack of student collective action studies that focus on PPT. For the purposes of my study, I am focusing on understanding the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organizations that protested and not student protests, so RMT is the most appropriate theory for that task. Future studies that examine student activism should consider utilizing PPT to understand to what extent political environments on campuses have an impact on student collective action.

Although the use of social movement theories in higher education studies have been sparse, it is important to include a discussion of them before reviewing the empirical studies. Theory can help guide and direct my understanding of student collective action. The classic social movement theories can be used as a benchmark for understanding the findings in the literature on student collective action, which I intend to underscore with RMT. It is for this reason that I included this section prior to reviewing the studies. Next, I review and examine what empirical studies have been conducted on institutional characteristics and student collective action.

Empirical Studies on Student Protests

The literature is currently sparse on the topic of institutional characteristics and student collective action. There was a surge of studies in the late 60s to early 70s that sought to understand the reason student protests were occurring frequently on campuses (Astin et al., 1975; Blau & Slaughter, 1971; Flacks, 1967; Orbell, 1967; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969). There was even a comprehensive collection of the major empirical studies on student activism and a summary of the studies reported to the President of the United States by the Urban Institute in the early 70s (G. Buchanan & Brackett, 1970; Keniston & Lerner, 1971). The report found that student protests that involved sit-ins, interference with classroom activities, and other normal affairs of the university should be viewed as being terroristic (G. Buchanan & Brackett, 1970). On the other hand, the report was very helpful in the sense that it collected and compiled all the major student protest studies from that period. Studies from that era framed the issue of student protests in a negative manner (Bayer, 1971; Bayer & Astin, 1969; Blau & Slaughter, 1971). The motivation behind those studies was discovering ways to prevent student protests from occurring on campuses. This is not surprising given the tumultuous period of the 60s and 70s as well as the decline of the doctrine of *in loco parentis* as detailed in the previous section (Altbach, 1997; Patel, 2019; Rhoads, 2016). Scholars have criticized this period of studies as being rooted in crisis rather than academic rigor and concern for the subject itself (Altbach, 1981; Page, 2010).

In contrast, a new generation of researchers revisited the period of the 60s and were more apt to observe student protests in a positive manner (Barnhardt, 2015; McAdam, 1990; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1999). Those scholars were rooted in the burgeoning new subdiscipline in sociology called social movement studies and trying to understand the process that assists with mobilization. By the early 1980s and onwards, scholars and researchers shifted their focus from

prevention of protests to student activism as a strength for campuses (Biddix et al., 2009; Garvey et al., 2018; Kuh, 2001; Lott, 2013; Morgan et al., 2019; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005).

There are several themes that emerge from studies on institutional characteristics and student collective action. A body of research exists in the field that focuses on student collective action and structure characteristics (Asal et al., 2017; Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Bayer & Astin, 1969; Feuer, 1969; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; Orbell, 1967; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998), financial characteristics (Asal et al., 2017; Byrd et al., 2019; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998, 2003), student demographic characteristics (Blissett et al., 2020; Byrd et al., 2019; Duncan & Stewart, 1995; T. L. Ferguson & Davis, 2019; Flacks, 1967; Lott, 2013; Morgan et al., 2019; Orbell, 1967), and faculty and staff characteristics (Asal et al., 2017; Astin et al., 1975; Bayer, 1971; Byrd et al., 2019; Kezar, 2010).

In what follows, I review and critique the major empirical studies on institutional characteristics and student collective action. I begin by reviewing structure characteristics; I break down this category by several predictors found in the literature: size, selectivity, and institution control. Next, I review studies on financial resources. After, I cover studies on student demographic characteristics. Following that, I briefly discuss faculty and staff characteristics. Finally, I conclude by briefly summarizing the studies, pointing out the gaps in the literature, and proposing a conceptual model.

Structure Characteristics

Size. Researchers have demonstrated that institutional structure factors play an important role in student collective action. Particularly, institutional size was found to be a predictor of student collective action (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2015; Blau & Slaughter, 1971; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969; Van Dyke, 1998, 2003). Astin and colleagues

conducted a longitudinal study on student and faculty characteristics and covered protests from 1968 to 1971; they sampled 2,362 institutions, conducted case studies, and examined newspaper sources on student protests (Astin et al., 1975). The study found that larger enrollments at institutions would lead to a critical mass. Critical mass theory postulates that if student collectivities gather in high numbers, then a protest would most likely result (Crossley & Ibrahim, 2012; Edwards, 2014; Marwell et al., 1988; Oliver & Marwell, 1988). Researchers proposed critical mass as one plausible explanation for the reason size was a predictor of student activism on campuses. They cited Bayer's (1971) study to help bolster their conclusions (Astin et al., 1975). Unfortunately, the study referenced did not examine total enrollment of students or faculty (Bayer, 1971). Instead, Bayer was interested in understanding the connection between faculty activism and support for student protests on campuses. Several researchers followed that line of interpretation of critical mass to explain the reason size was a predictor (Bayer, 1971; Edwards, 2014; Van Dyke, 1998).

Other earlier studies offered a different line of interpretation for the finding. They suggested that protests occurring at institutions with larger enrollment sizes may be due to the impersonal nature of bureaucratic institutions (Blau & Slaughter, 1971; Hodgkinson, 1970; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969). Those scholars suggested that protests may have come about as the result of alienation experienced by students in those large and impersonal environments (Blau & Slaughter, 1971; Lipset, 1971; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969). Studies from the 90s on student movements and student activism found smaller institutions were less likely to contain protests (Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998).

In one of the recent studies, D. J. Baker and Blissett (2018) examined if diversity was a predictor of I, Too, Am (ITA) movement. The study used the Integrated Postsecondary

Education Data System (IPEDS) from a 5-year period 2009–2014 (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). They noted that the finding of institutional size aligned with previous studies and suggested it could be due to stable factors in the college environment (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). Another recent study by Asal and colleagues (2017) attempted to test resource factors on student protest events. Although the study was focused on protestor characteristics, when controlling for institutional characteristics, they found larger enrollment numbers and institutions with more economic resources were hotbeds for Occupy Wall Street protest events (Asal et al., 2017). Overall, there appears to be evidence that institutional size is a predictor in student protests and student collective action (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2015; Lott, 2013; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 2003).

Selectivity. Prestige has been an institutional characteristic long associated with student collective action in higher education (Altbach & Cohen, 1990a; Bloom, 2019; Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Geiger, 2016; Lipset, 1971). Past and recent studies found evidence linking selectivity and prestige to student protests (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Bayer & Astin, 1969; Feuer, 1969; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; Lott, 2013; Orbell, 1967; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998, 1999, 2003; Van Dyke et al., 2007).

Researchers that focused on characteristics of student activists and controlled for institutional characteristics found selectivity to be a predictor (Astin et al., 1975; Flacks, 1967; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; Korgan et al., 2018; Orbell, 1967; Soule, 1997). Korgan and colleagues examined incoming college students and the likelihood they might engage in activism. Although this study was interested in the development of civic values and activism, it is worth including the results to better understand what institutional characteristics might impact future activists. The study found that college grade point average (GPA) and selectivity were important factors of

developing activism (Korgan et al., 2018). The study concluded that activism may be linked to intelligent students who are admitted at elite institutions (Korgan et al., 2018; Sirin, 2005). Another study that investigated civic values found evidence that both selectivity and socioeconomic status (SES) were predictors of activism but did not find GPA to be a predictor (Lott, 2013). It should be noted that study was more interested in measuring civic values than student activism (Alcantar, 2017; Lott, 2013). Studies on student collective action included diversity measures and tested grievance theory (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). Baker and Blissett suggested that the importance of selectivity on protests might not be produced by institutional changes from more selective campuses but could rather be due to social breakdown of normal routine (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). This finding lines up with the student grievances from the I, Too, Am (ITA) movement; students expressed dissatisfaction with microaggressions they were experiencing on their campuses. Another study by Blissett and colleagues suggested this as possible evidence for grievance (Blissett et al., 2020).

Van Dyke (1998) tested a hypothesis that student activism might be linked to institutional type and found that protests were more likely to occur at elite and prestigious institutions from the 1930s to the 1960s (Barnhardt, 2015; Van Dyke, 1998, 1999). In other words, selective and elite institutions were hotbeds for student protests over time (Van Dyke, 1998). They suggested that finding of selectivity as a predictor might not be due to economic resources, but rather could be because of the political culture of campuses.

Soule (1997) examined shantytown protest movements on campuses in the late 80s to the early 90s. They found that elite institutions were likely candidates for a shantytown protest movement. Soule (1997) postulated that one plausible explanation is that students at prestigious institutions influence each other. Other researchers in the field who found selectivity to be a

predictor speculated that more competitive and selective institutions tended to breed more intelligent, wealthier, and confident students, and it might be that combination results in student unrest (Astin et al., 1975; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; Korgan et al., 2018; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969).

Institution Control. Plenty of research has been conducted on the relationship between control and student protests. Researchers reported mixed results on whether institutional control was a predictor of student collective action. Several studies reported that student protests were more likely to occur at four-year public institutions relative to four-year private institutions (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2012; Peterson, 1968). Other studies found that four-year public institutions and private religious-affiliated institutions had a negative relationship on whether student activist organizations were likely to be present on campuses (Barnhardt, 2012; Byrd et al., 2019; Van Dyke, 1998).

Researchers found private institutions were a predictor of civic values and student activism (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Foster & Long, 1969; Lott, 2013). Lott focused on civic values and reported that private institutions were sites of more activism. However, it is critical to point out that their outcome variable measures something quite different than student collective action. However, there is evidence that suggests civic values often lead to student activism (Edwards, 2014; McAdam, 1986, 2010; Morgan et al., 2019). The evidence surrounding institutional control appears to be in conflict among studies. One possible explanation for that conflict might be because studies varied by period.

Financial Characteristics

A limited number of studies have examined the role of financial resources and student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Barnhardt, 2015; Byrd et al., 2019; Soule, 1997). Financial

resources in the studies included tuition and costs, percentage of change in the price of college, total endowment, and faculty and staff salaries (Asal et al., 2017; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998; Zilvinskis et al., 2020).

Asal and colleagues (2017) attempted to test resource variables to explain the occurrence of OWS protests at certain institutions. They organized their model around testing grievance and resource mobilization (RMT) theories. The resource variables included in their model were total staff and students, faculty salary, and cost of tuition fees. They found the higher the number of staff and costs the greater likelihood of a student protest event (Asal et al., 2017). Researchers interpreted that finding to mean that wealthy students were protesting at OWS events (Asal et al., 2017). Another study that tested RMT investigated the conditions and organizational characteristics that assist in enabling cross-movement coalition events (Van Dyke, 2003). The study examined coalition and non-coalition protest events between 1930 and 1990 (Van Dyke, 2003). The only resource variable included in the model was annual college revenue per student. Van Dyke (2003) reported that it was a predictor of any protest events between those years as well as within movement coalition events.

Researchers that included resource variables such as institutional endowment in their model reported mixed results (Byrd et al., 2019; Soule, 1997; Zilvinskis et al., 2020). Zilvinskis and colleagues' study sought to understand which institutional-level variables within student activism literature could be retained in their model. They found that total endowment at the beginning of the 2016 fiscal year could not be retained in their multilevel modeling process because it did not pass the likelihood ratio test (Zilvinskis et al., 2020). The literature used to justify variable selection was understandably limited due to the specific purpose of the study. Researchers were interested in studying student activist behaviors and therefore focused on

controlling for factors found in that body of literature (Zilvinskis et al., 2020). Therefore, they were not controlling for institutional characteristics that were found predictive in literature within student collective action studies. On the other hand, Soule (1997) tested diffusion theory and noticed that endowment and wealth were predictors of campus protest movements. They interpreted that finding to mean that student activists at wealthier institutions look at student activists at similar institutions when mobilizing (Soule, 1997).

A recent study estimated a binary logistic regression and negative binomial regression and controlled for endowment (Byrd et al., 2019). When examining the presence of student protest demands on campus, researchers reported endowment was not a significant factor. However, when predicting student demand inventories, endowment was found to be a predictor among two student demand inventories: counter spaces and resources, and training (Byrd et al., 2019). It is worth pointing out that measures for endowment varied among these studies. Soule (1997) and Zilvinskis and colleagues (2020) measured total endowment at the beginning of their respective fiscal years. On the other hand, Byrd and colleagues (2019) measured endowment per full-time equivalent (FTE) student.

Studies that examined tuition and costs of institutions were also mixed. Van Dyke (1998) controlled for tuition and fees as a variable used for measuring economic resources. The study found that tuition was not significant for the formation of student activist student organizations, presence of activism on campuses, or participation in student activist programs (Van Dyke, 1998). The study's sample size was 423 institutions, and the tuition variable was constructed from the 1964 *American Universities and Colleges* handbook. Because the study was interested in exploring the factors that influence the location of protests, certain economic resources variables such as total endowment, faculty and staff salaries, and other related financial factors

were not controlled for in their model (Van Dyke, 1998, 2003). Other studies that examined economic resources controlled for them (Asal et al., 2017; Van Dyke, 1999, 2003).

A recent study investigated tuition fees and found them to be a predictor of an OWS protest event (Asal et al., 2017). Cost was considered a resource variable that was included in their model as tuition fees in 2009-2010. The study used national data from the Integrated Postsecondary Data System (IPEDS), which surveys and gathers information from every postsecondary institution (NCES, n.d.; Miller & Shedd, 2019). Researchers included a significantly larger set of institutions (2,871) and more precise measures for tuition (Asal et al., 2017). In addition, one of their grievance variables in the model was percentage change in cost of attendance one year prior to the OWS event to be a predictor of a protest (Asal et al., 2017). Overall, the researchers suggested more resource-laden institutions were more likely to generate social movements (Asal et al., 2017). They invited future researchers to investigate the mechanisms of resources that foster mobilization in student organizations.

The mixed studies on endowment, cost, and student collective action might also be due to context. Researchers who were studying protest events ranged from the 1930s to 2015. In addition, studies differed on what institutional characteristics resource variables they controlled for in their models. Other studies were simply controlling for institutional characteristics and included endowment as one measure. Both of those decisions may have impacted the mixed results.

Student Demographic Characteristics

Demographics. Shifting our attention to student characteristics, researchers have investigated multiple demographic aspects that predict student protests; these aspects included

social class and racial diversity (Asal et al., 2017; Duncan & Stewart, 1995; Lott, 2013; Morgan et al., 2019; Rhoads, 1998; Westby & Braungart, 1966).

Studies on social class were mixed. Earlier studies reported that wealthier students were more likely to engage in protests on campuses (Altbach, 1989; Flacks, 1967; Westby & Braungart, 1966). However, another study presented slightly contrary evidence of that relationship that appeared to be more nuanced (Kahn & Bowers, 1970). Kahn and Bowers were testing a hypothesis on whether activists tend to come from wealthier backgrounds. They found that the relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and activism disappears when examining its relationship to selectivity (Kahn & Bowers, 1970). Researchers reported findings on different SES backgrounds in that relationship. First, at the most prestigious institutions lower income students were likely to be activists. Second, at less selective institutions activists were likely to be middle class. Finally, it was only at the highly selective and top-ranked institutions that the relationship between wealthy students and activism persisted (Kahn & Bowers, 1970). They offered two possible explanations for these findings. The first is that student composition varies across institution, and so we should expect to find differences in who is partaking in activism (Kahn & Bowers, 1970). The second is that the top-ranking institutions tend to encourage activism among their student bodies and thus set the tone (Kahn & Bowers, 1970). Recent studies suggest there may be some credence to that claim, as they have linked history of activism to elite institutions (Barnhardt, 2015; Van Dyke, 1998, 1999).

Furthering the evidence on social class, several studies found mixed evidence on Pell Grant programs and student collective action (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Byrd et al., 2019). Baker and Blissett's longitudinal study included participation in the Pell Grant program as well as the average award received to account for low-income students. They reported that the lower

number of participants in the Pell Grant program predicted chances of protests (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). Byrd and colleagues used proportion of students receiving Pell Grants to help measure the student composition. After controlling for institutional characteristics, faculty composition, and state-level controls, they found that a higher proportion of students receiving Pell Grants led to a greater issuance of student protest demands (Byrd et al., 2019). They postulated that the needs of low-income students at these prestigious and wealthy institutions may not be met and thus provided one plausible explanation for the presence of demands at those institutions (Byrd et al., 2019).

The findings in student demographics present a divergent story of who might be protesting at these institutions. In making sense of the divergent evidence on social class and the financial background and makeup of students in higher education, it is important to understand that the student demographics of protestors have changed over time. The student activists of yesterday may not be financially the same as the activists of today (Alcantar, 2017; Altbach, 1997; Broadhurst & Velez, 2019). It appears that low-income and wealthy students are both found to be predictive of activism at these elite institutions. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that several studies mentioned were focused more on protestor characteristics than collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Astin et al., 1975; Flacks, 1967; Kahn & Bowers, 1970).

