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Global Studies
May, 2016

Faculty Adviser: Dr. Christopher Knaus

Essay completed in partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation with Global Honors, University of Washington, Tacoma

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Approved:

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Faculty Adviser   Date

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Director, Global Honors   Date

Growing up, my name was always difficult and hard to pronounce until it no longer was my name and it was no longer hard. From a young age I became accustomed to having Beleqsa pronounced incorrectly, especially in school. Over time, I embraced the Anglicized version of my name and eventually my birth name sounded foreign to my own ears. However, in the process of losing my original name, I realized my cultural and ethnic identity was being silenced. As a Black Muslim immigrant I internalized that my culture, ethnicity, race, and religion did not have a place in school. And by extension, my lived experiences and voice did not matter, and I carried this silencing with me until college. In college, I became more critically aware of how my experiences were not singular stories. Through my involvement with the Black Student Union, I realized there is a pattern of exclusion of Black student voices in the face of racially hostile campus climates. This gradual recognition of a lifetime of cultural silencing grounds this thesis in the recognition that Black students face systemic racism throughout education, and particularly on college campuses.

Black Student Union Demands

"These demands listed represent collective efforts by Black students to address widespread institutional inequity. These student led efforts are crucial to addressing larger systemic issues and serve as a catalyst to dismantle institutions that promote and engage in anti-Blackness." (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 1)

As Harper and Hurtado (2007) noted, despite the extensive literature on racial climates on college campuses over a span of 15 years, "the themes of exclusion,

institutional rhetoric rather than action, and marginality continue to emerge from student voices" (p. 21). As such, the Black Student Union (BSU) lists of Demands are important to study and recognize as expressions of those student voices. The demands represent the "collective efforts by Black students to address widespread institutional inequity. These student led efforts are crucial to addressing larger systemic issues and serve as a catalyst to dismantle institutions that promote and engage in anti-Blackness" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 1).

Students identifying with other racial and ethnic groups have also been negatively impacted by racially hostile campus climates. This research, however, focuses on Black college students' experiences, which is shaped by my own lived experiences as a Black college student. In addition to my personal experiences, "Multiple studies have shown that Black students report lower levels of satisfaction with racial climates and perceive differential treatment on the basis of race more frequently than do their Asian American, Latino, Native American, and White peers" (Harper and Hurtado, 2007, p. 12).

BSU's across the nation intentionally framed their lists as demands to emphasize the urgency of racism and force colleges to address racial inequities by ensuring that their voices are expressed through demonstrations and petitions. Black college students' experiences are often invalidated, ignored, and silenced. For this reason, acknowledging Black college students' voices and naming the racially hostile campus climate that Black students experience is crucial in providing "counter-understandings to dominant ideologies. In this way, a critical race perspective illuminates the ways dominant ideologies manifest in social narratives" and how Black students can counter that through voice (Gildersleeve, Croom, and Vasquez, 2012, p. 97).

In order to examine the experiences of Black students, this thesis looks at how the compiled list of BSU Demands reflect Black students efforts to respond to the racially hostile campus climates that impact both inside and outside the college classroom. By using Critical Race Theory, I center BSU Demands as a work of literature to highlight and honor the advocacy of Black college students within institutions of higher education.

Research Context

This research is based upon the notion that college campuses across the globe foster racially hostile climates that negatively impact Black students' college experience both in and outside the classroom. A campus climate, a seemingly vague concept at first, can be used to refer to "the current perceptions, attitudes, and expectations that define the institution and its members" (Bauer, 1998, p. 2). A campus racial climate on the other hand, looks at how the perceptions, attitudes, and expectations "about issues of race, ethnicity, and diversity" shape the "institutional community" (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen, 1999). As the nation saw through the racial incidents that took place on the campuses of Yale University and University of Missouri in 2015 and the ensuing Black student protests as a result, "the realities of race are typically made transparent only when there is a highly publicized, racially motivated incident or when embarrassing findings from an external auditor are made public" (Harper and Hurtado, 2007, p. 20). The list of BSU Demands demonstrates that, "although more Black students are now attending PWIs, they experience a chilly campus climate at these institutions" (Palmer, Wood, and Dancy, 2014, p. 63). Colleges may acknowledge the forms of racism that exist by proclaiming "a commitment to social justice, equity, or at the least

democracy. [However] this claiming of social justice. . . . [is] not actually dismantling legal or educational structures that continue racism" (Ard and Knaus, 2013, p. 7).

As such, Black students, and other students of color, have to navigate when to speak out against the racism they experience on campus, and when to let racial incidents pass. This racial navigation is a burden that Black students face, especially when they feel like they are the only ones noticing the micro and macro aggressions pointed at them. Gildersleeve et al, (2012) describe these feelings as the "'Am I going crazy?! Narrative'" and describe instances in which Black and Latina/o students experience with micro-aggressions "went unchecked and consequently was completely normalized by everyone else" leaving them to doubt their racialized experiences (p. 106). As a consequence of racial micro and macro aggressions, Black students "feel academically and socially alienated in spaces where such oppression occurs" (Harper and Hurtado, 2007, p. 14). Gildersleeve et al. (2012) clarify that racial micro aggressions are "commonplace verbal or behavioral indignities" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 278), while racial macro aggressions are "large-scale, systems-related stressors" (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007, p. 554). Thus, Black students often self-censor as a way of "constantly negotiating when to outwardly acknowledge the racialized exceptional and normative parts of the narrative" (Gildersleeve et al, 2012, p. 103).