The studies were mixed on racial diversity as a predictor of student collective action. Several studies found race to be a predictor in student protests, activism, and student collective action (Astin et al., 1975; Barnhardt, 2015; Byrd et al., 2019; Flacks, 1967; Lott, 2013; McAdam, 1986; Morgan et al., 2019; Orbell, 1967). However, the evidence on which race/ethnicity was significant differed among studies. Byrd and colleagues reported that a 10-year increase in Black student enrollment was associated with the presence of student protest

demands; however, an increase in the number of Asian and Pacific Islander students enrolled decreased the likelihood of the presence of protest demands on campuses (Byrd et al., 2019). Other studies reported similar results finding that Black and multiracial students increased activism and mobilization while Asian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander students decreased it (Barnhardt, 2015; Lopez & Marcelo, 2008; Lott, 2013; Morgan et al., 2019). Earlier studies focusing on protests in the 1960s and 1970s found that White protestors from wealthier backgrounds were protesting in greater numbers than other races (Astin et al., 1975; Flacks, 1967; Lipset, 1971; Loeb, 1994; McAdam, 1986, 1990; Soule, 1995). Orbell found that both White and Black students protested in large numbers but reported that more than half of the protestors were from higher SES backgrounds. Van Dyke (1998) controlled for diversity of students and found the percentage of students who were foreign predicted the birth of activist organizations. Other studies found diversity not to have a significant relationship with student collective action (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Soule, 1997; Zilvinskis et al., 2020).

These diverse findings need to be taken in context as student demographics from the 60s differ from those of today. More recent protests on campuses have been about issues of race, and those studies found Black students to be associated with activism and protests (Broadhurst & Velez, 2019; Byrd et al., 2019; Johnston, 2015; Lott, 2013; Morgan et al., 2019; Rhoads, 2016). In addition, earlier as well as later studies found evidence linking race and wealth together when investigating student collective action, and there seems to be no general consensus in the findings amongst studies (Astin et al., 1975; Flacks, 1967; Lott, 2013; McAdam, 1986). However, these mixed findings tell a story that social class and race/ethnicity may play a role in student activism and student collective action.

Faculty and Staff Characteristics

Several researchers have examined faculty and staff as characteristics in relation to student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Biddix et al., 2009; Korgan et al., 2018; Lott, 2013; Mahler-Rogers, 2017; Morgan et al., 2019; Zilvinskis et al., 2020). One study aimed at understanding how resources affected student collective action found that the larger the number of faculty and staff on campuses, the more likely a student protest would occur (Asal et al., 2017). They concluded that resources matter for mobilization and included faculty and staff in that category, so the higher the number the more likely those campuses will be targets for protest events (Asal et al., 2017). In addition, to viewing staff as resources, they specifically examined faculty salaries and found that the higher faculty were paid, the more likely a student protest would occur (Asal et al., 2017). Other researchers reported the antecedent conditions for student protests were linked to faculty at larger and more selective institutions (Astin et al., 1975; Bayer, 1971; Bayer & Astin, 1969; Blau & Slaughter, 1971; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969).

Some studies examined ratios of faculty to investigate if they were predictive of protests. Those studies found higher ratios of tenure-track faculty and tenured-track faculty of color were associated with higher levels of student activism (Byrd et al., 2019; Van Dyke, 1998; Zilvinskis et al., 2020). Those findings are plausible in lieu of studies that examined student protest demands and found students wanting more representation on campuses; perhaps that representation would further empower student activists (Ndemanu, 2017). Van Dyke controlled for faculty-to-student ratio in their model to test if activism is less likely to occur if there is an increased adult presence at smaller institutions (Van Dyke, 1998). The study found that faculty-to-student ratio had a negative effect on the presence of activism on campus and the formation of

new Student for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapters leading to the conclusion that *in loco parentis* is not a factor for those protests (Van Dyke, 1998).

An earlier study investigated 301 nationally representative institutions to examine if faculty support and activism was predictive of student activism (Bayer, 1971). Bayer found that faculty characteristics were predictive of student collective action at universities rather than colleges, liberal arts institutions, historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), and institutions in the Northwest and Western regions (Bayer, 1971). In terms of faculty activism and support or student activism, they found that size and quality context was a predictor (Bayer, 1971).

There are fewer studies that examine faculty characteristics and student collective action, but among the studies there appear to be some commonalities. As previously reviewed, it seems that size and salary of faculty and staff are associated with total enrollment of students. This finding fits in well with the previous studies that found institutional size to be predictive of protests (Blissett et al., 2020; Van Dyke, 1998). In addition, studies that reported salary of faculty and staff to be predictors of protests appear to provide another link in the chain for resources (Asal et al., 2017).

Interaction Effects

It is important to note that there may be some interaction effects between variables found to be predictors in the literature I reviewed. There may be an interaction effect between selectivity and student income when related to the outcome variable of student collective action. Several studies suggested that students from different backgrounds may respond differently to being in a more selective institution differently in their protests (Byrd et al., 2019; Flacks, 1967; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; Soule, 1997). Studies also found that wealthier (Soule, 1997) or lower

income (Byrd et al., 2019) students at competitive and selective institutions may have influenced each other to protests. Since that is the case, it is worth testing for interaction effects.

Limitations of Prior Studies

There are strengths and limitations to the studies that inform the research on institutional characteristics and student collective action. For starters, current research is scarce. The largest body of literature in this field derives from empirical studies in the late 1960s to early 1970s (Astin et al., 1975; Bayer, 1971; Bayer & Astin, 1969; Flacks, 1967; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969). Moreover, many of those studies controlled for several different institutional characteristics in their models while focusing their attention on testing a relationship of a specific independent variable. Their purposes were not to test the relationship between the institutional environment and student collective action.

Concerning their student protest variables, scholars' interests varied greatly. Some researchers were interested in social movements (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2015; Soule, 1997), others with activist values and behaviors (Korgan et al., 2018; Lott, 2013; Morgan et al., 2019; Zilvinskis et al., 2020), several with protestor characteristics (Asal et al., 2017; Byrd et al., 2019; Flacks, 1967; Kahn & Bowers, 1970), and a handful with institutional environment and activism (Blau & Slaughter, 1971; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969; Van Dyke, 1998). However, despite the body of literature surrounding student protests, activism, and student collective action, there currently exists no study I am aware of that has tested the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organizations that protested. Moreover, there is not much in this field on student organizations and protests. In fact, I am aware of only one quantitative study that examined student organizations and protests. The study had a special focus on conditions and organizational characteristics that enable cross-movement of coalition

events (Van Dyke, 2003). The study was focused on cross-movement of events and only controlled for the institutional characteristics of size (Van Dyke, 2003).

Although there are many common findings among institutional predictors, many scholars do not appear to have drawn upon each other's research (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998). Many of those studies were not studying institutional characteristics in a broad sense and were interested in different areas of student protest. By bringing the findings in the literature together, I am offering a contribution to this area of study. It is vital to connect the conversation of institutional characteristics and student collective action together to better understand that relationship.

There are a few studies in higher education that have attempted to engage with social movement theories. Studies tested grievance theory, resource mobilization theory, diffusion theory, and social movement theories with some success (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998, 2003). However, some studies that attempted to test for theories were limited by what they could report. For instance, Asal and colleagues were interested in resource mobilization but could not test for it because student organizations were not included in their model. RMT examines mobilization of organizations and not simply economic resources (Edwards, 2014; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Although they included several resource variables in their model, they suggested future studies could test for that mechanism between institutional resource factors and student protests by including student organizations (Asal et al., 2017). One study did just that. Van Dyke (2003) investigated coalition organization movement but included fewer resource variables and institutional characteristics in their model. These studies represent important efforts to bridge social movement theories to higher education.

A review of the literature from the late 60s onwards discloses that size, selectivity, financial factors, certain student demographics, student organizations, and staff and faculty characteristics to be predictors of student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2015; T. L. Ferguson & Davis, 2019; Klemenčič, 2014; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998; Warnock & Hurst, 2016). Given the common findings, this study examined the relationship between institutional predictors and student collective action of student organizations by utilizing RMT. I suggest that there may be a relationship between institutional resource characteristics and student organizations that mobilize. I expect to find that institutions with more selective environments and larger enrollment sizes contain more student organization mobilizing. Additionally, I expect to find that institutions with higher endowments, tuition, and average faculty and staff salaries with more staff and fewer Pell Grant recipients contain more student mobilization protests. Finally, when testing the difference between types of student organizations, formal and informal, I expect to find that institutions with formal student organization protests contain more of the institutional resources.

Overview of This Study

It is clear that several institutional, student, and faculty and staff characteristics have been found throughout the literature to be important predictors of student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2015; Korgan et al., 2018; Soule, 1997). Reviewing several of the studies, there appear to be several key findings. First, protest movements influence one another at other prestigious institutions (Soule, 1997). Second, a history of activism on these campuses may mean that there is a greater likelihood of protests appearing on those campuses (Van Dyke, 1998). Third, expression of dissatisfaction around institutional racism may not simply be an overflow of emotion like grievance suggests, but it

could also be a function of the institutional environment (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). So, it appears that institutional characteristics play a role in student collective action. However, researchers controlled for institutional characteristics and did not necessarily test for their broad connection to student collective action. Since student collective action appears to be occurring at more resource-laden institutions (Asal et al., 2017; Van Dyke, 2003), it may be beneficial to investigate that relationship more closely. The mechanism of student organizations directed by RMT may allow us to better understand this relationship.

Although there are studies that have controlled for institutional characteristics, there has not been a specific focus on studying those characteristics broadly on student organization protests. Since certain institutional resource characteristics have been found to be predictors in the literature, I suggest testing RMT on protesting student organizations (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Student collective action studies have found that student protests are more likely to occur at large elite institutions with more financial resources and larger faculties and staff. I apply the conceptual model I outlined in this literature review to guide my study and test RMT.

Chapter III

Research Design and Methodology

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodology of the study. This includes the following items: the research model, data sources, data collection and procedures for data analysis, and the limitations of the data. First, I discuss the problem statement, purpose, and research questions of the study. Next, I explain the rationale for the data sources used in the study. After, I discuss and define the variables in the model. Afterwards, I discuss the research design and data analysis of the study. Finally, I explain the limitations of this study.

Problem Statement

Over the past decade, student protests have been primarily occurring at elite and wealthier institutions (Ellis, 2020; Jaschik, 2015a, 2015b; Johnston, 2015; Nelson, 2011; New, 2015; Pettit, 2020). The Black Liberation Collective (BLC) was a student organization that featured student organizations from different institutions that issued protest demands in 2015. The BLC's website contains a list of student protest demands and the institutions that received those demands (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). Past studies that have controlled for institutional characteristics found that institutional, student, and faculty characteristics to be predictors of student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Byrd et al., 2019; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998; Zilvinskis et al., 2020). Despite those findings, the relationship between institutional characteristics and student collective action is still not well understood. More specifically, there is a gap in the literature regarding this relationship to student organizations that issue collective action demands. To help fill in that gap, I proposed to test a social movement theory and utilize a conceptual model to assist in guiding that theory.

Purpose

The purpose of the study is to test resource mobilization theory (RMT) and use a conceptual framework integrating RMT to obtain a better understanding of the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organization protests on two models (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). This study sought to understand to what extent resource factors such as structural, financial, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics are associated with student organization protests. This study sought to answer the following research questions: (1) To what extent do institutional resource factors, including structure, finance, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics, relate to student organization protests among four-year institutions in the United States? (2) To what extent do those resource factors relate to student protests through formal student organizations, and through informal student organizations, as compared with institutions that do not contain student protests?

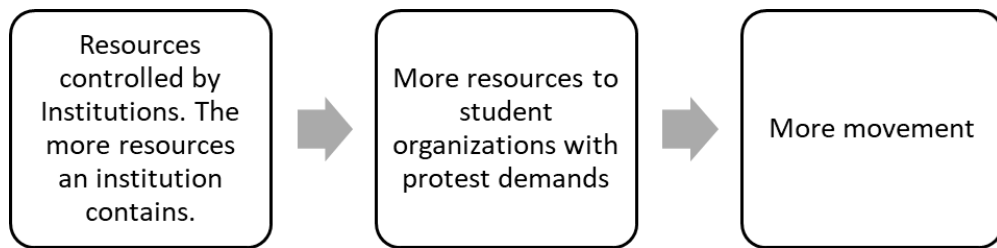
Research Model

The conceptual model this study used is based on the literature review conducted on institutional characteristics and student collective action as well as being influenced by Berger's framework categories (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, n.d.; Chen, 2012; Fine, 2012). The theory utilized in the study is resource mobilization theory (RMT; Cress & Snow, 1996; Fine, 2012; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). RMT indicates that mobilization is likely to occur when resources of an organization are adequate. The conceptual model and theory was tested on two logistic regression models. Using BLC student organizations that have protested as my outcome variable allowed me to test a specific mechanism through which RMT operates to convert institutional resources to movement resources in the student activism context. Figure 1 illustrates the theoretical relationship of RMT for institutional resources and student organizations that

mobilize. The arrows represent the relationship between institutional resources and student organizations that mobilize. The more resources an institution possesses, the more resources a student organization may have at their disposal. Therefore, the more likely a student organization mobilizes.

Figure 1

Institutional Resources to Movement Resources

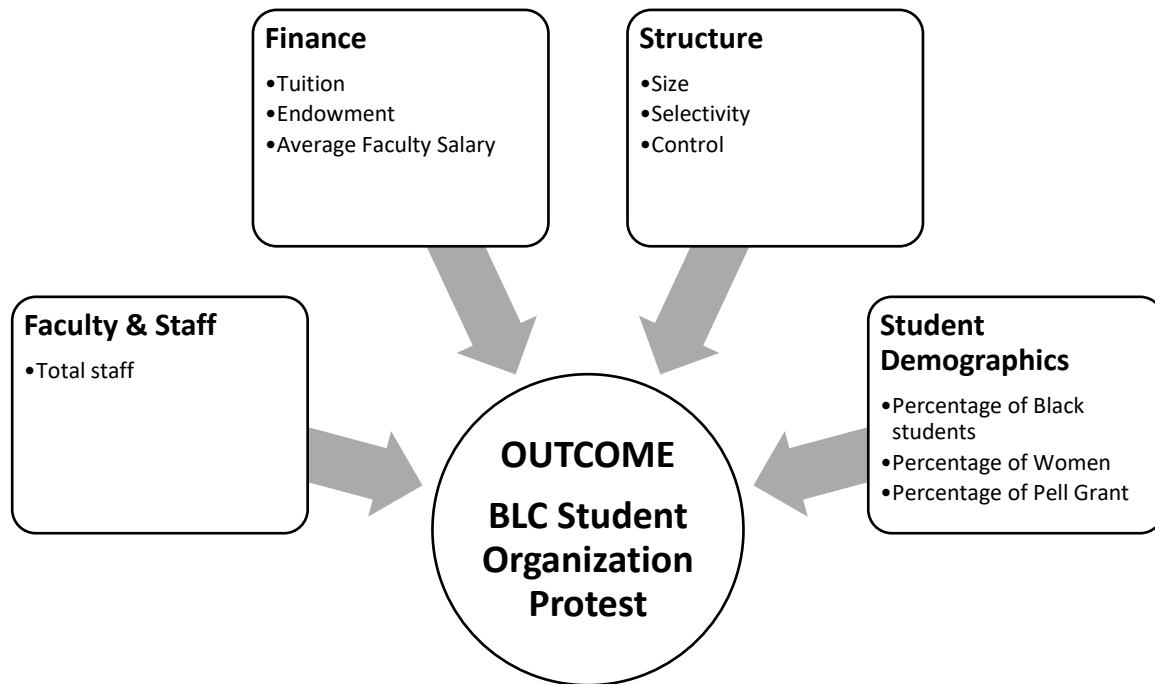


The conceptual model indicates that there is a hypothetical relationship between resources of structural, financial, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics as indicated in Figure 2. Although the independent variables contained in the model were featured in several other empirical studies (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998), this study represents one of the first attempts to bring together these important predictors and test RMT on student organizations that protested. In other words, institutional characteristics are not simply controlled for when considering what predicts student collective action; rather, the relationship between the institutional environment and student collective action is examined and tested in this model by utilizing RMT. Figure 2 represents the institutional resource factors that may assist student organizations in mobilizing. I utilized the first conceptual model on testing and understanding the relationship between both

formal and informal student organization protests and institutions with no student organization protests.

Figure 2

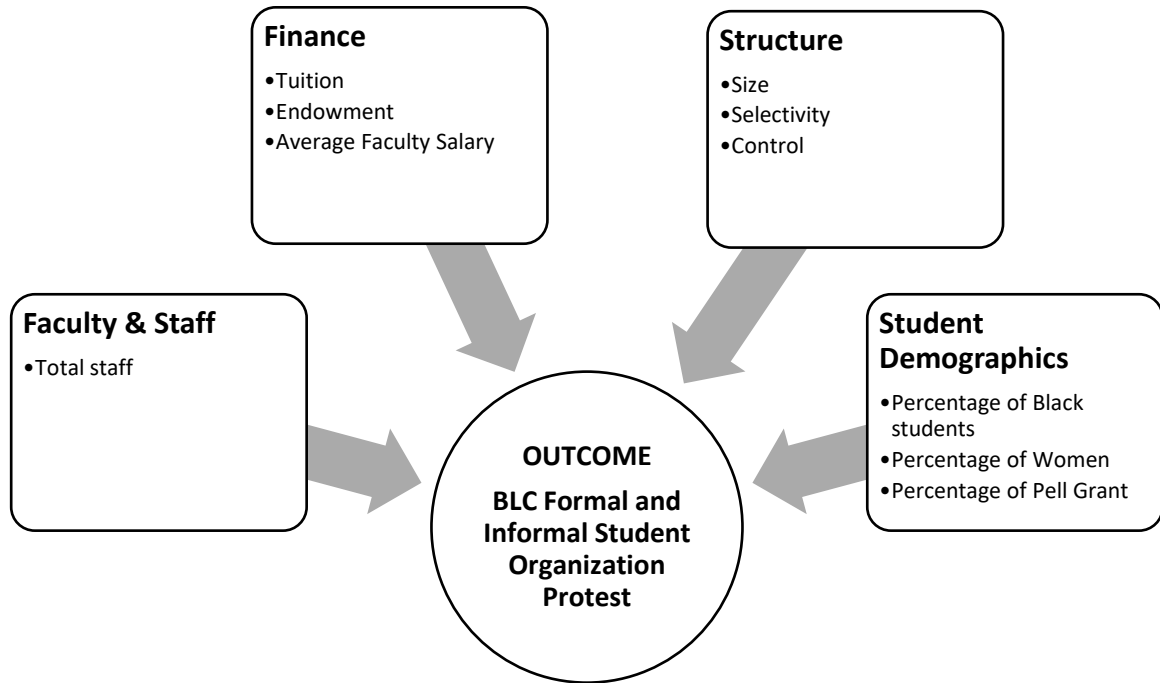
Conceptual Model 1: Binary Logistic Regression Model of Student Collective Action of BLC Formal and Informal Student Organization Protests



The second conceptual model builds off the first; it is also constructed from the BLC website and measures student collective action for 2015-16 academic year (Figure 3). The three categories are: formal, informal, and no student protest organization. The conceptual model and independent variables utilized for this outcome variable are nearly identical to the first model as presented in Figure 2. My study examined the relationship between resource factors and BLC student organizations that protested. So, the second conceptual model examined if there are any differences between formal and informal student organization protest groups and compared them with the reference group of institutions without student organization protests.

Figure 3

Conceptual Model 2: Multinomial Logistic Regression



Data Source and Sample

For my quantitative study, cross-sectional data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education System (IPEDS) of the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) was utilized. I also used the national data of protests compiled by the Black Liberation Collective's (BLM) protest demands webpage.

The Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965 ushered in a new era of systematic data collection on higher education institutions (Miller & Shedd, 2019). Before IPEDS there was Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) that administered surveys between 1966 and 1967 and 1986 and 1987 (Miller & Shedd, 2019). The purpose of HEGIS was to provide policymakers with information on the degree-granting institutions so they could make informed decisions (Miller & Shedd, 2019). HEGIS was phased out in the late 80s, and IPEDS launched

around the mid-80s. IPEDS integrated all institutions into its survey universe and was charged with collecting institutional level survey data on all institutions that participate in Title IV federal student aid programs (Miller & Shedd, 2019). The IPEDS dataset helps to answer questions from the institutional level. The dataset provides data on institutional characteristics such as enrollments, completions, graduation rates, faculty and staff characteristics, financial aid and tuition data, admissions, and academic library data (NCES, n.d.).

I utilized the IPEDS dataset for several reasons. First, I am interested in examining institutional characteristics, and IPEDS is the most appropriate national dataset to examine these structural characteristics. Second, other recent studies in the field utilized IPEDS when examining institutional factors as the most reliable national dataset (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). Third, all institutional level variables found significant in the literature are located within the IPEDS universe. This includes institutional characteristics such as structural, student, and faculty and staff variables.

I selected the sample in IPEDS by groups. After, I selected the year for my cross-sectional data as 2015 because that is the year the Black Liberation Collective protests were active. I further selected institutions in the U.S. only as well as Title IV participating institutions. The student protests I am examining primarily happened in institutions within the United States, and because I am controlling for percentage of Pell Grant recipients, it is important to select the option of institutions participating in Title IV. The reason for that is because it includes only institutions participating in that federal financial aid program. I am interested in examining four-year colleges particularly because the BLC was a national undergraduate student organization. To further define my sample, I selected the following Carnegie Classification identifiers: Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity; Doctoral Universities: Higher Research

Activity; Doctoral Universities: Moderate Research Activity; Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs; Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Programs; Master's Colleges & Universities: Small Programs; Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus. I decided to select Carnegie Classification instead of identifying institutions by control or four-year institutions because IPEDS counts any college as being a four-year institution even if they only have one bachelor's degree program. That means multiple community colleges are improperly classified as four-year institutions and would potentially be included in my sample if I did not use the Carnegie Classification. However, there is still a chance that graduate-only programs or programs awarding 50% or below in baccalaureate colleges would be included in my sample. To deal with this issue I selected institutional category that examines the following degree-granting institution categories: graduate with no undergraduate degrees, primarily baccalaureate or above, not primarily baccalaureate or above, associate's and certificates, above the baccalaureate and nondegree-granting sub-baccalaureate institutions.

After selecting institutions that meet the criteria listed above, I selected institution control to identify whether those institutions are public and private not-for-profit because protests were primarily occurring at those types of institutions. This automatically includes private for-profit institutions, but I deleted those institutions on the grounds that none of the institutions contained protests. I selected all the institutional size options with students of under 1,000 and institutions above that number. Next, I selected institutions that have full-time first-time undergraduate students attending and eliminated institutions that have online and remote instruction only because I am interested in student organizations that mobilized on campuses. After selecting these criteria, it left me with 1,253 institutions. I examined the list of institution and noticed two institutions are not included that contained student organization protests. I added those

institutions to my sample. The institutions missing from the initial list were Babson College and Kennesaw State University. I used the “By Names or UnitIDs” feature to select and add them to the pool of institutions. After accounting for the two missing student organizations that contained protests, it brought the total number of institutions in my sample to 1,255.

Once I selected the determination for my cross-sectional data, the next step was to select all the variables in my conceptual model. I elaborated on the variables I selected below. There were a total of 1,255 institutions included in my sample. Next, I deleted the 65 private-for-profit institutions, leaving me with 1,190 institutions. When I considered institutions with primarily baccalaureate and above, I deleted five institutions that were not primarily baccalaureate or above bringing my sample to 1,185. I examined which institutions, if any, did not enroll any undergraduate Black or African American students. Since I am examining student organizations that are primarily Black or African American, I think it is appropriate to delete institutions that did not admit any undergraduate Black or African American students in 2015. There were eight institutions that did not admit any undergraduate Black or African American students in 2015, so they were deleted from my sample. That brought the sample to 1,177. After I dealt with further issues of missing data, which I include later in this chapter, the sample total was 1,110 institutions.

My models were derived from the Black Liberation Collective’s (BLC) website (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). The BLC is a national student organization that consists of both formal and informal student organizations at various institutions. The website reports a list of protest demands issued in 2015 at 86 different institutions. I consulted the BLC’s national protest demands list to construct a dichotomous variable of an institution having a protest led by a Black student organization or not. I included protests led by both formal and informal Black student

organizations. Formal organizations were operationalized to mean student organizations that are formally recognized by their respective institutions. Informal organizations were operationalized to mean student organizations that were not formally recognized by their institutions. The BLC organization was a fiscally sponsored project by the Netroots Foundation (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.; New Black Nationalism, n.d.). The Netroots Foundation is a nonprofit organization; their mission is to advance values of justice, equality, and community in the political conversation in America (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). To obtain fiscal sponsorship from the Netroots Foundation, organizations must enter into a legal agreement. The legal arrangement allows organizations not recognized as nonprofits to indirectly receive donations and services from the foundation (Netroots Foundation, n.d.). Netroots Foundation charges a percentage-based service fee on every donation received (Netroots Foundation, n.d.). Due to several criteria that I outline in my dependent variable section, the BLC list of formal and informal student organizations that protested at their institutions in 2015 reduced from 86 to 79. I also include a list of what institutions had protests in my dependent variable section.

Research Variables for BLC Student Organization Protest Model and Formal and Informal Student Organization Protest Model

Outcome Variable

The total number of institutions in my sample is 1,110. The outcome variable of the first model is BLC student organizations that protested or not for the 2015-16 academic year. It is a dichotomous and categorical variable that examines if an institution had a BLC student-organization-led protest or not. The second model builds off the first and measures student protests through formal student organizations and informal student organizations compared with institutions with student organization that protested for 2015-16 academic year. It is a

trichotomous categorical variable that examines multiple categories. The three categories are: BLC formal, informal, and no student organizations that protested.

Table 1 lists the outcome variables. The variables were constructed from the Black Liberation Collective's website that collected 86 protesting institutions from the 2015-16 academic year (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). In addition, IPEDS data were used as well to help construct the outcome variable. Institutions that do not involve student protests from formal or informal student organizations were defined as institutions without formal student organization protests. Each institution on the BLC list was examined rigorously to find out if they had a formal or informal student organization that protested during 2015. To gather that information, a Google search was conducted that included a Boolean keyword search of the name of the institution on the BLC list as "X" and "student protest" and "2015." The first 10 pages of Google search engine results were reviewed. Multiple campus, local, and national newspapers that provided hits on the Google search were examined to verify if protests were led by formal or informal student organizations. If a formal or informal student organization was mentioned in the newspaper, then the website of the institution under question was consulted to examine if the organization was indeed a formalized student body. A formalized student body is any student organization that is officially sanctioned by an institution.

Out of the 86 institutions I investigated, 79 were retained to construct the dichotomous protest variable. The dichotomous variable for the first model was constructed for 79 institutions that contained student collective action in 2015 and were led and initiated by a student organization whether formal or informal. Institutions without any student organization protests in 2015 were 1,031 and coded as "0" for not having a protest with a BLC student organization and "1" for having a protest led by a BLC student organization. The BLC student organization that

protested or not variable was the only variable that needed to be constructed, as all others are available and included within the IPEDS survey universe. Concerning the second model, the institutions that had a BLC formal student-organization-led protest were 43. The institutions that had an informal student-organization-led protest were 36. Institutions with no formal or informal BLC student-organization-led protests were 1,031. The outcome variable was coded as “1” for having a protest led by a BLC formal student organization, “2” for having a BLC protest led by an informal student organization, and “3” for having neither a BLC formal nor informal led student organization protest. Only BLC student organization protests were examined in the model, and protests that may have occurred unaffiliated with the BLC were not recorded and thus put in the category of no BLC student organization protest. More is included on what this might mean for the study in the limitation section. The independent variables that were utilized for the second conceptual model’s outcome variable were identical to the first model. Because I examined the relationship between resource factors and student organizations, I wanted to understand if there were any differences between formal and informal student organizations that mobilized.

Table 1

Dependent Variable for the First Model and Second Model

Variable	Definition
Black Liberation Collective formal and informal student organization protest IPEDS: BLC	A dichotomous and categorical variable that examines if an institution had a formal or informal student-organization-led protest or not. This variable measures the BLC’s formal or informal student organizations that had a protest event in the 2015-16 academic year at a higher education institution. The variable was constructed from the Black Liberation Collective’s website that collected 86 protesting institutions from the 2015-16 academic year (<i>Our Demands</i> , n.d.).
Formal, informal, and no student organization protest IPEDS: FORMALINFORMALNO	A hierarchical categorical variable also constructed from the Black Liberation Collective website. The variable measures whether an institution has a formal student, informal, or no student organization protest. The outcome variable was coded as “1” for having a BLC protest with a formal student organization, “2” for having a BLC protest with an informal student organization, and “3” for having neither a formal nor informal BLC student organization protest.

Institutions were excluded from the treatment group on several grounds. First, institutions were eliminated if no data could be found on their demands. After an extensive Google search, I found no further information for 11 institutions that were featured on the BLC demands list in 2015. So, because I could not find any information beyond their demands, I treated those institutions as missing data. Those institutions were already included in my sample, so they were coded as having no student organization protest. Approximately four institutions fit these criteria (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). Institutions that do not meet the twofold criteria listed above

were coded as “0” in the full sample. In addition, they were coded only if they are an institution in the United States. If they are not an institution in the United States, then they were not included in the study.

Furthermore, I conducted additional research on all institutions that had protest demands issued at them. Based on the information I located from my Google search, I was able to identify whether each student organization that issued demands was a formal or an informal organization. Formal student organizations comprise organizations that are recognized by their respective institutions. This includes organizations that comply with the institutional policies, norms and values, mission, and fill the required official positions required by their respective institutions. Formal student organizations can receive funding from their institutions (Klemenčič, 2020). Informal student organizations comprise organizations that are not formally recognized by their institutions. Table 2 demonstrates the breakdown of formal and informal student organizations that issued protest demands in 2015 and the institutions issued them. I decided to also separately code another protest variable that measures formal, informal, and no student organizations. This variable was utilized to help me better understand to what extent there are differences between resource factors and these types of organizations. The second model was elaborated on further in the research design section.

Table 2*Formal and Informal Student Organization Protests from Black Liberation Collective Organization*

<i>Formal student organizations</i>	<i>Informal student organizations</i>
1. Northern Arizona University	1. San Francisco State University
2. California Polytechnic State University	2. University of Connecticut
3. California State University- East Bay	3. Wesleyan University
4. University of California, Berkeley	4. Howard University
5. University of California, Irvine	5. Clark Atlanta University
6. University of California, Los Angeles	6. Emory University
7. Claremont Mckenna College	7. Morehouse College
8. Occidental College	8. Spelman College
9. University of California, San Diego	9. Towson University
10. Santa Clara University	10. Amherst College
11. University Southern California	11. Boston College
12 Yale University	12. Michigan State University
13. Emmanuel College	13. Macalester College
14. Georgia Southern University	14. Missouri State University, Springfield
15. University of Kansas	15. Princeton University
16. Tulane University of Louisiana	16. Colgate University
17. University of Baltimore	17. Ithaca College
18. Johns Hopkins University	18. Sarah Lawrence College
19. Loyola University, Maryland	19. SUNY College at Potsdam
20. Brandeis University	20. Guilford College
21. Harvard University	21. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
22. Tufts University	
23. University of Michigan – Ann Arbor	22. University of North Carolina at Greensboro
24. Saint Louis University	
25. Dartmouth College	23. University of Cincinnati-Main Campus
26. Bard College	24. Clemson University
27. New York University	25. University of South Carolina-Columbia
28. Duke University	26. Middle Tennessee State University
29. John Carroll University	27. Virginia Commonwealth University
30. Lewis & Clark College	28. University of Wyoming
31. University of Oregon	29. Kennesaw State University
32. Portland State University	30. Alabama University
33. Brown University	31. Notre Dame of Maryland University
34. Vanderbilt University	32. Babson College
35. Southern Methodist University	33. Washington University in St. Louis
36. University of Virginia	34. Webster University
37. University of Puget Sound	35. Hamilton College
38. Beloit College	36. University of Missouri
39. Purdue University	
40. State University of New York at New Paltz	
41. Simmons University	
42. Grinnell College	
43. Eastern Michigan University	

Independent Variables

After examining the literature, several institutional factors were found to be predictive of student collective action. These predictors were included in the models to analyze the relationship between institutional characteristics and student collective action. The variables include structural (size, selectivity, and control), financial (tuition, endowment, average faculty salary), student demographics (race/ethnicity, gender, and Pell Grant program recipient), and faculty and staff characteristics (faculty and staff size).

Structure Characteristics. Previous studies have found institutional factors such as size, selectivity, and institutional control to be predictors of student collective action (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2015; J. W. Scott & El-Assal, 1969; Van Dyke, 1998). Therefore, based on the literature review as well as the theoretical framework, these institutional-level factors shown in Table 3 were retained in the study. Institutional size is a categorical variable that was recoded as a dummy variable. It measures institutions reporting the total number of students enrolled by size. Previous studies (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018) in the field included categories of institution size. This study includes this distinction to further distinguish the resource factors. The five categories of sizes are under 1,000; 1,000–4,999; 5,000–9,999; 10,000–19,999; and 20,000 and above. The under-1,000 category contained 66 institutions and was deleted from the study because no BLC student organization protests occurred at institutions that size. The institutional size of 20,000 and above was used as the base group because it is the largest size. Selectivity is a continuous variable that measures the percentage of undergraduate students admitted. Institutional control is a categorical variable measured by an institution indicating whether it is public or private not-for-profit. A public institution is operated by publicly elected officials and supported by public funds. A private not-

for-profit is an institution that receives no compensation for the assumption of risk. Institutional control was recoded as a dummy variable. Public institutions were used as the reference group in this study.