Black students also have internalized racism due to the "internalized negative images of their race" (Sealey-Ruiz, 2007, p. 47). The discussions around affirmative action policies, although rigorously fought and abolished in many states are indicative of the attack on Black intelligence. There is a perception that Black students only get into colleges due to their race, rather then their own academic merit. Some of these feelings

are captured in the statement made by Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia who argued, in the case of Fisher vs. State of Texas, that "it does not benefit African-Americans to get them into the University of Texas, where they do not do well, as opposed to having them go to a less advanced school, a slower-track school where they do well" (Jaschik, 2016). The fact that a prominent public figure could make such racist assertions without fearing the repercussions illustrates how ideas of Black intellectual inferiority are still engrained in society.

Similarly, curricula that fails to include diverse voices in literature reinforces the narrative that Black people and people of color are intellectually inferior and have not contributed to society. Scholars like Gay (2010) discuss the impact of the "Stereotype Threat" on students of color who "encounter prejudices, stereotyping, and racism" who then in return are insecure about their "ethnic group's intellectual ability" (p. 19) Gay (2010) emphasizes the importance of culturally responsive curricula that is relevant to student experiences so that students of color can be seen as "co-originators, co-designers, and co-directors . . . of their education" (p. 127).

However, when culturally responsive curricula are not present, Black students are left feeling "that academic success is not part of being Black" (Sealey-Ruiz, 2007, p. 46). Ladson-Billings (1998) takes this further by arguing that a Eurocentric curriculum is "designed to maintain a White supremacist master script. . . . Which means stories of African Americans are muted and erased when they challenge dominant culture authority and power" (p. 21). Such a white supremacist curriculum reinforces the subjugation of Black people within the dominant culture and more specifically, for Black students, suggests that they cannot challenge the very structures that seek to oppress them and have

not done so historically. However, this silencing is only part of the conversation. My main focus is to center BSU demands and Black student voices and as such, the bulk of the research on racial climates will emerge from the text of the demands.

This research is thus based on the following two research questions:

RQ1: In what ways do racially hostile campus climates negatively impact Black students' college experience in and outside the classroom?

RQ2: How does the list of Black Student Union demands challenge campus racial hostility?

Theoretical Framework

I used Critical Race Theory (CRT) as an analytical framework to examine Black college students demands as a response to racially hostile campus climates. The basic tenets of CRT at the foundation of my research are that racism is normal and everywhere, racism functions to advance white interests, and race as a social construct can be manipulated to serve the interests of those in power, which in the United States continues to be affluent, White men (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001, pp. 7-9). Although CRT scholars sometimes disagree in their methodologies, they are "unified by two common interests-to understand how a 'regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America' and to change the bond that exists between law and racial power" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 14).

Despite Critical Race Theory's grounding in legal studies with a focus on civil rights cases, the educational system is an institution that can be viewed through a critical race lens. Critical Race Theorists such as Ladson-Billings (1998) have applied CRT tenets to understand racism within educational systems. Through examining the racial

constructs built into curriculum, instruction, assessment, school funding, and desegregation, Ladson-Billings (1998) shows the link between CRT and education (p. 21). Similarly, by looking at the list of BSU demands, I focus on the reoccurring themes that demonstrate how Black students respond to the racially hostile campus climates they are confronted with. In addition, Ladson-Billings' (1998) argues that the use of CRT as a framework should not be limited to exposing racism in education but providing "radical solutions for addressing it" (p. 27). Thus, my goal of implementing CRT and posing my research questions are both to show the contradictions within educational institutions that impact Black students' college experience and contribute to the discussions on promoting educational equity by examining Black students' demands for change.

Methodology

I examined the BSU demands through a CRT lens in order to highlight the frustrations of Black students on college campuses. I approached the BSU demands as a work of literature that is a form of storytelling and voice. This approach applies CRT's focus "on the role of 'voice' to bring additional power to legal discourse involving racial justice" and acknowledgment that the experiences of people of color "give their stories a common framework warranting the term 'voice'" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 15). The list of BSU Demands contains a list of demands from 86 colleges. Three of the 86 lists are from colleges in Canada making the list of demands both a transnational document as well as a global issue. However, since a majority of the demands and student voices are from U.S. colleges, I refer to the documents as the list of BSU demands. For this thesis, colleges include community colleges, four-year institutions, and universities.

After reading through each of the 86 lists of BSU Demands, I identified common concerns that the demands are designed to address. Some of the demands appear multiple times for different schools therefore, I condensed overarching themes for each specific campus by writing down key words and concerns that appear multiple times. Using those key words, I began to group demands into common areas of concern for all the BSU's. Despite some differences in wording and campus-specific concerns, the demands reflect the racially hostile campus climate that Black students nationally are challenged with, and offer concrete solutions.

Analysis of the BSU Demands led to ten preliminary findings. Due to the wide breadth of the demands, it is not possible to list them all here (though a sample of a typical BSU list of demands is included in Appendix A). Therefore, I holistically read through all the demands as posted online and consolidated the demands into 10 themes, and I then grouped each of these themes by content areas within higher education (these are identified in the below parentheticals):

1. Eurocentric college curricula (Academic Affairs)

2. Preferential hiring practices that favor White candidates (Academic Affairs)

3. No accountability for cultural incompetence (Academic Affairs)

4. College staff indifference to racial micro and macro aggressions (Student Affairs)

5. College administrators silencing Black student concerns (Student Affairs)

6. College divestment from Black students' mental and physical wellbeing (Student Affairs)

7. College disinvestment in recruiting and retaining Black students (Student Affairs)

8. Under resourced Inclusion/Multicultural/Social Justice Centers (Student Affairs)

9. Campus policing practices reinforcing criminalization of Black bodies
   (Community)

10. Detrimental college impacts on community gentrification (Community)

Although I categorized racially hostile climates into three areas, the themes overlap and impact students in multiple, complex ways. These themes speak to Black college student experiences in three key areas: Academic Affairs (the classroom), Student Affairs (on campus, outside the classroom), and Community (off campus, local community). While all three areas are important to address, this research was limited to examination of the impact of campus racial hostility in relation to Student Affairs and Academic Affairs. The demands that focus on Student and Academic Affairs ultimately symbolize the shared experiences of Black college students across the U.S. and those impacted and involved in ending "systemic and structural racism on campus" (Black Liberation, 2015).

Findings

In this section, I break down my analysis of the list of BSU Demands. Before going into the demands that address a racially hostile campus climate in Academic and Student Affairs, I illustrate how Black students name the racially hostile campus climates they are faced with and then contextualizing those within the racial violence of the past. Both those sections create the setting to further look at how racially hostile campus climates impact Black students in and outside the classroom.

Naming the Racially Hostile Campus Climate:

   "President Martin must issue a statement of apology to students, alumni and
   former students, faculty, administration and staff who have been victims of

several injustices including but not limited to our institutional legacy of white

supremacy, colonialism, anti-black racism, anti-Latin@ racism, anti-Native

American racism, anti-Native/ indigenous racism, anti-Asian racism, anti-Middle

Eastern racism, heterosexism, cis-sexism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, ableism,

mental health stigma, and classism. Also include that marginalized communities

and their allies should feel safe at Amherst College." (Amherst College, BSU)

College students have struggled around issues of racism, sexism, heterosexism,

anti-Semitism, religious discrimination, classism, ableism, immigration, and LGBTQ

rights. Students who identify and belong to such categories often find themselves

marginalized in the very spaces they are taught to turn to for enlightenment: colleges. In

their BSU list of demands, Black college students at Amherst College identify these same

struggles by acknowledging that there are students, "faculty, administration, and staff

who have been victims of . . . [the] institutional legacy of white supremacy, colonialism,

anti-black racism, anti-Latin@ racism, anti-Native American racism, anti-Native/

indigenous racism, anti-Asian racism, anti-Middle Eastern racism, heterosexism, cis-

sexism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, ableism, mental health stigma, and classism" (Black

Liberation, 2015, p. 7).

Furthermore, the contradictions between what colleges claim to value and how

those values actually manifest themselves have not gone unnoticed. Black student

activists from Northern Arizona University, for example, challenge their institution's

mission statement in their BSU list of demands by declaring, "we have noticed a deep

contradiction between NAU's mission statement and its treatment of students" (Black

Liberation, 2015, p. 100). Some of these contradictions are captured by BSU students at the University of Baltimore, whose list of demands highlights disparities in the treatment of students of color versus their white peers in areas related to the student disciplinary process, academic freedom, and administrative support (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 149).

There are many reasons why student activists have come together to draft lists of demands. For instance, student activists at Guilford College explain that the purpose of their list of demands is to "decenter whiteness and become a holistically liberatory space for all community members" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 67). While the specific reasons for drafting the demands are not all the same, undeniably Black students are responding to a racially hostile campus climate. In their BSU Demands, Black students at John Carroll University argue that, "many of the problems we face as black students on campus stem from the simple fact that our issues have repeatedly been ignored by the institution (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 77). This is the most commonly stated problem underlying the list of all BSU demands: indifference to systemic racism on campus and the silencing of Black voices when students voice their concerns. For instance students at Bard's College call out the silence of admins on the "ongoing systemic racism and micro aggressions faced by students of color on a daily basis on campus" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 15). Black students at John Carroll University take this further by arguing that, "Faculty and students alike make racist comments to black students on a daily basis, and when these students report these incidents most times, nothing is done to correct this behavior" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 76). What the statements made by the two BSU's have in common is the way Black students highlight the racial climate they face as occurrences on a "daily basis".

Furthermore, as expressed by Kennesaw's list of BSU Demands, when Black students do speak out against the "racially charged statements made" on campus, they are not "properly advised on the best way to carry out their complaints" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 82). Students then are expected to be academically successful in an environment that does not cater to their mental and physical health as a whole. Similarly, BSU students at Northern Arizona University were correct in arguing, "the University has failed to provide security and the proper resources for its most vulnerable students . . . silencing student voice . . . directly damaged the mental and physical health of the students whom it claims to support, thus interfering with their academic success" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 100-101).