Table 3

Independent Variable for the Model

Variable	Definition
Size IPEDS: SIZE	Institutional size is a categorical variable that measures institutions reporting the total number of students enrolled. It was recoded as a dummy variable with 20,000 and above as the reference group. Institutions reported four categories: 1,000–4,999; 5,000–9,999; 10,000–19,999; and 20,000 and above.
Selectivity IPEDS: SELECTIVITY	Selectivity is a continuous variable. It measures the percentage of undergraduate students admitted in the academic year.
Institutional control IPEDS: CONTROL	Institutional control is a categorical variable measured by an institution indicating whether it is public, private not-for-profit, or private not-for-profit. It was recoded as a dummy variable with public institutions as the reference group.

Financial Characteristics. Researchers have found tuition, endowment, and average faculty salaries to be predictive of student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Byrd et al., 2019; Soule, 1995; Van Dyke, 2003; Zilvinskis et al., 2020). Table 4 shows the financial characteristics variables used in this study. Tuition and fees for 2015-16 is a continuous variable that measures tuition price of attendance for full-time, first-time undergraduate students for the full academic year. It was divided by \$1,000 to help interpret the beta coefficient by \$1,000 increases or decreases. Endowment is a continuous variable that measures endowment assets at the year-end per full-time enrollment (FTE) based on Governmental Accounting Standards Board (GASB)

and Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB). FASB standards are utilized for private or public institutions. GASB standards are used for public institutions. GASB and FASB reporting was combined to cover both private and public institutions. This variable was also divided by \$1,000 for similar reasons as tuition. This operation was performed instead of log transforming the variable because when the variable was logged the odds ratio was extremely high. Average faculty salary is a continuous variable that measures the average salary that equates to 9 months of full-time instruction of all ranks. Average faculty salary was divided by \$1,000 as well for the same reasons as endowment and tuition.

Table 4
Independent Variables for the Model

Variable	Definition
Tuition IPEDS: TUITION	The tuition and fees variable are continuous and derive from 2015-2016 academic year. The variable was divided by \$1,000.
Endowment IPEDS: ENDOWMENT	Endowment is a continuous variable. It measures endowment assets at the year-end per full-time enrollment (FTE) based on Governmental Accounting Standards Board (GASB) and Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB). Because GASB is for public institutions and FASB is for public and private institutions, data from GASB and FASB were combined. Additionally, the variable was divided by \$1,000.
Average faculty salary IPEDS: FACULTYSALARY	Average faculty salary is a continuous variable. It was divided by \$1,000. The average faculty salary variable measures the average salary that equates to 9 months of full-time instruction of all ranks.

Student Demographic Characteristics. Studies have found race/ethnicity, gender, and percentage of Pell Grant program recipients to be predictors of student collective action (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Byrd et al., 2019; Morgan et al., 2019). Table 5 shows the student demographic characteristic variables used in the study. Since the BLC is predominantly a Black student organization, I included the percentage of total undergraduate enrollment who identified as Black or African American enrolled for credit during the fall semester in my model. Gender is a continuous variable that measures the percentage of undergraduate women enrolled for credit during the fall semester. Percentage of Pell Grant program recipients is a continuous variable. It measures the percentage of undergraduate students who were awarded Pell Grants in the 2015 academic year.

Table 5
Independent Variables in the Model

Variable	Definition
Percent of Black or African American undergraduate students enrolled IPEDS: PERCENTBLACK	This variable measures the percentage of total undergraduate enrollment who identify as Black or African American enrolled for credit during the fall semester. The BLC is predominantly a Black student organization.
Percentage of total undergraduate women enrolled IPEDS: PERCENTWOMEN	Gender is a continuous variable that measures the percentage of undergraduate women enrolled for credit during the fall semester.
Percentage of Pell Grant Program recipients IPEDS: PELLGRANT	Percentage of Pell Grant program recipients is a continuous variable. It measures the percentage of undergraduate students that were awarded Pell Grants in the 2015 academic year.

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Faculty and Staff Characteristics. Scholars and researchers have found that faculty and staff size is a factor in student collective action (Asal et al., 2017; Bayer, 1971). Table 6 shows the faculty and staff characteristic variables used in the study. Total faculty and staff size is a continuous variable that was divided by 1,000 to assist in interpreting the beta coefficient. Total faculty and staff size measures the total full-time equivalent (FTE) staff by occupational category. The occupational categories involve instructional, research, and public service as well as other administrative officials that work at the institution.

Table 6

Independent Variables in the Model

Variable	Definition
Total faculty and staff size IPEDS: TOTALFTE	Total faculty and staff size is a continuous variable that was divided by 1,000. It measures total full-time equivalent (FTE) staff by occupational category. The occupational categories involve instructional, research, and public service as well as other administrative officials that work at the institution.

Research Design

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between institutional characteristics and student collective action by implementing a conceptual model and utilizing RMT. Therefore, this quantitative study utilized two models to examine the relationship between structural, financial, student demographics, and faculty and staff characteristics and student organization protests. I utilized two models to help me understand the relationship with the resource factors and student organizations that protested in 2015. The purpose of estimating a

binary logistic regression model was primarily due to the outcome variable of student organization protest being dichotomous in nature. Thus, a binary logistic regression is the most appropriate method for this procedure. The second model estimated a multinomial logistic regression. The purpose of using that statistical technique is to allow for the outcome variable to include more than two categories.

To ensure the analysis was successful, I conducted the following operations. First, once my data was collected from IPEDs I presented descriptive statistics to better understand the scope of my data. Second, I handled any missing data in my sample. Next, I examined the variance inflation factor to diagnose multicollinearity. Similarly, I presented several correlation tests to also assist in diagnosing multicollinearity. Afterwards, I utilized the receiver operator characteristic (ROC) curve to examine goodness of fit for the binary logistic regression model. Afterwards, I estimated both models and created interaction terms to test for interaction effects.

Descriptive Analysis

After selecting my sample, I presented descriptive statistics on my variables. Descriptive statistics helped me examine the central measures of tendencies and frequencies of my continuous and categorical variables. Descriptive statistics also assisted me with catching any possible mistakes in the data and verifying if missing data had been categorized properly in SPSS. I also presented cross tabulations on institutional control and institution size to examine more closely institutions having BLC protests or not. I also presented cross tabulations on institutions with formal, informal, and no student organization protests.

Missing Data

When transferring the data to SPSS (Version 26), the total number of institutions were 1,255. Next, I needed to consider the parameters of the criteria I selected for my sample. So, I

deleted the 65 private-for-profit institutions leaving me with 1,190 institutions. Additionally, when I considered institutions with primarily baccalaureate and above, I found five institutions that were not primarily baccalaureate or above bringing my sample to 1,185. Additionally, eight institutions were deleted because they did not admit any undergraduate Black or African American students in 2015 bringing the sample to 1,177. Next, I coded my outcome variables and presented crosstabulations on size and the outcome variables to understand if certain sizes of institutions had BLC student organization protests or not. There are five categories of institution sizes, and they are: under 1,000; 1,000–4,999; 5,000–9,999; 10,000–19,999; and 20,000 and above. The under-1,000 category contained 66 institutions. Those 66 institutions did not contain any BLC student organization protests, so I deleted them from the sample. That brought my sample size to 1,111 institutions. I then considered how to handle missing data for variables. This is covered in the results section for missing data analysis. Once I handled all issues of missing data, the final sample total of institutions was 1,110.

There were a few cases of missing data in my sample. The following variables had missing data from the cross-sectional data collected from IPEDS: There were 2 cases of missing data for average salary of faculty for all ranks; there were 28 cases missing for endowment FASB and GASB, and there were 99 cases for selectivity. To address missing data, I went back into IPEDS to collect more information on the items missing in my data. For the two institutions that did not report data for average faculty salary, I decided to examine longitudinal data in IPEDS from the years of 2014 and 2016. The two institutions were Thomas Edison State University and Warner Pacific University Professional and Graduate Studies. Since I am not interested in examining graduate institutions, I decided to delete Warner Pacific University Professional and Graduate Studies from my sample bringing the sample total to 1,110. In terms

of Thomas Edison State University, they reported the average faculty salary for all ranks in 2016 as \$1,156. I filled that value in for the missing data for that institution. The second lowest reported average faculty salary was \$19,935 from Maharishi University of Management. To understand if the low average faculty salary Thomas Edison State University impacted the results as an outlier, I estimated a model with that institution removed and it did not change the results.

There were also 28 cases of missing data for endowment assets per FTE enrollment. I examined IPEDS and selected details on endowment assets under the finance category. Specifically, I selected “Does this institution or any of its foundations or other affiliated organizations own endowment assets?” to get more details on whether the institutions reporting endowment assets did or did not have endowment assets to report. This option needs to be selected for institutions that use GASB and FASB. FASB is used for private-not-for-profit or public institutions. GASB is used for public institutions. I found that all 28 missing cases reported they had no endowment assets to report, so a value of 0 was entered for those 28 institutions.

Finally, the selectivity variable had 99 cases of missing data. The selectivity variable is the percentage of undergraduate students admitted to an institution. I went back to IPEDS and under admission consideration I selected open admission policy. The open admission policy reports whether institutions had an open admissions policy or not. Obtaining this information proved to be vital in explaining the reason certain institutions did not report selectivity data. All my missing data cases reported that they had an open admissions policy, so I was able to add them into the selectivity variable at the value of 100 to represent the percent for admission. After all missing data were accounted for and decisions to handle the missing data were made, the final sample total of institutions is 1,110.

Variance Inflation Factor

Once descriptive statistics, missing data, and recoding was completed, I examined the variance inflation factor (VIF). The VIF quantifies the correlation between predictors included in the model. It is a method primarily used to diagnose multicollinearity, and it helped me to further understand if any predictors are highly correlated in my model. If the predictors are highly correlated in my model, then it indicates they may be dropped from the model. Statisticians argue anything below 10 is safe (Allison, 2001). I utilized the standard that a VIF below 10 does not present multicollinearity problems.

Table 7 indicates the reported range of variance inflation factor (VIF) values 1.171 to 8.098. Since the range of the VIF values for all independent variables was less than 10, none of the predictors in the model are highly correlated (Allison, 2001). Therefore, there does not appear to be a serious multicollinearity problem in the model. I also checked the VIF values after excluding institutional control from the model. The results were similar for most of the variables with the biggest differences being the VIF values of tuition (2.480) and average faculty salary (2.865) and percent of Pell Grant recipients (2.444).

Table 7*Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) Values for all Independent Variables in Model*

Variable	VIF
Structure characteristics	
Private not-for-profit	6.115
<i>Institution Size</i>	
1,000–4,999	6.433
5,000–9,999	3.395
10,000–19,999	2.327
Selectivity	1.581
Financial characteristics	
Endowment (1000s)	1.657
Tuition (1000s)	8.098
Average faculty salary (1000s)	3.307
Student demographic characteristics	
Percent Black	1.738
Percent Pell Grant	2.550
Percent women	1.171
Faculty and staff characteristics	
Total staff (1000s)	2.598
<i>Note.</i> The base group for institutional control is public. The base group for institution size is 20,000+.	

Correlation Tests

To further assist me in diagnosing multicollinearity, I utilized several correlation tests. Presenting a correlation matrix revealed that correlation between my variables ranged .006 to .833. The correlation between tuition and control was -.833. Institution size at 1,000–4,999 and 5,000–9,999 was at .804. I utilized a Pearson’s correlation to take a closer look at any possible correlations between my independent variables. This assisted with further diagnosing potential

multicollinearity issues. The correlations ranged from .002 to .848. Tuition and private not-for-profit remained highly correlated at .848. Several other variables were moderately correlated at around .5 including private not-for-profit and 1,000–4,999 and 5,000–9,999; institution size of 1,000–4,999 and 5,000–9,999; and percent of undergraduate Black or African American students and Pell Grant recipients. Average faculty salary was moderately correlated to endowment and total staff variables around .5 as well.

Since the bivariate correlation tests revealed they were highly correlated, I estimated the logit models with all variables included and estimated another model with the institutional control variable excluded from the model as a sensitivity test. Thus, in the logit models, I estimated a model with all the resource factors included and another with the institutional control variable excluded. I examined if the exclusion of the institutional control variable changed the substance of the results in any way and reported it.

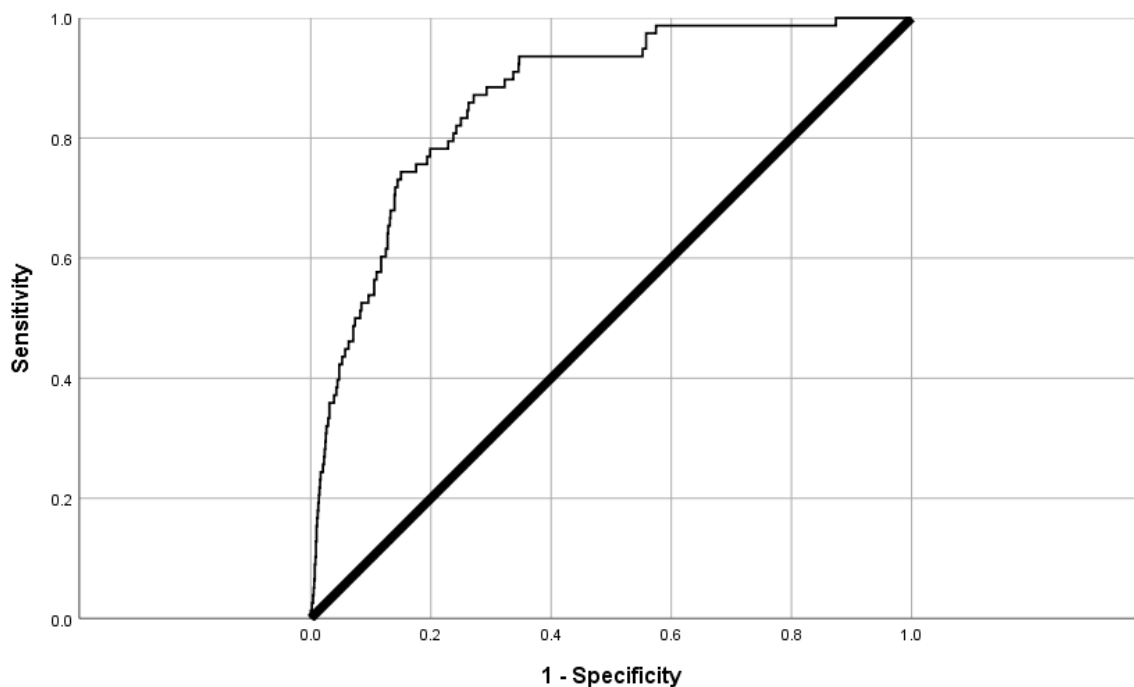
Receiver Operator Characteristic Curve

After diagnosing multicollinearity, it is important to examine the receiver operator characteristic (ROC) curve. The ROC curve is a measurement that helps understand if the predictive model can distinguish between true positives and negatives (Grace-Martin, 2016). In other words, the ROC curve aims to plot out the sensitivity and specificity for all cutoffs between 0 and 1 for the predictive model and is thus helpful for binary logistic regression models (Grace-Martin, 2016). The ROC curve is demonstrated visually in the form of a graph. The sensitivity is represented by the Y-axis, and the X-axis is the 1-specificity (Asal et al., 2017). Additionally, in the graph the 45-degree line signifies a 50/50 probability of a dichotomous outcome variable (Asal et al., 2017; Grace-Martin, 2016). I utilized the ROC curve to examine the goodness of fit for the binary logistic regression model.

Figure 4 presents the ROC curve for the model in graph form. As the curve moves above the 45-degree line it means the model is a better fit (Asal et al., 2017). Besides the ROC curve there is a statistic called area under the curve (AUC) that assists in describing how well the model predicts (Grace-Martin, 2016). Usually, an AUC of .8 or .9 is considered excellent (Mandrekar, 2010), and my model's AUC was .867. Thus, it appears the binary logistic regression is a good model.

Figure 4

Receiver Operator Characteristic Curve for Binary Logistic Regression Model



Independent Samples t Test

I utilized an independent samples t test in this study. The test is used to compare the means between two independent groups to understand if the means between populations are different. In this study, the independent groups are institutions that did have BLC student

organization protests and institutions that did not have student organization protests. The independent samples t tests were conducted to understand the measures of central tendencies between institutions with BLC student organization protests and those without student organization protests and if there is any significance between those averages.