In the demands, Black college students also clarify that the racial climate found at other campuses are a concern to all Black students wherever they may be and the silence of campus administration reflects the utter indifference college staff have towards Black students. As expressed by Bard BSU Demands, Black students are affected by the "threats against black students in Missouri, Yale, and other schools across the country" and as such, they address their institution's inaction to release a statement "expressing solidarity or support for students of color on Bard's campus" as an act of negligence that contributes to the racial hostile climate (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 15). Similarly, students at Purdue University in their list of demands call for the president of the school, Mitch Daniels, to apologize for "his email to the student body, where he asserted that Purdue is in 'proud contrast to the environments that appear to prevail at places like Missouri or Yale'" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 118). In contrast to feeling proud, Black students at Purdue view the president's email as an "erasure of the experiences of

students of color" and contrary to what President Mitch Daniels may think, Black

students in the list of demands are clear that there is a "hostile environment caused by

hateful and ignorant discrimination on Purdue's campus" (Black Liberation, 2015, p.

118).

While acknowledging the resources and support they do receive from their school,

Black students at Howard also recognize that their status at an HBCU does not protect

them from racial injustices and this sentiment is captured in their statement, "we do not

believe that these agencies will protect us from state violence" (Black Liberation, 2015,

p. 72). All Black students, as reflected by the BSU students at both Bard College and

Howard, regardless of their own individual experiences, share concerns of campus racial

hostility. Black students are connected by the racial injustices that they face as a

collective because in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., "injustice anywhere is a

threat to justice anywhere".

Furthermore, this statement by Howard students serves to connect racial campus

climates to state violence. Hence, BSU Demands, although serving as a mechanism to

speak out against campus racial hostility, are also inherently connected to larger systemic

oppressions carried out by the State.

Historical Contexts: The legacies of racial injustice:

> **"We DEMAND** that the University incorporate mandatory programming for all
>
> University constituents (students, faculty, staff, administrators, deans, chairs, etc.)
>
> that teaches the historical racial violence of this University and town as well as a
>
> historical and contemporary look at the ways in which racial capitalism, settler

colonialism, and cisheteropatriarchy structure our world." (University of North

Carolina at Chapel Hill, BSU)

BSU demands from Brown University, Lewis & Clark College, University of

South Carolina, University of California Berkeley, Clemson University, University North

Carolina at Chapel Hill, University of Alabama, and University of Oregon all highlight

the importance of acknowledging the racial violence of the past and integrating that into

the campus community. Students at University North Carolina at Chapel Hill demand

their university to "incorporate mandatory programming for all University constituents ...

that teaches the historical racial violence of this University and town as well as a

historical and contemporary look at the ways in which racial capitalism, settler

colonialism, and cisheteropatriarchy structure our world (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 159).

Similarly, students at Brown call for the integration of "the history of Brown's role in the

slave trade into orientation for both graduate and undergraduate students" and demand

that Brown "hold itself accountable for the past, accepting its burdens and responsibilities

along with its benefits and privileges" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 24-25).

At University of South Carolina, Black students demand their institution to

acknowledge that the university was built at the expense of enslaved Africans and to

leave markers by historic buildings to reflect the legacy of slavery that the school is

founded on (Black Liberation Collective, 2015). In the same fashion, students at Lewis &

Clark College make clear that their school "benefits from, the legacy of Anglo-American

white supremacy" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 86). Hence, because of these demands, the

climate of racial hostility that dates back to the racial violence of the past is brought to a

more public light. This is made even more obvious when colleges continue to honor and name buildings after racist historical figures at the expense of Black students and all those who work towards racial equality, even after being publicly reminded of this racial legacy.

The list of BSU Demands from Clemson University, University of Alabama, and University of Oregon all demand their institutions to remove and rename offensive campus buildings. If there is uncertainty about what an offensive campus-building name looks like, Black students at the University of Alabama in their demands specify "the names of white supremacists, klansmen, confederate generals, and eugenicists" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 146). Just like the BSU students at University of South Carolina, Black college students at the University of Alabama also call for " a visual marker to indicate the history of racism that the building's namesake was associated with" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 146). If it is also unclear as to why offensively named buildings are a concern, BSU students from the University of Oregon address this in their demands by stating, "Allowing buildings to be named after members who support these views is in direct conflict with the university's goal to keep black students safe on campus" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 172). All of these efforts by Black students to name the historical racial violence that colleges benefit from and the preservation of that racial history are to emphasize the historical wrongs still shaping the campus climate of these institutions.

Moreover, not naming the role colleges have played in perpetuating systems of oppression contributes to the erasure of those most affected. Black students are continually reminded of the historical legacy of racism due to the prevalence of racially hostile campus climates. The historical legacy of racism that still permeates many of the

institutions today are what propel Black students to advocate for the free tuition for Black and Native students. When colleges such as the University of Toronto, University of Ottawa, and the Black Liberation Collective demand free tuition for Black and Indigenous/Native students, at first glance this appears to be a very bold demand to make. However, when that demand is rooted in the historical acknowledgement of colonialism, the theft of Indigenous/Native Land, the slave labor in the Americas, and the consequential effects thereafter, then that demand does not sound so outrageous (Black Liberation, 2015). While colleges still ignore such demands, the BSU lists of Demands ensure that the public forces colleges to acknowledge their role in the racial violence of the past and its connection to contemporary times.

Campus Racial Climate in Academic Affairs:

"Historically, degree programs and classes are taught from a euro-centric point of view. It denies students of color the ability to identify with and understand the historical and practical implications of their ethnic backgrounds. Erasure is at play when classes and degree programs do not include perspectives of diverse backgrounds and has social implications." (University of Baltimore, BSU)

Black student voices continue to be silenced in academia through racially-biased curricula and through racially-biased classroom interactions. One of the common themes expressed in the list of BSU Demands is a more inclusive collegiate curriculum. As BSU students from the University of Baltimore note, Eurocentric curricula and teaching styles deny "students of color the ability to identify with and understand the historical and practical implications of their ethnic backgrounds. Erasure is at play when classes and degree programs do not include perspectives of diverse backgrounds and has social

implications" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 148). In order to create culturally responsive classrooms, curricula need to be founded in inclusiveness and voice. This inclusiveness can be met by drawing from the "life experiences" and "backgrounds" of all students, especially those whose voices are either left out or skewed in textbooks (Sealey-Ruiz, 2007, p. 46).

       Sealey-Ruiz (2007) found that using a culturally responsive curriculum with Black adult learners "creates the space to challenge the dominant Eurocentric, male perspective in adult education" (p. 46). A culturally responsive curriculum is important because "students who see their culture represented in the curriculum are more likely to have a higher self-concept, and when students feel good about themselves, they are more likely to be open with others and to learning" (Sealey-Ruiz, 2007, p. 48; see also Gay, 1994). Many students in the list of demands acknowledge that their schools have some type/measure of diversity graduation requirements that range from a list of approved diversity courses, to required seminars and extracurricular activities. However, the students advocate for institutionalization across campus because they understand that simply mandating one "diversity" course or one seminar is not sufficient to addressing racial climates or creating inclusive spaces. This is why BSU's like the one at Babson College and Brandeis University argue for, "redesign of the required course programs so . . . diversity and inclusion is institutionalized across the curriculum" and the implementation of "educational pedagogies and curriculums that increase racial awareness and inclusion within ALL departments and schools" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 11, 21).

Moreover, as stated in Bard College BSU Demands, "inclusiveness must not only be considered in terms of the physical classroom setting but also in the texts and discussions that students are engaging with in class" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 14). The BSU students go on to discuss how students of color often feel unsafe and experience a hostile environment in class when race, ethnicity, and culture related conversations take place (Black Liberation, 2015). For this reason, instructors need to do a better job ensuring that students of color feel safe and they need to be both mindful and quick to respond and facilitate the much needed conversations around race, ethnicity, and culture in a way that does not signal out or harm students of color. Instructors also need to be held accountable in their role in reinforcing a racially hostile climate on campus. BSU students at Claremont McKenna College in their demands cite "instances in which professors made racially insensitive remarks, asked students to represent their race in class, or repeatedly mistook students for other students of color in the class" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 35). These are just one of the many reasons why BSU students are calling for mandatory sensitivity training for all campus staff.

Black students also stress the importance of Black faculty in the classroom and call for the overall representation of Black staff on campus. Various BSU's at institutions such as Brown University, Eastern Michigan University, Harvard University, University of California Berkeley all call for the increase of Black faculty. Black students at the University of Toronto share, "One of the primary experiences students referenced was a frustration at never seeing themselves represented amongst even our teaching assistants, let alone their faculty and administration" and that the school should address this "in the same manner as would be done if this was an issue of gender" (Black Liberation, 2015, p.

192). In their demands, Black college students at the University of Toronto are sharing their frustration with not finding representation among campus staff but also highlighting the way their institution prioritizes other issues over race based concerns. The BSU at Brown takes it further by demanding a process of "deliberate hiring of faculty who work on critical issues related to social justice such as topics on race, gender, sexuality, ability, and class as they pertain to specific disciplines" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 23). Similarly, BSU students at University California Berkeley state "more Black faculty across the different academic disciples . . . will undoubtedly lead to an increased retention rate for Black students, and other students of color" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 153-154). If Black students see themselves reflected more through diverse curricula and faculty then their feelings of racial hostility at predominately White institutions might change and this could help with retention.

Both BSU's at Eastern Michigan University and Howard University are specific to note that the increase of "Black faculty should match the amount of Black students. Excluding all faculty in the Africology department" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 55, 71). This distinction is important because when Black faculty are hired, they are overly concentrated in ethnic studies and race-based departments. Students at Brown also highlight that their university needs to invest not only in the recruitment and hiring of Black faculty but their retention as well. Just as students need protection from the racial hostile campus climate, Black faculty need that protection as well. This is captured in the statement found in Emory College's BSU demands, "Black professors . . . too, need protection for the violent, racist and sexist incidents that they endure from their white colleagues in their departments" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 63).

Campus Racial Climate in Student Affairs:

> "We recognize that part of the job of any university is to prepare students for life
>
> beyond the university. As such, it is an act of deliberate negligence that there is no
>
> explicit requirement to learn about any form of social justice or anti-racism at this
>
> college." (Bard College, BSU)

The demands by Black students at Bard College state that the purpose of the

institution "is to prepare students for life beyond the university" and the lack of social

justice or anti-racism training campus wide is negligence on the part of the school (Black

Liberation, 2015, p. 12). Claremont McKenna College's BSU also hold the college

accountable for not creating "programs that expose students to systemic oppressions not

limited to issues on race, sexuality, gender, class and ability" (Black Liberation, 2015, p.