Binary Logistic Regression

$$P(Y|x_1 + x_2 \dots x_{11}) = \hat{y} = \frac{e^{b_0+b_1x_1+\dots+b_{11}x_{11}}}{1+e^{b_0+b_1x_1+\dots+b_{11}x_{11}}} \quad (1)$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{\hat{y}}{1-\hat{y}}\right) = b_0 + b_1x_1 + \dots b_{11}x_{11} \quad (2)$$

The logistic regression model equation (1) predicts the probability of the outcome variable given the independent variables: where Y is the binary dichotomous outcome variable the Black Liberation Collective (BLC) student organization protests that occurred on campuses in 2015 and those institutions without BLC student organizations protests and $x_i =$ represents an independent variable in the model. The sequence of x_1 to x_{11} represents the 11 independent variables in the model which are: total staff, tuition, endowment, average faculty salary, size at 1,000–4,999, size at 5,000–9,999, size at 10,000–19,999, selectivity, percent of undergraduate Black students, percent of undergraduate women, and percent of Pell Grant recipients. The logit equation (2) determines the probability of being in a BLC student organization mobilization, \hat{y} , as opposed to not being in a BLC student organization mobilization ($1 - \hat{y}$).

A binary logistic regression model was used to investigate the relationship between institutional characteristics and student collective action. Specifically, my dichotomous outcome variable measures whether an institution had a BLC student organization protest or not. This

includes both formal and informal student organization protests. The logistic regression model estimated the odds of whether an institution had a student organization protest, and it does so in terms of log odds and presents results as odds ratios. The independent variables included in the model were ordered by structure (size, selectivity, and institution control), finance (tuition and fees, endowment, and average faculty and staff salary), student demographics (percentage of undergraduate Black or African American students, percentage of undergraduate women, percentage of Pell Grant recipients), and faculty and staff characteristics (total faculty and staff size). The hypothesis and theory I tested was that institutions with more institutional resource factors will be more predictive of student-organization-led protests. Institutional resource factors would translate to more movement resources for social movement organizations to mobilize.

This study examined the relationship between institutional predictors and student collective action of student organizations by utilizing RMT. In the first model, the resource categories aim to better understand that relationship. I suggest that there may be a relationship between institutional resource characteristics and student organizations that mobilize. I expected to find that institutions with more selective environments and larger enrollment sizes contained more student organization mobilizing. Additionally, I expected to find that institutions with higher endowments, tuition, and average faculty and staff salaries with more staff, and fewer Pell Grant recipients contain more student mobilization protests.

Hypothesis 1: Institutions with larger structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics were more likely to contain student organization mobilization.

Multinomial Logistic Regression

$$P(Y > j) = \frac{e^{b_0 + b_1 x_1 + \dots + b_{11} x_{11}}}{1 + e^{b_0 + b_1 x_1 + \dots + b_{11} x_{11}}} \quad (3)$$

$$\ln \left(\frac{e^{b_0 + b_1 x_1 + \dots + b_{11} x_{11}}}{1 + e^{b_0 + b_1 x_1 + \dots + b_{11} x_{11}}} \right) = b_0 + b_1 x_1 + \dots + b_{11} x_{11} \quad (4)$$

The logistic regression model equation (3) predicts the probability of the outcome variable BLC formal and informal student organization mobilization greater than the reference group given the independent variables. Where y is the trichotomous outcome variable that is the Black Liberation Collective (BLC) formal and informal student organization protests that occurred on campuses in 2015. Where j is the reference group which are those institutions without BLC formal or informal student organizations protests. Betas b_i are the parameters estimated related to the x_i , an independent variable in the model. The sequence of x_i to x_{11} represent the 11 independent variables in the model: total staff, tuition, endowment, average faculty salary, size at 1,000–4,999, size at 5,000–9,999, size at 10,000–19,999, selectivity, percent of undergraduate Black students, percent of undergraduate women, and percent of Pell Grant recipients. The logit equation (4) calculates the probability of being in the BLC formal and informal student organization mobilization or not in a BLC formal or informal student organization mobilization.

Multinomial logistic regression assisted me because it predicted different possible outcomes. The outcome variable for the multinomial logistic regression differentiated between formal, informal, and institutions with no student organizations that protested. The institutional resource factors mentioned above were included when estimating the model.

Since both formal and informal student organizations received different funding from their respective institutions (Klemenčič, 2020), I estimated a multinomial logistic regression for

the second model to better understand that relationship. I expected to find that institutions with formal student organization protests contained more institutional resources than institutions with informal student organization protests.

Hypothesis 2: Institutions with larger structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics were more likely to contain formal student organization than informal student organization mobilization.

Interaction Effects

To test for interaction effects with my predictors, I constructed interaction variables and included them in the model. Specifically, I tested for interaction effects between student income and selectivity. Based on the literature, student activists from different financial backgrounds may respond differently to being at selective institutions and protesting (Byrd et al., 2019; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; Soule, 1997). To that end, I included a post-estimation test for the constructed interaction variables to examine whether they are having an interaction effect. The post-estimation test assisted me in understanding if the estimated model with interaction effects terms significantly improved the original baseline model without the interaction effects terms.

Limitations

There were limitations to using a secondary national dataset like IPEDS for my study. First, IPEDS did not contain or measure my outcome variable of BLC student organizations that protested. The primary purpose of IPEDS is to collect and gather information from institutions that participate in federal programs (Miller & Shedd, 2019). The national data I collected from the BLC website was limited as well. For instance, the outcome variable only considers 79 student organization protest groups from the 2015 academic year (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). Also, the BLC list was selective and did not include other institutions that possibly

experienced protests in the same year. This means the outcome variable of the binary logistic regression model that measures whether an institution had a student organization that protested is limited. Thus, it is limited because it may possibly omit institutions that may meet the criteria of student organization that protested in 2015, but for one reason or another they were not included on the BLC website. So, the outcome variable may not represent the complete set of all institutions that contained student organizations that protested in 2015. Institutions that possibly contained student organization protests in 2015 could be incorrectly coded as “0” which means they contained no student organization protests. To possibly address this issue, it should be noted that this study specifically examined Black Liberation Collective student organization (formal and informal) protests in 2015 and not all student organizations that protested that year. Therefore, this study focused on Black student organizations that protested to the exclusion of other student organizations that may have protested that same year.

Furthermore, I reported several institutions with protest demands as missing data because I was not able to find any information on whether protests occurred at those institutions. To examine whether a student protest occurred at those institutions I had to define the parameters by utilizing a Google search. I investigated whether protests occurred on those campuses and whether they were led by a formal or an informal student organization. This process involved examining campus newspapers, local and national news sources, and utilizing higher education institutions’ websites to verify these formal student organizations exist. Such a process dwindled my list of student organization protesting institutions to 79.

Another limitation is that I cannot examine the funding each formal student organization receives from their respective institutions. That information would help assist me in understanding the resources, at least in the sense of financial resources, that were available to the

student organizations that protested. Instead, I assumed that all formal student organizations to some extent received resources from their respective institutions.

A further limitation was the extent to which I could possibly understand the link between institutional characteristics and student collective action. While I have built a conceptual model based on the literature that will utilize RMT, it is difficult to assess to what extent another theory may have an impact on the relationship this study attempted to examine (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, n.d.; Chen, 2012; Fine, 2012; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). For instance, although I am testing for RMT, there may be other plausible theories or explanations for the findings of this study such as critical mass theory (Astin et al., 1975; Bayer, 1971; Crossley & Ibrahim, 2012; Edwards, 2014; Oliver & Marwell, 1988; Van Dyke, 1998). It could plausibly be thought that the findings of the study were due to critical mass because it is a resource that student activists need to be able to effectively organize and mobilize. In addition, it could also plausibly be considered that because size is a structure characteristic, any finding on size could be explicated as bigger institutions simply having more problems necessitating protest than smaller ones, which would, of course, not be an RMT perspective. These are certainly limitations this study faces. Future studies should examine to what extent theories such as critical mass impact student collective action.

In this chapter I discussed the study's research design and methodology. I also explained the national datasets that were used in this study and provided the reason for why they were selected. I further described the dependent and independent variables that were selected as well as the rationale for my variable selection. Afterwards, I elaborated on my research design, and I mentioned the procedure of the steps I followed in my study. I accomplished this by discussing data management, descriptive statistics, VIF test, binary logistic regression, and multinomial

logistic regression, and testing for interaction effects. Concerning the latter, I justified using interaction effects based on the findings in the literature. Finally, I explained several limitations of my study. Next, I present the findings of the study.

Chapter IV

Results

Introduction

In this chapter I focus on the results of my analysis. I attempted to answer the following research questions of this study: (1) To what extent do institutional resource factors, including structure, finance, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics, relate to student organization protests? (2) To what extent do those resource factors relate to formal and informal student organizations when compared with institutions that do not contain student organization protests?

The results of the study are organized into two sections: descriptive and inferential statistical findings. The first section includes descriptive statistics of all independent variables included in the models. I included means, percentages, ranges, and standard deviations. I used cross tabulations to compare characteristics of Black Liberation Collective (BLC) student organization protests and institutions without them. Finally, I present the results of an independent samples *t* test.

The second section presents the logistic regression and multinomial logistic regression results of the study. This includes the sensitivity tests conducted for both logit models. Finally, I included an analysis of interaction effects tests involving a post-estimation test and testing for interaction terms of selectivity and percent of Pell Grant recipients.

Descriptive Statistics Findings

This study used IPEDS data from 2015. Tables 8 through 12 describe all independent variables included in the models. Tables 8 and 9 summarize descriptive statistics for categorical and continuous variables. Tables 10 and 11 present cross tabulations that compare BLC student

organizations with institutions without them. Table 12 presents the independent samples *t* test that compares institutions with BLC student organization protests to those without them.

Descriptive statistics in Table 8 indicate that for institution control, private not-for-profit (57.84%) make up over half the institutions in the sample, while public institutions (42.16%) are a little under half. Regarding institution size, institutions with enrollment sizes of 1,000–4,999 (51.71%) comprise over half the sample. The second highest enrollment size is 5,000–9,999 (19.64%), and that is significantly less than the former. The remaining enrollment sizes of 10,000–19,999 (14.86%) and 20,000 and above (13.78%) contain almost the same percentages.

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics of Categorical Variables (n = 1110)

Variable	Weighted percent	<i>SD</i>
Structure characteristics		
Institution control		
Public	42.16%	49.40%
Private not-for-profit	57.84%	49.40%
Institution size		
1,000 – 4,999	51.71%	49.99%
5,000 – 9,999	19.64%	39.74%
10,000 – 19,999	14.86%	35.59%
20,000+	13.78%	34.48%
<i>Note.</i> Institution control and institution size were converted from decimal into percentage.		

Table 9 presents descriptive statistics of continuous variables and provides the weighted mean, standard deviations, and range of each independent variable in the model. The mean

selectivity or percent of students admitted is 66.40%. The standard deviation is 20.26% with the minimum acceptance rate being low (5%) and the maximum high (100%).

Examining the financial characteristics of the sample shows the average faculty salary was \$74,296.22 with a standard deviation of \$19,643.49. The range shows the minimum average faculty salary was \$1,156 and the highest was \$192,186, which demonstrates a vast range of average faculty salary pay for all ranks in 2015. The average tuition and fees for 2015 was \$23,004.12 with a standard deviation of \$14,277.152. The range minimum (\$4,403) and maximum (\$53,000) shows a big disparity for tuition and fees for 2015. The mean endowment was \$56,567.88 with a standard deviation of \$169,176.48. The minimum (\$0.00) and the maximum (\$2,662,28) display a vast difference between institutions in terms of their endowments reported in 2015.

The student demographic characteristics shows there was an average of 12.44% Black undergraduate students on campus with a 17.05% standard deviation. The range of minimum (1%) and maximum (96%) shows that some institutions had few undergraduate Black students, while for other institutions undergraduate Black students made up the majority. Undergraduate women made up more than half (57.23%) of the cross-sectional sample with some campuses having low (0%) and others having a high percentage (100%). The average Pell Grant recipients in the sample was 34.10% with a standard deviation of 13.89%. The minimum (0%) and maximum (83%) shows that an institution did not contain Pell Grant recipients (Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary), while for others those recipients made up the majority.

The descriptive statistics for the faculty and staff characteristic of average total staff on campus showed there was 1,743.14, and the standard deviation was higher (2,932.13). The difference between the minimum (61) and maximum (27,810) total staff was vast.

Table 9*Descriptive Statistics of Continuous Variables (n = 1110)*

Variable	Weighted mean	SD	Min	Max
Structure characteristics				
Selectivity	66.40%	20.26%	5%	100%
Financial characteristics				
Average faculty salary	\$74,296.22	\$19,643.49	\$1,156	\$192,18
Tuition	\$23,004.12	\$14,277.15	\$4,403	\$53,000
Endowment	\$56,567.88	\$169,176.48	\$0.00	\$2,662,28
Student characteristics				
Percent Black	12.44%	17.05%	1%	96%
Percent Pell Grant	34.10%	13.89%	0%	83%
Percent women	57.23%	11.08%	0%	100%
Faculty and staff characteristics				
Total staff	1,743.14	2,932.13	61	27,810

Tables 10 and 11 display the cross tabulations and weighted means of the two outcome variables of BLC student-organization-led protests compared to institutions without BLC student organization protests. Table 10 shows that the bulk of public (92.74%) and private not-for-profit (92.99%) institutions did not contain BLC protests. On the other hand, public (7.26%) institutions contained a slightly higher percent compared to private not-for-profit (7.01%). Institution sizes with weighted means of 1,000–4,999 (96.17%) and 5,000–9,999 (95.41%) contained the highest average of no BLC student organization protests. So, it appears smaller enrollment sizes on average contained fewest BLC student organization protests. Enrollment sizes of 10,000–19,999 (90.91%) and 20,000 and above (79.08%) contained lower averages of having no BLC student organization protests, but they were still high. On the other hand, for

institutions containing BLC student organization protests, by far the highest weighted mean was 20,000 and above (20.92%). The second highest was 10,000–19,999 (9.09%). So, it appears that institutions with higher enrollment sizes contained more BLC student organization protests. Institutions with enrollment sizes of 5,000–9,999 (4.59%) and 1,000–4,999 (3.83%) on average contained the fewest BLC student organization protests.

Table 10

Cross Tabulation Analysis of Structure Characteristics by No Student Protest Organization and BLC Student Protest Organization

Variable	Weighted percentage	
	No BLC student organization protest	BLC student organization protest
Structure characteristics		
Institution control		
Public	92.74%	7.26%
Private not-for-profit	92.99%	7.01%
Institution size		
1,000 – 4,999	96.17%	3.83%
5,000 – 9,999	95.41%	4.59%
10,000 – 19,999	90.91%	9.09%
20,000+	79.08%	20.92%
<i>Note.</i> Institution control and institution size were converted from decimal into percentage.		

As Table 11 illustrates, public (92.74%) and private not-for-profit (92.99%) contained almost the same weighted mean of no BLC formal or informal student organization protests. On the other hand, private not-for-profit (4.05%) contained a slightly higher average of BLC formal student organization protests than public (3.63%); however, for BLC informal student

organization protests, public (3.63%) contained a higher average when compared to private not-for-profit (2.96%).

Examining institutions with no BLC formal or informal student organization protests, enrollment sizes of 1,000–4,999 (96.17%) and 5,000–9,999 (95.41%) contained the highest averages. Enrollment sizes of 10,000–19,999 (90.91%) contained slightly lower averages, but institutions with enrollment sizes of 20,000 and above (79.08%) contained the lowest average of institutions with no BLC formal or informal student organization protests. On the other hand, enrollment sizes of 20,000 and above contained the highest average of BLC formal (11.76%) and informal (9.15%) student organization protests. Enrollment sizes of 10,000–19,999 contained the second highest averages with formal (4.85%) and informal (4.24%) student organization protests. This presents similar comparisons to Table 10 in terms of institutions with larger enrollment numbers containing higher averages of BLC student organization protests. Smaller enrollment sizes of 1,000–4,999 for formal (1.57%) and informal (2.26%) student organization protests and sizes of 5,000–9,999 for formal (3.67%) and informal (.92%) student organization protests contained the lower averages compared to institutions with higher enrollment sizes.

Table 11

Cross Tabulation of Analysis of Structure Characteristics by Formal Student Organization Protest, Informal Student Organization Protest, and No Student Organization Protest

Variable	Weighted percentage		
	Formal student organization protest	Informal student organization protest	No student organization protest
Structure characteristics			
Institution control			
Public	3.63%	3.63%	92.74%
Private not-for-profit	4.05%	2.96%	92.99%
Institution size			
1,000 – 4,999	1.57%	2.26%	96.17%
5,000 – 9,999	3.67%	.92%	95.41%
10,000 – 19,999	4.85%	4.24%	90.91%
20,000+	11.76%	9.15%	79.08%
<i>Note.</i> Institution control and institution size were converted from decimal into percentage.			