34). When such oppressions do occur on campus, student affairs personnel need to

respond effectively and have measures in place that protect students. An example of this

is the concerns Black students have at Brown University against the school's Title IX

training. BSU students at Brown argue that the school's training material on Title IX

"does not address the structural racism, queerphobia, economic violence and transphobia

that is foundational to sexual violence on campus" and call for the creation of an

"intersectional framework" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 24). Black students are pointing

out the gaps in many of the anti-violence discussions found on campuses due to college

negligence to educate on issues of intersectionality. By incorporating intersectionality,

colleges can then move away from what Black students at Brown frame as a White

centered debate over Title IX and respond accordingly to the sexual violence and assault

of women of color, particularly, trans-people of color, who find themselves at higher

risks of sexual violence compared to their white counterparts (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 24).

Black students are also frustrated at the lack of Black representation among Student Affairs staff in the similar way they are frustrated with the lack of Black faculty. BSU students at Brandeis University call for the intentional hiring of staff of color within the student affairs profession "to provide culturally relevant support to students of all backgrounds" while specifically calling for more Black staff in the clinical health and counseling department (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 21). As Black students at Brown have recognized, "significant numbers of graduate students of color are leaving campus due to referrals to Counseling and Psychological Services or extremely hostile environments" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 24). For this reason, in addition to an institutionalized increase in the ethnic and racial diversity in all student affairs areas, Black students need psychologists and counselors of color who understand the racism that Black students face and as such can provide advice accordingly.

Another reoccurring theme in the BSU demands is the need for physical spaces on campus grounded in social justice work and spaces for the development and celebration of the ethnically and racially minoritized communities on campus. Black students at Emmanuel College, Emory College, and Brandeis University all demand for increased funding of Black student organizations (Black Liberation, 2015). Students at Emmanuel College name a few activities the funding would go to such as "conferences, lectures and workshops that increase cultural awareness on campus . . . and provide resources" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 59). One of the concerns Black students have in addition to the lack of funding is the over-policing of Black student organizations and Black student

activities. Black students are labeled as being exclusive when hosting events centered on Black people. Black students at Emory College push back on those premises of exclusivity by simply noting "these claims are unfounded because events are created specifically for black students because they do not exist anywhere else on campus" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 63).

In addition to supporting Black student organizations, Black students at Bowling Green State University, "call for the creation of Multicultural/Ethnic Student Centers that foster diversity education and inclusion on campus" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 19). Frequently, efforts towards social justice and inclusion are carried out through the unpaid labor of students and faculty of color and the BSU demands are a prime example of this. Both Black student activists at Guilford College and Tufts University, have recognized that their work with the demands are a form of unpaid labor. In the BSU demands at Guilford College, students make this clear for colleges by stating that there should be "a sovereign Office of Diversity and Inclusion to enforce these demands and keep the administration accountable – these tasks should not solely be carried out through the unpaid labor of students and faculty of color" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 70).

When colleges do make efforts towards inclusion, Black students are still treated with indifference. BSU students at Emory University point out that their opinions are often marginalized during discussions of diversity and that "Diversity initiatives should not be made from the standpoint of the dominant group" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 63). Black students at Emory University, in response to campus diversity initiatives that continue to fail and silence Black voices, pose this question: "The people who are currently in positions of power have done minimal or no work for black students, so how can they

implement diversity initiatives when they have not consulted the people who can bring about the most change?" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 63). Black students critique many of the efforts by colleges to address campus racial hostility because they continue to leave out the voices of those most affected and concerned. This becomes clear by looking at who makes up the composition of a lot of the race and equity committees at predominately White college campuses.

Conclusion

> "We recognize that these demands are by no means all-encompassing, nor have we created them in order to suggest that their implementation will serve as a definitive solution to the systemic and interpersonal racism here at Tufts. Rather, woven into these words are the voices of the people of Color that came before us to this campus, whose narratives have been silenced and forgotten, heard and ignored. Imprinted into this page is the ink of the student activists that came before us to this campus, whose work was never translated into a grade point average. And guiding our message is the light we have seen in the radical professors that came before us to this campus, whose wisdom bolsters our resistance." (Tufts University, BSU)

The BSU Demands do not capture racially hostile campus climates in their entirety, nor would their implementation cure the forms of racism and other systemic oppressions on campus. As the BSU at Tuft's University eloquently captured, the demands represent the voices of students of color "whose narratives have been silenced and forgotten, heard and ignored" (Black Liberation, 2015, p. 142). The demands are

expressions of student voices that call for radical transformation. They are a call to all who value a liberatory education and advocate for social justice. For this reason, if colleges truly believe in their values of equity and inclusion, then they must center Black student voices. Colleges must regard not only the demands as important text with numerous solutions, but they must also listen and respond to the day-to-day voices of Black students who are not heard. Many Black student leaders have taken on the work of creating inclusive spaces, whose work was never recognized, and whose labor was never compensated. The demands are also symbolic of Black college student resistance in the face of racially hostile campus climates. By creating the demands, Black students are resisting the silencing against them and sharing their own truths.

As Black feminist scholar Bell Hooks (1981) notes, "oppressed people resist by identifying themselves as subjects, by defining their reality, shaping their new identity, naming their history, telling their story" (p. 43). I close with a return to my own story and the silencing of my voice, linking me to the Black Student Union demands across the country, and increasingly, across the globe. The BSU demands are the collective voices of Black college students resisting institutional silencing. Similarly, I continue my own process of reclaiming voice by saying my name out loud until my name no longer sounds foreign.

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Appendix

Sample list of BSU Demands

For a complete list refer to: http://www.blackliberationcollective.org/our-demands/

Sample 1:

Tufts University Demands

President Monaco, Tufts University Administrators, and Board of Trustees,

On November 13th 2015, as Tufts University president, you sent out an e-mail titled "Building an Inclusive Community" in reaction to the recent protests by Black college students in Missouri and other universities across the country.

Your message addresses the previous top-down solutions to campus racism that Tufts has proposed, including the creation of the Africana Center in 1969 and the hiring of a Chief Diversity Officer (CDO) in January of this year. While these steps are significant, we must not lose sight of the reality that the Black community has historically had our needs both dismissed and deferred by this institution. We have noted little effort from the CDO, Mark Vargas, to engage with Black students on campus, and we acknowledge that it was the history of Black student activism that eventually convinced Tufts to compromise and provide the Africana Center instead of establishing the Black Studies Major that Black students had been fighting for in 1969. We recognize that this struggle was revitalized in 2011 when, once again, Black student activism led to the creation of the Africana Studies major.
Additionally, your message suggests an increase in cross-racial dialogue in order to build a more "inclusive community."

However agreeable this may sound, the reality is that taking this suggestion would disproportionately benefit White students. An increase in cross-racial dialogue puts the burden of educating White people about race on people of Color, on whom the majority of the burden already is being placed, and this education is a labor. It is a labor that is both emotionally and intellectually taxing. It is a labor that goes unpaid for students of Color, meanwhile race-evasive professors receive full salaries and benefits. It is an unpaid labor by students of Color, enacted on a campus built on a former slave plantation that was stolen from Indigenous peoples – the perpetuation of institutional racism. In this moment, we find ourselves at the intersections of history yet again. Tufts' Black student enrollment and retention are falling as the university's endowment and total undergraduate population are rising. It is an undeniable reality that students of Color resist racism every single day on this campus. This is not rhetoric that Tufts hasn't heard before. Every day this reality goes unaddressed is an assault on our bodies. It is an assault on our education. It is an assault on our people.

We, a large collective of Black students at Tufts University, uniting under the name #TheThreePercent, have come together to demand that Tufts address our treatment as second-class citizens by this university. #TheThreePercent refers not only to our underrepresentation here as undergraduate students, but also to the same numerical underrepresentation that we have across Tufts faculty. We recognize that these demands are by no means all-encompassing, nor have we created them in order to suggest that their implementation will serve as a definitive solution to the systemic and interpersonal racism here at Tufts. Rather, woven into these words are the voices of the people of Color that came before us to this campus, whose narratives have been silenced and forgotten, heard and ignored. Imprinted into this page is the ink of the student activists that came before us to this campus, whose work was never translated into a grade point average. And guiding our message is the light we have seen in the radical professors that came before us to this campus, whose wisdom bolsters our resistance.

These words are our words. They are our truths. They are our demands.

The following demands are a result of the labor of generations of Black communities at Tufts University. The needs addressed in this document have been generated and written by Black people, about Black people, for Black people. In that, we mean to speak on behalf of solely the Black undergraduate students at Tufts Medford/ Somerville campus. We have not made these demands to imply that no other forms of institutional racism and oppression are perpetuated on this campus, but rather, in these demands is a collection of the specific changes that must be addressed in order for Tufts to carry out its obligations to its Black students.

Additionally, #TheThreePercent has organized with the intention of seeking authentic solidarity with non-Black students of Color and the factions of White students dedicated to social justice on this campus.

I. We demand that Black identifying students make up 13% of Tufts' undergraduate population.

While annual endowment, campus construction, and total undergraduate population have seen an increase in recent years, Tufts' Black undergraduate population has consistently been dropping since 2003. In 2003, 7% of all undergraduates were Black-identifying. This percentage has since been cut in half, falling to where it is now, hovering between three and four percent.

We begin our demands with the understanding that Black Americans makeup 13% of the United States total population. Any intention of the university to limit our representation significantly beyond this number is insidious, especially when comparable ivy-league universities such as Harvard and historically segregationist universities like the University of Mississippi have up to 12% and 17% Black undergraduates, respectively. Our implementation strategies for reaching 13% include:

- guaranteeing a minimum of 200 enrolled Black identifying students for class of 2020, each class thereafter should admit a minimum of 13% of Black identifying students per class,

- setting up an endowed scholarship fund specifically for Black students from urban public schools

- holding monthly fundraisers in the dining halls that redistribute meal swipe money into this endowed fund

- working alongside Tufts Black Alumni Association (TBAA) in order to develop this fund

- implementing a policy for need-blind admissions

- Going into majority Black areas with the purpose of recruiting black students

II. We demand that Tufts be better prepared to address the mental health needs of Black students.

The 2013 Diversity Report addresses Tufts inability to provide adequate counseling services for Black students. Black students report seeking less support from Tufts Counseling, despite experiencing "a higher rate of unfair treatment due to culture" (page 59). In nearly two years since its release, Tufts has failed to hire a single full-time Black counselor, and has not shown efforts to provide anything aside from temporary solutions. Our implementation strategies for meeting the mental health needs of Black students include:

- ● Hiring no less than two full-time Black counselors that specifically cater to the needs of Black students
- ● Forming a committee of no less than five Black undergraduates from diverse social locations, who play pivotal roles in the hiring process; these students should be nominated and chosen through the Africana Center

- ● Meeting this demand by the end of the fiscal year

III. We demand an immediate end to the racial profiling of Black bodies and the increased event surveillance of predominantly Black events by Tufts University Police Department (TUPD).