An independent samples *t* test was utilized to compare BLC student organization protests with institutions without them. Table 12 shows the structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics of institutions with BLC student organizations compared with institutions without them. Institutions with enrollment sizes of 1,000–4,999 (27.85%) and 20,000 and above (40.51%) appear to have the highest average of BLC student organization protests. The average selectivity rate of institutions with BLC student organization protests was 47.30% compared to non-BLC student organization protests, which have an acceptance rate of 67.86%.

The financial characteristic of endowment showed that institutions with BLC student organization protests had average endowments of \$211,193.70 compared to institutions without them, which had average endowments of \$44,719.70. There was a \$168,844 difference between endowments sizes between those groups. The average tuition of an institution that contained a

BLC student organization protest was \$29,224.20 while institutions without BLC student organization protests had average tuition and fees of \$22,527.50. Finally, the average faculty salary of institutions with BLC student organization protests was \$96,489.50, which was higher than those institutions without BLC student organization protests (\$72,595.70).

Student demographic characteristics displayed comparable means for the percent of undergraduate Black or African American for institutions with BLC student organization protests (12.41%) and those without them (12.45%). The result is similar with women; institutions with BLC student organization protests (55.63%) and institutions without them (57.35%) contained roughly the same averages. The average percent of Pell Grant recipients at institutions with BLC student organization protests (25.49%) was lower than institutions without them (34.76%). There is a 9.27% difference between groups with institutions with BLC events containing fewer Pell Grant recipients.

The faculty and staff characteristic of total staff displayed a difference between the number of staff between groups. At institutions with BLC protest events, the average total staff was 5,144 compared to those without protests at 1,483. On average there were 3,661 more staff than at institutions without protest events.

The independent samples *t* test results presented show that BLC institutions on average had larger enrollment sizes (40.51%), are more selective (47.30%), with fewer Pell Grant recipients (25.49%), and have higher endowments (\$211,193.70), tuition (\$29,224.20), and average faculty salaries (\$96,489.50), and staff (5,144.30) when compared to institutions without BLC student organization protests.

Of course, independent samples *t* tests do not measure the statistical relationship that these institutional characteristics have on one another. It simply compares the means between

independent groups. In this case, the groups compared were institutions with BLC student organization protests and those without them. To account for that statistical measure that considers the relationship between independent variables, it is necessary to utilize a multivariate approach. Hence the primary reason for conducting the logistic regression analysis was to examine the relationship between institutional characteristics and BLC student organization protests.

Table 12

Independent Sample t Tests Analysis of Means of Structure, Financial, Student Demographic, and Faculty and Staff Characteristics by BLC Institutions and Non-BLC Institutions

Variable	Institutions with BLC protests		Institutions without BLC protests	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Structure characteristics				
Institution control				
Private not-for-profit	56.96%	49.82%	57.90%	49.39%
Public	43.04%	49.82%	42.10%	49.39%
Institution size				
1,000–4,999	27.85%***	45.11%	53.54%	49.89%
5,000–9,999	12.66%	33.46%	20.17%	40.15%
10,000–19,999	18.99%	39.47%	14.55%	35.27%
20,000+	40.51%***	49.40%	11.74%	32.20%
Selectivity	47.30%***	24.68%	67.86%	19.13%
Financial characteristics				
Endowment	\$211,193.70***	\$424,884.89	\$44,719.70	\$123,168.78
Tuition	\$29,224.20***	\$17,955.33	\$22,527.50	\$13,851.43
Faculty salary	\$96,489.50***	\$26,081.53	\$72,595.70	\$17,979.89
Student demographic characteristics				
Percent Black	12.41%	19.80%	12.45%	16.84%
Percent Pell Grant	25.49%***	12.60%	34.76%	13.77%
Percent women	55.63%	12.05%	57.35%	11.00%
Faculty and staff characteristics				
Total staff	5,144.30***	5,697.70	1,482.50	2,417.27
<i>Note.</i> Institution control and institution size were converted from decimal into percentage. The means represent proportions for the variables listed above. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.				

Inferential Statistics Findings

Binary Logistic Regression

I estimated a binary logistic regression to answer the first research question: To what extent do institutional resource factors, including structure, finance, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics, relate to student organization protests? The independent variables were grouped together in the conceptual framework as resource factors of structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics. Table 13 presents the odds ratio, significance levels, and standard errors for all independent variables included in the model; p values lower than 0.05, 0.01, and 0.001 are considered significant and reported and labelled. The odds ratio signifies a positive or negative relationship for all independent variables and the outcome variable of Black Liberation Collective student-organization-led protests.

Structure Characteristics. The resource structure factors in the model were control, institution size, and selectivity. Institution size and selectivity were both found to be significant predictors in the model. The odds of having a BLC student organization protest on campus at an institution, as compared with institutions with 20,000 and above enrolled students, were lower by 90.3% for institutions with 1,000–4,999 students (OR = .097, $p < .001$), 85.8% for institutions with 5,000–9,999 (OR = .142, $p < .001$), and 75.3% for institutions with 10,000–19,999 students enrolled (OR = .247, $p < .01$). Selectivity, on the other hand, showed a negative relationship. The odds of having a BLC student organization protest decreased by 1.9% with a 1% increase in the acceptance rate for an institution (OR = .981, $p < .01$).

Financial Characteristics. Tuition was found to a significant predictor in the logit model. A \$1,000 increase in tuition was related to a 6.7% increase in the odds of having a BLC student organization protest (OR = 1.067, $p < .05$).

Student Demographic Characteristics. Of the resource student demographic factors, percentage of undergraduate Black or African American students and Pell Grant recipients were both found to be significant predictors. A 1% increase in the percent of undergraduate Black students was related to a 4.2% increase in the odds of having a BLC student organization protest (OR = 1.042, $p < .001$). For every 1% increase in Pell Grant recipients, the odds of having a BLC student organization protest decreased by 4.7% (OR = .953, $p < .01$).

Table 13

Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting BLC Student Organization Protest

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance	SE
Structure characteristics			
Institution control			
Private not-for-profit	.209		.88
Institution size			
1,000–4,999	.097	***	.58
5,000–9,999	.142	***	.52
10,000–19,999	.247	**	.44
Selectivity	.981	**	.00
Financial characteristics			
Endowment (1000s)	1.001		.00
Tuition (1000s)	1.067	*	.03
Average Faculty Salary (1000s)	1.001		.01
Student demographic characteristics			
Percent Black	1.042	***	.01
Percent Pell Grant	.953	**	.01
Percent Women	1.024		.01
Faculty and staff characteristics			
Total staff (1000s)	1.000		.04
<i>Note.</i> The base group for institutional control is public. The base group for institution size is 20,000+. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.			

Sensitivity Test. After the logistic regression was estimated, and because the tuition and institutional control variables were both highly correlated, I estimated another logit model as a sensitivity test. I am ultimately interested in resources, so I excluded control and retained tuition in the model. When estimating the binary logistic regression with all independent variables excluding control, I found that it does slightly change the substance of the results presented above. For starters, it increased the significance level of institution enrollment sizes of 10,000–19,999 (OR = .221, $p < .001$). Additionally, the significance level was also increased for percent of Pell Grant recipients (OR = .947, $p < .001$). Finally, the tuition variable loses significance as a predictor for BLC student organization protests when excluding the private not-for-profit variable from the logit model.

Table 14

Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting BLC Student Organization Protest Sensitivity Test

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance	SE
Structure characteristics			
Institution size			
1,000–4,999	.097	***	.58
5,000–9,999	.142	***	.52
10,000–19,999	.221	***	.45
Selectivity	.981	**	.00
Student demographic characteristics			
Percent Black	1.042	***	.01
Percent Pell Grant	.947	***	.01
<i>Note.</i> The base group for institutional control is public. The base group for institution size is 20,000+. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.			

Multinomial Logistic Regression

I estimated a multinomial logistic regression to answer the second research question of my study: To what extent do those resource factors relate to formal and informal student organizations when compared with institutions that do not contain student organization protests? The independent variables in the model utilized the same conceptual framework as the resource factors mentioned above with structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics. Table 15 presents the odds ratio, significance levels, and standard errors for all independent variables included in the model. The outcome variable of Black Liberation Collective formal, informal, or no student-organization-led protests. The reference group in the analysis was no student organization protest.

The following variables were found to be statistically significant when comparing BLC formal and informal student organization protests to institutions that did not contain student organization protests: control, institution size, tuition, endowment, and percentage of undergraduate students who identify as Black or African American and Pell Grant recipients.

Structure Characteristics. The odds of having a BLC formal student organization protest on campus, as compared with institutions with 20,000 and above enrolled students, were lower by 87.4% for institutions with 1,000–4,999 (OR = .126, $p < .01$) and 68.5% for institutions with 10,000–19,999 students enrolled (OR = .315, $p < .05$). On the other hand, the odds of having a BLC informal student organization protest, as compared with institutions with 20,000 and above enrolled students, were lower by 94.6% for institutions with 1,000–4,999 (OR = .054, $p < .001$), 97.6% for institutions with 5,000–9,999 (OR = .024, $p < .001$), and 81.2% for institutions with 10,000–19,999 students enrolled (OR = .188, $p < .05$). Concerning institutional

control, the odds of having a BLC formal student organization protest on campus were 97.1% lower at private not-for-profit institutions than at public institutions (OR = .029, $p < .05$).

Financial Characteristics. Several financial characteristic variables were found to be predictors in the model including tuition and endowment. A \$1,000 increase in the tuition was related to a 14% increase in the odds of having a BLC formal student organization protest (OR = 1.140, $p < .01$). A \$1,000 increase in the endowment at an institution was related to a .2% increase in the odds of having a BLC informal student organization protest on campus (OR = 1.002, $p < .05$).

Student Demographic Characteristics. Several variables were found to be significant predictors including percentage of Black or African American undergraduate students and Pell Grant recipients. A 1% increase in the percentage of undergraduate Black students was related to a 6.6% increase in the odds of having a BLC informal student organization protest on campus (OR = 1.066, $p < .001$). For every 1% increase in the percentage of Pell Grant recipients on campus, the odds of having a BLC informal student protest decreased by 7.3% (OR = .927, $p < .01$).

Table 15*Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Formal and Informal Student Organization Protest*

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance	SE
Formal student organization protest			
Private not-for-profit	.029	*	1.54
1,000–4,999	.126	**	.79
5,000–9,999	.445		.64
10,000–19,999	.315	*	.57
Selectivity	.978		.01
Endowment (1000s)	1.000		.00
Tuition (1000s)	1.140	**	.05
Average faculty salary (1000s)	.997		.01
Percent Black	.985		.02
Percent Pell Grant	.989		.02
Percent women	1.034		.01
Total staff (1000s)	1.061		.05
Informal student organization protest			
Private not-for-profit	.450		1.07
1,000–4,999	.054	***	.80
5,000–9,999	.024	***	.96
10,000–19,999	.188	**	.60
Selectivity	.985		.01
Endowment (1000s)	1.002	*	.00
Tuition (1000s)	1.033		.03
Average faculty salary (1000s)	.999		.01
Percent Black	1.066	***	.01
Percent Pell Grant	.927	**	.02
Percent women	1.017		.01
Total staff (1000s)	.894		.07
<i>Note.</i> The base group for institutional control is public. The base group for institution size is 20,000+. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.			

Sensitivity Test. Similar to the last logit model, I conducted a sensitivity test. As shown in Table 16, I estimated the multinomial logit model above with all independent variables and excluded institution control as a sensitivity test. I did this because the variables of tuition and control as private not-for-profit were highly correlated. Estimating the model without the control variable did change the results somewhat. Many of the variables contained the same statistical significance levels; however, tuition was not found to be statistically significant for BLC formal student organization protests when excluding the institutional control variable from the model. Selectivity was found to be predictive for BLC formal student organization protests when excluding institutional control as a variable in the model (OR = .973, $p < .05$). Concerning BLC informal student organization protests, the results stayed the same except percent of Pell Grant recipients; the significance levels raised when the institutional control variable was excluded from the model (OR = .925, $p < .001$).

When comparing the logit models, there were a few similar changes when control was excluded. First, percent of Pell Grant recipients increased in statistical significance for both models. Second, selectivity became statistically significant for the multinomial logit model to match the binary logit model. Other than that, most of the resource factors carried statistical significance across models.

Table 16

Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Formal and Informal Student Organization Protest Sensitivity Test

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance	SE
Formal student organization protest			
1,000–4,999	.126	**	.79
10,000–19,999	.315	*	.57
Selectivity	.973	*	.01
Informal student organization protest			
1,000–4,999	.054	***	.80
5,000–9,999	.024	***	.96
10,000–19,999	.177	**	.60
Endowment (1000s)	1.002	*	.00
Percent Black	1.066	***	.01
Percent Pell Grant	.924	***	.02
<i>Note.</i> The base group for institution size is 20,000+. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.			

Interaction Effects

To determine if there were interaction effects between my predictors, this study conducted an analysis of a full model with interaction effect terms and a post-estimation test to compare the model with and without interaction effect terms. The interaction terms in this study were those between selectivity and percentage of Pell Grant recipients. Percentage of Pell Grant recipients was used to account for student income. I interacted a binary and a continuous variable. Selectivity was constructed into a binary variable with institutions at 47% and below coded as high selectivity at “1” and institutions above 48% coded as low selectivity at “0.” Institutions with a 47% and below selectivity rate were selected because the average Black Liberation Collective protests occurred at institutions with average acceptance rate of about 47%.

Interaction effects occur when the effect of one independent variable is contingent upon the value of another independent variable. These variables were selected based on the findings in the literature. Studies have found that students from different financial backgrounds may respond differently to being at selective institutions and engaging in protests (Byrd et al., 2019; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; Soule, 1997). As Table 17 shows, the analysis of the post-estimation indicated that the set of interaction terms of selectivity and percentage of Pell Grant recipients included in the model with all variables was not statistically significant. This suggests that the relationship between social income and the odds of BLC student organization protests was the same across institutions with different levels of selectivity, high or low.

Table 17

Interaction Terms for BLC Student Organization and Informal, Formal, and No Student Organization Protest Models

Variable	Logistic regression			Multinomial logistic regression					
	Odds ratio	Sig	SE	Formal student organization protest			Informal student organization protest		
Odds ratio				Sig	SE	Odds ratio	Sig	SE	
Selectivityx Percent Pell Grant	.991		.01	1.018		.02	.954		.02
<i>Note.</i> The base group for institutional control is public. The base group for institution size is 20,000 and above. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.									

This chapter discussed the descriptive and inferential statistical findings that attempted to answer the two research questions of the study. I explained the analysis and models I utilized and presented results for both descriptive and inferential statistics. This study investigated the relationship between resource factors and BLC student organization protests. The binary logistic regression results indicate that institution size, selectivity, tuition, percent of undergraduate

Black or African American students and Pell Grant recipients are associated with the presence of a Black Liberation Collective student organization on campus. If control is excluded from the model, then tuition is no longer predictive, and it increases the significance of institution size and Pell Grant recipients.

When estimating a multinomial logistic regression model and examining the relationship between formal and informal BLC student organizations with the base group of institutions without BLC student organization protests, there were slightly different results for each type of student organization. Institution size was found to be predictive for both formal and informal student organizations with protests. Tuition and control were predictive for formal student organizations that protested. Endowment, percent of undergraduate Black students, and Pell Grant recipients were predictive for informal student organizations that protested. When excluding institutional control from the model due to a high variance inflation factor, the results changed slightly. For instance, tuition was no longer found to be predictive. Selectivity was found to be predictive, and the significance increased for the Pell Grant recipient variable.

Finally, I tested for interaction effects in my model based on the literature that there might be interaction effects between selectivity and student income. In my model, student income was measured by percent of Pell Grant recipients. I tested the interaction effects between selectivity and percent of Pell Grant recipients with the other predictors in my model. The findings revealed that the set of interaction terms of selectivity and percent of Pell Grant recipients was not significant. Chapter V of the study explains the interpretation of these findings in greater detail and provides implications for policy and practice as well as for future research.

Chapter V

Conclusions and Implications

Introduction

Over the past decade and beyond, student protests have been primarily occurring at elite and wealthier institutions (Altbach & Cohen, 1990a; Ellis, 2020; Jaschik, 2015a, 2015b; Johnston, 2015; Nelson, 2011; New, 2015; Pettit, 2020). The Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) annual survey found that the number of Black students who reported that they would likely participate in student protests at college increased from 10.5% in 2014 to 16% in 2015 (Eagan et al., 2015). According to CIRP researchers who have been administering the survey since 1967, that percentage marks the highest number of students entering into higher education with a desire to protest (Eagan et al., 2015; Kueppers, 2016). History demonstrates student protests are not going away anytime soon.