Black students on this campus face racial profiling, heightened surveillance, and discriminatory treatment from TUPD. Black organizations looking to host Campus center events have been forced to come up with an additional $1000 to pay up to five TUPD officers to stand inside these events and oversee Black students. These groups already have limited funding, due to the racialized funding distribution of TCU, and are then made to pay for the university's racist surveillance. Additionally, we are made to

empty our pockets, be frisked down, and walk through metal detectors. These practices have never been implemented at Fraternity houses, or any of the other predominantly white spaces that hold comparable events and have historically been responsible for the majority of the underage drinking, sexual assault, and illicit drug use. Our implementation strategies include:

- ● Conducting an investigation into the history of racial profiling conducted by University police

- ● Implement a policy that does not permit any police officer to stand inside of a campus center event without justifiable cause

- ● Utilizing the activities fund at the Africana Center to take the burden of paying no more than two officers to stand outside of events

IV. We demand that Tufts be better prepared to facilitate the transition to Tufts for undocumented, international, and first generation students.

Undocumented, international, and first generation students – particularly Black and working class students – have experienced difficulty supporting themselves financially during their time at Tufts. These difficulties result in less access to extracurricular engagement, academic support, and an increase in feelings of isolation on this campus. Moreover, students across the nation are currently advocating that universities increase minimum wage for students. On April 1, 2015, University of Washington increased the minimum pay to students to $11. Students on financial aid must bear the burden of working extensive hours -- some students have claimed up to 20+ hours -- to fulfill their work-study program in addition to maintaining academic excellence. This puts students on financial aid at a higher risk of failing classes, not graduating and being more susceptible to mental health issues caused by overworking such as depression and general anxiety disorder. Increasing the minimum student wage would decrease the amount of hours a student would need to achieve their work-study program. Our implementation strategies include:

- ● Hiring a full-time financial advisor that specializes in meeting the needs of undocumented, international, and first generation students. They will match these students with on-campus jobs by identifying locations that employ non-work study students, and will assist international and undocumented students in securing work permits.

- ● Increasing the minimum wage for students to $11/an hour

V. We demand a 25% increase in both the budget of the Africana Center and an increase in Black student agency in determining the operations of the Africana Center.

Outside of the Africana Center's student organizations, Black students have little agency in determining the Center's budget allocations.

With the increase in Black student enrollment, the Center will have increased financial needs that must also be met. However, allocating additional money to the Center that is not directly tied to additional student agency will undermine not only the mission of the Africana Center, but the university as a whole. Our implementation strategies include:

- ● Giving the Africana Center and its Peer Advising program the power to design their own a pre-orientation program (see Team Q orientation program at Tufts University, First-Generation Pre-orientation program at Williams College)

- ● In the event that additional funds are not allocated to the pre-orientation program, they will be used to fund Africana Center sponsored events

- ● Setting up an activities fund at the Africana Center for students without going through a specific student group

VI. We demand that Black professors make up 13% of Tufts total Full-Time and Part-Time faculty.

In the same vein that Black Americans make up 13% of the United States' total population, we assert that having just 3% or 26 full- and part-time faculty is unacceptable. In order to provide more adequate academic support for Black students, Tufts faculty must reflect the Black representation of the student body. We as students on campus have recognized the lack of black professors in certain fields, such as STEM, which has discouraged black students from entering certain departments. Our implementation strategies include:

- ● Formulating Black professorships with Black students as an integral part of the hiring process

VII. We demand that Tufts redefine their commitment to "active citizenship" to hold Tufts accountable for their discriminatory practices against student activists.

Tisch College defines a person engaging in active citizenship as a one who "understands the obligation and undertakes the responsibility to improve community conditions, build healthier communities, and address social problems" (Tisch). Currently, students engaging in active citizenship at Tufts and across greater Boston have been intimidated, disciplined, and demonized by the institution. It is discriminatory for Tufts to only value active citizenship when predominantly privileged students engage in it through this accredited programming. For these reasons, we will hold Tisch College accountable and we will be critical of the work they do under the Tufts name.

For example, Tisch's 1+4 program sends students work in predominantly Black, urban neighborhoods like Detroit, yet not only does Tufts not admit many students from this

Black community, but the program also fails to send Black students to these cities. In the effort to extend Tufts' definition of active citizenship, our implementation strategies include:

- ● Allowing student activists to draw from the activities fund at the Africana center to financially support movements
- ● Implementing a policy that recognizes grassroots student activism as an intellectual and academic endeavor.

- This policy must acknowledge the pain of racial injury and the labor of student activism as being justifiable means for academic extensions, and must require professors to comply with the requests made by students.

VIII. We demand that Tufts be transparent about the demographics of its students, academic departments, and professors.

The 2013 Diversity Report and other documents that contain demographic information, such as Tufts Fact Book, are currently inaccessible to the everyday Tufts student. The statistics frequently lump together all students of Color, and fail to acknowledge the diversity within the Black community at Tufts. This information is valuable and must be accessible to students. Our implementation strategies include:

- ● Making the 2013 Diversity Report accessible to a wider audience by creating a specific report for the Africana Center

- ● Requiring academic departments to publicize their faculty diversity by race, gender, and ethnicity

- ● Increasing the transparency of diversity statistics on the Tufts University website

IX. In the event that any of these demands are unable to be met, we demand the university make a public response explaining the explicit rationale for their noncompliance.