The Black Liberation Collective (BLC) was a national student organization that featured affiliated student organizations from a plethora of institutions. Those affiliated student organizations issued protest demands in 2015 concerning issues of racial justice, and many of those organizations protested on their campuses (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). Although there is research that analyzes the protest demands (Chessman & Wayt, 2016; Ndemanu, 2017) and where protests are likely to occur (Van Dyke, 1998), there exists few studies that specifically address the impact that the institutional environment may have on informal and formal student organizations that protested.

Previous studies that controlled for institutional characteristics found several institutional, student, and faculty characteristics to be predictors of student collective action (Asal et al., 2017;

Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Byrd et al., 2019; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998; Zilvinskis et al., 2020). Although protests appear to occur at certain institutions, there exists little research on how resource or financial factors may relate to student collective action. Moreover, researchers often controlled for institutional characteristics and were not necessarily testing the relationship between institutional environment and student collective action. The inclusion of student organizations that protest is something the current study contributed to the field. Additionally, while researchers have found certain institutional factors to be significant, few studies have attempted to systematically and theoretically understand the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organizations that protest.

Despite findings in the previous studies, the relationship among institutional characteristics and student collective action is still not well understood. More specifically, there was a gap in the literature regarding the relationship of institutional environment to student organizations that partake in protests. To help fill in the gap, I proposed testing a specific social movement theory called resource mobilization theory (RMT). Additionally, I utilized a conceptual model to assist in guiding that theory. The conceptual model this study used was partly based on the literature review conducted on the institutional characteristics and student collective action studies as well as being influenced by Berger's framework categories (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, n.d.; Chen, 2012; Fine, 2012). The conceptual model and theory was tested on two models. In organizing my conceptual model, I indicated that there was a hypothetical relationship between resources of structural, financial, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics. Additionally, I tested RMT to better understand the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organizations that protested. RMT postulates that more environmental resources mean more resources to a

movement organization. In other words, the more resources to a movement organization would potentially mean the more likely that movement organization may mobilize (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Employing BLC student organizations that protested or not as my outcome variable, I tested a specific mechanism through which RMT would operate to convert institutional resources to movement resources within the student activist context.

Ultimately, this study aimed to understand the relationship between institutional characteristics and student collective action. I hoped to explain that connection by utilizing the social movement theory of RMT. Thus, I hoped to better understand the relationship between institutional characteristics and student collective action. The study attempted to answer the following questions: (1) To what extent do institutional resource factors, including structure, finance, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics, relate to student protests? (2) To what extent do those resource factors relate to formal and informal student organizations when compared with institutions that do not contain student organization protests?

The sample of this study used cross-sectional data from IPEDS for 2015 and a national dataset of student protest demands from the student organization called the Black Liberation Collective (BLC). The study utilized a binary logistic regression to analyze resource factors and the BLC student organization protests in 2015. Additionally, I estimated a multinomial logistic regression model to analyze the resource factors to compare formal and informal student organization protests to those institutions without student organization protests. My analysis included testing for interaction effects between selectivity and student income.

The following chapter reviewed the results presented in Chapter IV. Afterwards, I discuss the implications for theory, policy, and practice. I conclude this study by offering recommendations for future researchers.

Summary of Findings

The sample of my study was derived from IPEDS in 2015 and from the BLC website's list of demands. There were a total of 1,110 institutions in my cross-sectional sample. Additionally, I utilized the list of demands from the BLC's website and investigated whether institutions where the demands were issued contained protests on those campuses. There were 79 institutions that contained BLC student organization protests. Of those 79, investigating those news sources provided information on whether the student organization was formal or informal. I also researched through campus newspapers and other news sources whether they were informal or formal student-organizations-led protests. Forty-three institutions contained formal student organization protests, and 36 had informal student organization protests.

I conducted an independent sample t test to better understand the averages between institutions with BLC student organization protests and those without them. The results provided an interesting picture of the differences between those groups. Concerning structure characteristics, BLC student organization protests were primarily happening at institutions with small and large enrollment sizes. About 40% of BLC student organization protests occurred at institutions with enrollment sizes of 20,000 or higher, and 28% occurred at institutions with enrollment sizes between 1,000 and 4,999. Additionally, BLC student organization protests primarily occurred at more selective institutions with higher endowments, tuition, average faculty salaries, and more staff. It is interesting to note that institutions with BLC student organizations and those without them contained roughly the same percent of undergraduate

Black or African American students on their campuses. This simple means test underscored that the major difference between groups was wealth and prestige. Another interesting finding was that institutions with BLC student organization protests had lower percentages of students participating in the Pell Grant program compared to those institutions without them. Thus, when comparing institutions with BLC student organization protests versus those without them, it appears to be a story of student activists mobilizing at wealthier and elite institutions with fewer low-income students. However, simple means tests do not measure the statistical relationship that institutional characteristics have on each other, so it was necessary to estimate two logit models to answer this study's research questions.

To answer my first research question: To what extent do institutional resource factors, including structure, finance, student demographic characteristics, and faculty and staff characteristics, relate to student protests? I estimated a binary logistic regression model. My outcome variable was BLC student organizations that protested or not. I hypothesized that the following resource factors of structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics would predict BLC student organization protests. After estimating the model size, selectivity, percent of undergraduate students identifying as Black or African American, and Pell Grant recipients were statistically significant.

Institutions with smaller enrollment sizes had lower odds of having BLC student organization protests when compared to institutions with enrollment sizes of 20,000 and above. This is something previous studies reported as well (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). Previous studies have suggested that it may be due to critical mass (Astin et al., 1975; Van Dyke, 1998). Critical mass may be reached when a large number of students are enrolled on campuses (Astin et al., 1975; Van Dyke, 1998). In other words, the larger the number of student groups enrolled

on any given campus, the greater the likelihood that a student mobilization may occur. However, from an RMT lens, this finding could suggest that the larger the number of students, the more resources and potential students there are to join student organizations and mobilize. In terms of institutional environment, institutions with a larger number of students may also have more resources for potential student organizations to utilize for mobilization. To some extent, critical mass helps support RMT by suggesting that more students mean a greater likelihood of mobilization because larger institutions contain more resources and thus greater opportunities for mobilization. However, a larger issue with the critical mass mechanism is that this study found students from low-income backgrounds decreased the odds of mobilization even at more prestigious and wealthier institutions with sizable resources. This suggests that critical mass could be a plausible explanation for students from more affluent backgrounds in these environments, but the reverse is not the case for students from low-income backgrounds. So, more low-income students at institutions with large enrollment sizes does not necessarily mean higher odds of mobilization. Thus, it appears that although more students point towards critical mass, it needs to be understood in terms of resource mobilization. These institutional environments may produce certain social-income backgrounds that are conducive to student mobilization because there are more environment resources among groups. Particularly, the resources and networks affluent actors of student organizations bring with them as well as their knowledge of how to utilize the sizable resources on their given institutions.

Selectivity, on the other hand, displayed a negative association with the outcome variable. The more selective an institution is, the higher the odds of having a BLC student organization protest on campus, and that is something previous studies reported as well (Astin et al., 1975; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). Researchers have also linked selectivity to wealth and

prestige (Soule, 1997); thus, institutions that are more selective tend to have higher endowments on average as displayed in the simple means test. Since that is the case, more selective institutions may offer more material, informational, and human resources for student organizations to use to mobilize (Fine, 2012; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). For instance, these institutional environments may offer more funding opportunities, material resources, and training sessions for officially sanctioned student organizations on their campuses. An alternative mechanism, however, might be the enduring influence and presence of student activist traditions on these elite and selective campuses (Van Dyke, 1998). Several researchers and scholars have reported that certain campuses contain rich activist traditions (Altbach & Cohen, 1990a; Van Dyke, 1998). Furthermore, it could also be the case that at more prestigious institutions students get involved in student organizations and receive more training and funding on how to run an organization. This is something the second research question clarified when I examined the differences between formal and informal student organization protests.

Institutional environment is important when understanding the role resources play in mobilization and so are student demographic characteristics. An increase in the percent of undergraduate Black students increases the odds of having a BLC student organization protest. This result was expected because the Black Liberation Collective was a national Black student organization. This finding could be due to the possibility that more Black students on campus means more opportunities to organize and mobilize for student organizations. It could also be due to student activist engagement. Researchers found that Black students were also among one of the most likely groups to engage in sociopolitical action compared with others (Morgan et al., 2019). Scholars have reported on the rich tradition of Black student activism and the building of coalitions and organizations as drivers for change on campuses (Rhoads, 2016). Another

alternative mechanism might be grievance theory. Grievance theory postulates that students are affected by outside sources of strain and reach a tipping point at which they may mobilize (Snow et al., 1998). Previous studies have investigated the relationship between grievance theory and student mobilization (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Blissett et al., 2020). To the extent that Black students are affected by outside sources of strain on their campuses, they may decide to mobilize. This is plausible given the demands the BLC organizations made against their institutions that environments were racist, unfair, and ultimately not supportive of their needs (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). The issue is that low-income students, and to that end, students possibly identifying as Black or African American, decreased the odds of mobilization at certain institutional environments. And it could plausibly be assumed that undergraduate Black students in general were experiencing strain at their institutions. So, why would more affluent students in either formal or informal student organizations be the ones that most likely mobilized? This is where RMT might be helpful in providing a nuanced picture of which social-income groups are successful in utilizing campus resources.

Finally, increasing the percent of Pell Grant recipients decreases the odds of having a BLC student organization protest. In other words, the fewer low-income students on campus, the higher the odds of BLC student organization protest. Other studies reported this in respect to protest events and the birth of a student collective action campaign (Asal et al., 2017; D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). Additionally, this finding could suggest that perhaps student organizations that mobilized in these environments could have come from middle- or upper-income backgrounds. Asal and colleagues (2017) suggested as much when they examined institutions that contained Occupy Wall Street protest events (Asal et al., 2017). Another study found that higher socioeconomic status is associated with an increase of civic values for students (Lott, 2013). If it

is the case that lower income students decrease the odds of mobilization, then that could be a strong indicator that student organizations are in need of members with resources and capital in these environments (Blissett et al., 2020). Although it is difficult to tell whether actors in student organizations that protested were from high-income backgrounds, even if the share of Pell Grant recipients was small, this finding may suggest that students in BLC student organizations could be from more affluent backgrounds. An increase in undergraduate Black student enrollment increased the odds of informal student mobilization, so perhaps those student organizations could be utilizing informal and formal resource networks on their campuses to assist in mobilization.

It is crucial to point out that the finding of low-income students decreasing mobilization does not negate or cancel the impact of race. Undergraduate students who identified as Black or African American were a vulnerable population on these campuses as evidenced by the demands issued on racist campus climates and previous studies (Blissett et al., 2020). Although student organizations that mobilized may contain participants from more affluent backgrounds, the demands issued by organizations surrounding racial injustices and toxic environments were most likely experienced by Black students from all social-income backgrounds. Additionally, Black students from low-income backgrounds may be among the most vulnerable populations at these campuses. This study shows that they may not get the opportunity to mobilize with these organizations and get their voice heard.

The next question this study sought to answer was tied to formal and informal student organization. I asked: To what extent do those resource factors relate to formal and informal student organizations? To answer that question, I estimated a multinomial logistic regression to compare formal and informal student organizations that protested to those institutions that contained no student organization protests. Institution size, endowment, percent of Black or

African American students enrolled, and percent of Pell Grant recipients were found to be significant predictors in the model.

The structure characteristics that were significant in the model were institution size and selectivity. Similar to the last logit model, the odds of having a formal and informal student organization protest lowered when enrollment sizes reduced. Perhaps formal and informal student organizations do not contain adequate resources to mobilize at institutions with lower enrollment sizes due to limited resources on smaller campuses. More students on any given campus essentially might mean more opportunities to connect with student organizations who may bring with them their own resources and networks. Students bring with them their own experiences and backgrounds, and many students may have been involved in past activism events and student organizations as well. In this case, a certain institutional environment might provide the impetus and resource site for assisting students in joining student organizations to mobilize.

Regarding prestige, the more selective an institution, the higher the odds of having a formal student organization protest; however, that was not the case for informal organizations. This finding along with low-income students reducing the odds of mobilization might suggest that more selective institution environments breed histories and legacies of campus activism (Van Dyke, 1998), as well as students with higher income backgrounds (Lott, 2013; Soule, 1997). If that is the case and students from more affluent backgrounds attend these colleges, it could be tied to the sizable institutional and social-income resources from an RMT lens. In other words, participants in student organizations that mobilized could be from affluent backgrounds and have class privilege and the time to protest on certain campuses. Additionally, student

organizations may have the political voice and platform to engage in activism due to the capital they bring and the knowledge of the sizable campus resources at their disposal.

Considering the financial characteristics, endowment was found to be predictive in the model. Focusing on informal student organizations, an increase in endowment also increases the odds of having an informal student organization protest. Wealthier institutions may contain more resources in terms of student affairs, campus events, and networks for informal student organizations to obtain and utilize for mobilization. A previous study found protest events diffused among colleges and universities with higher endowments and suggested that wealthier students might influence each other's protest tactics (Soule, 1995). Informal student organizations that mobilize might be more successful at larger institutions with higher endowments because they utilize campus resources for their enterprise.

The percentage of undergraduate Black students and Pell Grant recipients were found to be predictive for informal student organizations. Increasing the percent of undergraduate Black students on campus increases the odds of having an informal student organization, but that is not the case for formal student organization protests. This might be due to institutions not already containing adequate and representative traditions of student organizations for undergraduate Black students to join. The formal student organizations that exist on these campuses might not address some of the issues of racial injustice that the Black Liberation Collective expressed and mobilized for on their website (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). Competition for resources might also be an issue for student organizations at larger institutions. Thus, informal student organizations may form and seek other ways to utilize their campuses' sizable resources. In that case, informal student organizations might need to seek informal networks and resources to use to mobilize. Finally, informal student organizations may form at these institutional environments

because they are protesting their institutions. It is plausible that such organizations could form in an informal manner because they feel their institutions are not representing their best interests.

An increase in the percent of Pell Grant recipients on campuses decreases the odds of having an informal student organization protest on campus. It appears that student income factors into the odds of mobilization for informal student organizations. This suggests that students who mobilize through informal student organizations and networks might have resources of their own to contribute to the mobilization process and are thus not from low-income backgrounds. In other words, informal student organizations could already possess greater capital (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018) to utilize at those institutions. It could also be the case that lower income students feel hesitant to speak up, voice their concerns, and join formal or informal student organizations that mobilize because they are afraid of the repercussions. Furthermore, students from low-income backgrounds could also have limited time available to join activist organizations. There might also be an issue of lack of knowledge of the resources available on campuses and how to access them.

After I estimated my two models, I tested for interaction effects between the predictors of selectivity and percent of Pell Grant recipients. Researchers have found that students from different financial backgrounds may respond differently to being at selective institutions and partaking in protests (Byrd et al., 2019; Kahn & Bowers, 1970; Soule, 1997). I utilized a post-estimation test and found that the interaction terms of selectivity and percent of Pell Grant recipients were not statistically significant.

Theoretical Implications

The conceptual model of this study grouped categories of structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics (Berger, 2000; Chen, 2012) as resource factors to understand if there is a connection to student organization mobilization. Testing resource mobilization theory (RMT; McCarthy & Zald, 1977), student organizations that protested were employed as the outcome variable to test a specific mechanism by which RMT would operate to convert institution resources to movement resources within the student activist context. RMT suggests that organizations are more likely to mobilize when there are adequate resources in hand (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). My findings add to the theoretical framework by showing that resource factors of structure, financial, and student demographic are significant predictors of student organization mobilization. My findings suggest Black Liberation Collective student organizations protests increase with resources of institutions' size, prestige, endowment, increase of Black undergraduate students, and students from more affluent backgrounds. Therefore, these findings provide support for RMT as a mechanism that operates in the institutional environment and increases student organization mobilization.

Hypotheses 1: Institutional environments with larger resource factors of structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics were more likely to contain student organization mobilization.

Resource mobilization theory (RMT) suggests that organizations will be more likely to mobilize when there are adequate resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Therefore, institutional environments that contain more resource factors as indicated in this model should contain more student mobilization than those institutional environments with fewer resources. The simple means test conducted indicated that, on average, the institutions with BLC student organization

protests were larger (47.30%), more selective (47.30%), with higher endowments (\$211,193.70), tuition (\$29,224.20), faculty salaries (\$96,489.50), with fewer Pell Grant recipients (25.49%), and more staff (5,144.30) than institutions without these student organization protests.

However, when I estimated the binary logit model, financial and faculty and staff characteristics were not found to be statistically significant in the model. This could be due to other resource factors having more of a bearing upon student organization mobilization such as the total number of students and the prestige of the institution. Financial factors included in the model such as endowment, tuition, average faculty salary, and total staff could have less bearing upon the institutional resources that student organizations draw from when mobilizing.

Furthermore, it could be the case that student organizations utilized resources from student affairs funding and other such officials and only secondary from tuition, endowment, and average faculty salary variables (Klemenčič, 2020). Those other financial variables were not represented in the model.

The binary logit model found that institutions that were more selective and had larger enrollment sizes were more predictive environments for student mobilization. These institutional environments suggest that institutional environments of student mobilization may be more likely at both prestigious and larger institutions. Institutions that increased undergraduate Black students and decreased in Pell Grant recipients were also predictive environments for student mobilization as well. So, the first hypothesis only partially lines up with the findings. However, institutional environments of size, prestige, more undergraduate Black students, and fewer Pell Grant recipients still provide some evidence that these environments are to some extent wealthier and most likely contain more resources.

Hypothesis 2: Institutions with larger structure, financial, student demographic, and faculty and staff characteristics were more likely to contain formal student organization than informal student organization mobilization.

When I estimated the multinomial logit model to distinguish student organization types (formal or informal), the resource factors appeared to split up for the most part. The only commonality between formal and informal student mobilization was institutional size. Institutional environments with larger enrollment sizes were found to be predictive environments for both formal and informal student mobilization. This finding may suggest that environments with a larger student body were more likely to experience student mobilization irrespective of the organization type. This makes sense because more students could mean more like-minded and potential activists for mobilizations. Furthermore, student organizations that mobilize may contain actors that bring with them their own resources and networks.

In terms of formal student mobilization, more selective environments were found to be predictive. It appears to be the case that formal mobilization is likely to occur in institutional environments that are more selective and therefore more prestigious. Perhaps these institutional environments both encourage or contain more student activist groups and contain a tradition of student activism (Van Dyke, 1998). On the other side, more selective institutions that were at predominantly white institutions (PWIs) could contain both racially unjust campus environments and breed activism because of institutional failings (Gorski, 2019; Linder et al., 2019). Those selective institutional environments may also contain more resources for Black student organizations to utilize for mobilization such as funding opportunities (Turner, 2020).

On the other hand, environments that predicted informal student mobilization were institutions with higher endowments, increased undergraduate Black students, and decreased Pell

Grant recipients. This could suggest that mobilization at these environments not only needed a larger share of students but also more Black students and fewer low-income students. That last finding could point in the direction of RMT in terms of the likelihood of mobilization at institutional environments with higher endowments and perhaps fewer low-income students.

So, there is a difference between types of student organizations. BLC formal student organizations were likely to mobilize at larger and more selective institutional environments. Whereas BLC informal student organizations were likely to mobilize at larger, wealthier, and environments with an increase in undergraduate Black students and fewer low-income students.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The purpose of this study was to test resource mobilization theory (RMT) to better understand the relationship between institutional characteristics and student organizations that protested. The aim was to build a conceptual model based on the major findings in the field to better understand this relationship. The conceptual model included resource factors and characteristics of structure, finance, student demographics, and faculty and staff. I hypothesized that the more resources in these characteristics, the greater likelihood that student organizations would mobilize and protest.

I estimated two models with one considering all pertinent BLC student organizations within the scope of my parameters and another that compared informal and formal student organization protests with those institutions that did not contain student organization protests. Between both models, faculty and staff characteristics were not found to be predictors of BLC student organization protests, formal, and informal student organization protests. Thus, institutions with more staff were not necessarily more predictive of student organization protests. Although that is the case, there were other resource factors that were found to be predictive in

both my models. Particularly, structure characteristics of enrollment size and selectivity of institutions were predictive in both models. The financial characteristic of endowment was predictive in the multinomial logit model. The student demographic characteristics of percent of undergraduate Black students and Pell Grant recipients were predictive in both models.

Ensure Equity and Access of Resources for Student Organizations

Resource factors varied and demonstrated some commonalities as I considered the difference between informal and formal student organizations. In the case of formal and informal student organizations that protested, the larger the enrollment size, the higher the odds that a student organization protest would occur. The primary difference between the groups was the student demographic characteristics. An increase in percent of undergraduate Black students increased the odds of an informal student organization protest. The opposite was true of percent of Pell Grant recipients. An increase in the Pell Grant recipients decreased the odds of an informal student organization protest.

This study found that student income is a factor when considering who is selected into these institutions and who might even get a chance to have a voice. That finding is both grim and revealing given higher education institutions' mission of working towards equity and access. Institutions with Black Liberation Collective (BLC) protests had a smaller share of Pell Grant recipients on average than institutions without protests. This could be because low-income students on campuses feel pressure due to the grants they receive and thus less inclined to join student organizations to protest or mobilize out of fear of losing those grants. Another reason might be low-income students are unable to devote time and energy towards mobilization in either type of student organization because of oppressive living conditions.

Institutions with strong activist traditions of formal student organizations could also alienate students from different socioeconomic backgrounds as well. Studies have found that students from low-income backgrounds are likely to get involved in sociopolitical action if they feel an issue affects them (Morgan et al., 2019; Ozymy, 2012). To what extent sociopolitical action is linked to student organization mobilization for students with low-income backgrounds and their involvement is uncertain. Administrators in student affairs could find ways to engage students from low-income backgrounds and share knowledge of student organizations that address issues that might affect them as students such as protesting the rising costs of college (Black Liberation Collective, n.d.). As the simple means test demonstrated, it appears resources are in abundance at campuses that contained BLC organization protests. However, not all social-income groups may get the opportunity to utilize them. In fact, knowledge and social-income privilege may be strong indicators of which students join student organizations and mobilize in these institutional environments. This might even be the case with race as the Black student middle- and upper-classes could be leading the BLC organization protests.

On the other hand, although the finding of social income is alarming for the numerous reasons mentioned above, it is also crucial to underscore the conversation about equity in terms of the labor Black student activists contribute to their campuses and the toll it takes on them. Several studies have examined activist burnout and other negative outcomes for students of color who partake in activism (Gorski, 2019; Linder et al., 2019). There is an “invisible tax” students of color pay in terms of mental, physical, and emotional resources that they contribute to activist movements to help address their oppressive campus environments (Givens, 2016). The fact that Black student activists need to mobilize to constantly battle and confront racist campus environments is something that is unacceptable and should make every higher education

institution reconsider their diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives as well as reformulating their mission statements. Perhaps more alarming is that researchers found students of color who were activists would like to simply be students and partake in campus activities like other students around them instead of battling oppressive environments (Linder et al., 2019). Administrators, faculty, and stakeholders need to understand to what extent they uphold these oppressive campus environments that reproduce inequality and racism. This may involve campus-wide initiatives and training to educate senior and junior administrators, board of regent's members, faculty, staff, and students to expose them to the racist realities on their campuses as well as nationally that persons of color face in America. Interpreting the findings from this lens, the resource factors from this study might help administrators understand what environments are conducive to student organization mobilization and take it as a sign to investigate these environmental factors further.

Support and Investigate Student Organizations at Smaller Institutions

For administrators and faculty from smaller institutions, it is important to understand that this study found that student organization protests decrease as enrollment sizes get smaller for both formal and informal student organizations. The task and challenge for smaller institutions will be trying to engage their student bodies to foster civic engagement and continue the mission of producing and shaping engaged and empowered citizens. To do that successfully, this study suggests that it might be important for those institutions to understand their student organization traditions. It is crucial to understand if marginalized groups perceive that their student organizations represent their interests. It might also be important to understand the social-income background of students and to assure students receiving grants that they can voice their concerns and engage in student activism to empower their interests on our campuses. Furthermore, student

affairs administrators should be concerned about these findings and work towards developing partnerships with organizations that can assist low-income students who are living in oppressive conditions while attending college.

On the other end, it is crucial for institutions to renew their responsibility for creating and maintaining campus climates that are inclusive. This means educating administrators on racial injustices and preventing them from simply protecting the institutional environment, and that includes preventing them from protecting the dominant ways of knowing and being on these campuses (Linder et al., 2019). Instead, administrators should be trained to support student activists by shouldering the bulk of the work for implementing change and educating themselves and their campuses on combatting these toxic campus climates (Linder et al., 2019).

The Black Liberation Collective and student organizations that protested did so against their respective institutions. The problems of racial injustice voiced by student organizations belonging to the BLC are not issues that simply exist at larger, prestigious, and wealthier institutions. In fact, they could also occur at smaller institutions. It is crucial for institutions of all sizes and prestige to examine to what extent these issues are taking place on their campuses. If higher education is going to support the values of inclusivity and diversity, then that also means supporting marginalized groups even if you must protest the college you work for to make a better change.

Utilize Resources to Dismantle Racist Campus Environments

This study provided more evidence that certain types of institutions contain more protests than others (Altbach & Cohen, 1990a; Asal et al., 2017; Soule, 1997; Van Dyke, 1998). If producing democratic and engaged citizens is one of the main missions in higher education (Labaree, 1997; Lattuca & Stark, 2011), then it becomes crucial to understand these sites of

inequality and racism. Studies have shown how effective student activism was in implementing change on campuses (Byrd et al., 2019). This study found that more Black students on campus, the higher odds institutions will experience Black student organization mobilization. Although more Black students on campus may increase the odds of mobilization, it is crucial to point out that issues of racial injustice and inequality may already exist in those institutional environments (Blissett et al., 2020). Simply increasing the number of Black student organizations on campus that mobilize cannot implement the change of these oppressive environments. In fact, the onus should not be on Black student organizations to provide the change for racist environments at higher education institutions. Institutions should immediately undertake this responsibility to educate themselves by building a diverse staff and conducting institutional research to better identify areas that need to be addressed and changed.

On the one hand, admitting more students who identify as Black or African American at more selective institutions may assist in addressing existing problems in these environments to initiate change needed to honor and uphold values like inclusivity and diversity. On the other hand, administrators should not simply wait for increased enrollment numbers and students to lead another national protest before they undertake the responsibility to combat racism and make the changes to support Black students and Black student organizations (Chatelain, 2020). Instead, administrators and leaders should take proactive steps and investigate their campus climates and listen to the experiences of marginalized students and organizations at their institutions. There have been plenty of recent problems students of color protested and raised on these selective and prestigious campuses concerning confederate statues and monuments (Anderson, 2020; Jaschik, 2018), names of buildings named after racist figures (Jaschik, 2020), and sports teams upholding racist ideologies and practices (Stripling, 2017). These are problems

all higher education institutions face as inheritors of traditions of race and class privilege. These institutions will continue to be challenged by Black student organizations and other organizations as more a diverse and representative set of voices becomes ever present on campuses.

Develop Strong Diverse Student Organization Traditions With Resources

The question for administrators on campuses might be how to foster student activism on campus through formal student organizations and networks. Engaging with that question might bring more representation and inclusivity for students who feel excluded or are experiencing microaggressions on campuses with no organization that represents their interests (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018). The question might even be more pronounced for low-income students who may feel marginalized and excluded and unable to speak up and have their voices heard on their respective campuses.

There is also the case that in addition to not containing enough representation on campuses, Black student organizations may need to continue utilizing through informal student organizations and networks due to a lack of organizations that represent them on campuses. Additionally, since student organizations are protesting their institutions, they may not want to formalize their student organizations because they feel the institution has failed them. And that may partly explain the finding that student demographics increased the odds of mobilization for informal student organizations. Furthermore, it may also be the case that students from wealthier backgrounds create and assist in mobilizing within these informal student organizations.

As the logit results seem to suggest, students engaged in student organization protests, whether formal or informal, might reflect the institutions they attend as stewards of wealth and prestige. If that is the case, then the possibility of equity in higher education viewed through the lens of theory of resource mobilization demonstrates a grim reality. For student organizations,

the possibility of obtaining adequate resources to mobilize on campuses with plentiful resources appears to fall solely into the hands of middle- or upper-income students. These results suggest higher education is to some extent functioning as a gatekeeper of social-income privilege.

On the other hand, the other grim reality is that formal and informal Black student organizations are mobilizing for change at prestigious, wealthier, and larger institutional environments with sizable resources because of hostile racist environments (Givens, 2016; Linder et al., 2019). It is clear from research that Black student activists feel that they must confront racist environments and advocate for change because the institution is failing in this regard; researchers have shown that activism has negative side effects and is associated with burnout and fatigue (Givens, 2016; Gorski, 2019). This study identified these institutional environments that spanned across different types of student mobilization. So, although higher education may be a gatekeeper of social-income privilege, it may also be a gatekeeper of racist institutional environments that continue to harm Black student organizations.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although this study examined student organizations that protested, especially the national BLC organization, and analyzed the differences between formal and informal student organizations, it is important to understand that the quantitative study I conducted brought with it a certain number of limitations. First, I was unable to communicate with the student organizations that led the charge in 2015 to bring awareness to issues of racial injustices that were happening on campuses. Interviews with those student activists could have brought a greater insight into understanding to what extent student organization mobilization was due to adequate resources. Future studies could consider conducting a qualitative study to interview activists in student organizations that mobilized to better understand the formal and informal

networks and resources students use to mobilize on their campuses. Such a study could also further assist in better understanding to what extent student demographic characteristics increase or decrease the likelihood of student organization mobilization.

While conducting this study I began to examine the literature and resources on student organization funding, namely, formal student organization funding. Unfortunately, there does not exist much literature on understanding the impact of funding on student organizations in general. In the case of my study, there few studies that have attempted to understand the relationship between institutional funding and student organizations that mobilize. Future studies could investigate this relationship by conducting either qualitative or quantitative research. It would be worthwhile to examine whether it is possible to obtain the budget of student organizations at institutions and begin the process of examining to what extent those budgets impact student organizations when controlling for other institutional characteristics. Such studies could draw from the RMT conceptual model proposed and utilized in this study. Furthermore, a qualitative study that examines more closely that relationship would be worth the effort as well. The fact is that many of the protests over the last decades have been student organization driven, and institutions have a recent history of celebrating both formal or informal student organizations that mobilized on their campuses (Boren, 2019; Johnston, 2015). Even though that appears to be the case, scholars' and researchers' attempts at understanding the relationship between students in higher education who organize through formal or informal networks is still developing (C. H. F. Davis, 2019; T. L. Ferguson & Davis, 2019; Rhoads, 1998).

Additionally, I provided a literature review and conceptual framework that brought together institutional characteristics that were predictors of student collective action from several areas of study. The literature review should help assist future researchers when focusing on the

relationship between institutional environments and student collective action. I also tested a major social movement theory and utilized it in the field of higher education. Although that is not unheard of (D. J. Baker & Blissett, 2018; Barnhardt, 2015; Blissett et al., 2020), future scholars in the field of higher education should consider engaging with that subfield in sociology to examine, understand, and generate new approaches to understand the ways in which students mobilize.

This study found that certain institutional environments are conducive to student organization mobilization. Furthermore, there is a resource connection between institutional environments and student collective action. Student organization protests utilize resource factors from institutional environments that may assist in mobilization. Institutions that are more selective with larger enrollment sizes and higher endowments increase the odds of student organization mobilization. Additionally, an increase in the percent of undergraduate Black students is related to higher odds of student organization mobilization. However, an increase in Pell Grant recipients decreases the likelihood of student organization mobilization. This suggests that increasing lower income student representation decreases the likelihood of student collective action. So, although resources appear to matter to mobilization at the structural and financial levels, so do factors of race and student income at the student demographic level. So, this means that institutions with sizable resources at their disposal will most likely find middle- and upper-class students utilizing them through mobilization. Although previous studies have found social movements with lower income and homeless persons able to successfully mobilize with resources (Cress & Snow, 1996), it appears that the higher education environment may differ from other institutional contexts. Since that is the case, it is important for future studies to further examine several strands of research: first, to what extent social income impacts the likelihood of

student organization mobilization; second, broadly investigate to what extent lower income students partake in protest events on campuses; and third, examine the perceptions of lower income students in respect to their knowledge of the campus resources available to them.

This study found that larger enrollment sizes, race, and student income displayed the highest significance levels in this study. Student organizers may need larger campuses with more Black students to participate in BLC protests, but we should also be wary of how lower income students decrease the odds of mobilization. Higher education administrators and faculty need to consider ways to engage and cultivate future activists and citizens on their campuses and build traditions that foster inclusivity for students who feel excluded and marginalized. That statement even applies for those institutions that contain more resources than others. The institutional characteristics in this study demonstrate inequality at these institutions and identify who gets to protest on these campuses. It especially indicates that certain institutional environments such as smaller, less selective, and less wealthier institutions reduce odds of student organization mobilization, and that may be due to limited resources. Institutions that experience lower odds of student collective action should consider how to engage marginalized groups on their campuses and provide platforms to nurture and foster student voices on their campuses.

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