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The Development of Social Movement Programs and Departments in Higher Education:
Women's and Ethnic Studies from 1975 to 2000

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by

Lori A. Turk-Bicakci

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Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Steven Brint, Chairperson
Dr. Robert Hanneman
Dr. Yolanda Moses

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The Dissertation of Lori A. Turk-Bicakci is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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Professor Brint and Professor Hanneman have given generously of their time in support of my education. Thank you, Professor Hanneman, for your excellent statistical advice. Thank you, especially, Professor Brint, for your unwavering support throughout my graduate studies.

Thank you, Ara, for being by my side through these years.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my father, Charles W. Turk, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Lori A. Turk-Bicakci

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Sociology
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Dr. Steven Brint, Chairperson

During the 1970s, women's and ethnic studies were newly developing curricula in American higher education. Together, they form social movement fields of study. Four perspectives are introduced to frame this type of curricular change: institutional shifts, economic forces, institutional embeddedness in society, and a drive for legitimacy. The latter two perspectives contribute the most to a guiding framework under which to assess development. Two manifestations of social embeddedness are massification, in which the number and types of students that attended college expanded rapidly after policy and social changes, and increased awareness of social inequality. The Civil Rights, Women's, and Student Movements, centered on issues of social inequality, were important factors in the genesis of these fields. Drawing from social movements theory, the establishment of women's and ethnic studies can be characterized as a spin-off movement from these larger movements. In addition to the importance of these factors on development, other campus characteristics will be assessed to determine the pattern of development.

Using a sample of 293 four-year American colleges and universities, patterns of development and key influences on the persistence of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments between 1975 and 2000 are assessed. Findings from generalized estimating equations suggest that the size of the institution, its curricular emphasis on the arts and sciences, and visibility of non-traditional students are important influences on the persistence of social movement programs and departments. Little support is found for the influence from student activism, and little differentiation is found based on campus characteristics. The widespread presence of women's and ethnic studies on campuses signifies their institutionalization in higher education and is one representation of higher education as a socially embedded institution.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 1968, the first African American studies department was established at San Francisco State University (La Belle and Ward, 1993). This event ushered in a new facet of curricular change in higher education – the introduction of social movement-related curricula. Social movement-related curricula promote gender and ethnic-centered research and teaching by examining identity groups within the context of society. These curricula offer new theoretical perspectives, pioneer new methods of research, and join activism and scholarly pursuits. This dissertation examines twenty-five years of development of these fields from 1975 to 2000. The key questions are: 1. Have the presence of social movement-related fields changed over the last quarter of the 20th century? 2. Why did they arise at this time in higher education? And, 3. What are the key contributing factors in their presence on campuses?

With the understanding of group identity at the center of social movement-related fields, this type of curricula is sometimes referred to as “identity curricula.” In addition, because these fields evolved out of concerns over social injustice, they are sometimes called “radicalized” or “politicized” curricula. The term, “radicalized curricula,” relays that minority and female points of view are centered in study, which is a departure from the white and male focus of curricula of the past. They are also radicalized in light of the resistance from some university administrators and faculty members to their inclusion as equal participants in higher education canon. Furthermore, these fields are called “politicized” to highlight their association with broader social movements and the

involvement of different groups that lobby for their inclusion or dissolution. In my dissertation, I will use the terms, “social movement-related,” “social movement,” “identity,” “radicalized,” and “politicized” curricula to refer to the same sets of fields.

The main fields that I examine are women’s studies and ethnic studies. Women’s and ethnic studies are strong companions in exploring curricular change since they comprise the vast majority of social movement curricula, but their programs and departments are distinct and numerous enough to warrant separate consideration.

Women’s studies and ethnic studies have different growth patterns and show some variation in the type of institutions in which they are located. Ethnic studies, in my usage of the term, is a broad conglomerate category including ethnic studies, African American studies, Chicano/Latino studies, Asian-American studies, and other race/ethnic-based entities. At some points in this dissertation, I separate African American studies from ethnic studies for discussion and especially for analysis. Conceptually, African American studies stands alone since it was the first to expand, and statistically, its programs and departments are numerous enough so that multivariate analysis is possible.

The literature focusing on historical accounts of women’s and ethnic studies is well-developed. Personal journeys and group experiences have been presented in books and journal articles and are a rich resource for understanding the development of identity programs. However, a broad survey about the nature of program persistence has not been undertaken. Furthermore, few have proposed a theoretical foundation and empirical analysis to explain the emergence of identity curricula in higher education (see Kangas

and Olzac, forthcoming; Rojas, 2006). This dissertation offers a perspective filling these gaps.

The development of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments will be examined using past literature, theory, and quantitative analysis. Chapter 2 situates this type of curricular change in the broader processes that have been occurring in higher education during the last half of the 20th century. Four major areas of change in the institution of higher education that relates to the introduction of identity curricula are in its mission, students, relationships with other institutions, and finances. Chapter 3 presents the context of women's and ethnic studies as fields. It details the curricular foundations of women's and ethnic studies and highlights important aspects of their development. Chapter 4 offers theoretical perspectives and hypotheses to frame our understanding of the developmental process of social movement programs and departments. Chapter 5 describes the methodology for this study. Chapter 6 presents findings, and chapter 7 suggests an interpretation of findings drawing from the theoretical perspective.

Identity Fields as Programs and Departments

Social movement curricula are present in many forms. They have been incorporated into existing disciplines; for example, courses in history departments now give more attention to "women in history." They have become housed in research or student resource centers, relatively independent of the central organizational structure of the university. They have also become a part of the formal structure of higher education

as programs and departments. The organizational structure of programs and departments provides a clear delineation of the new fields and requires concrete change by colleges and universities to expend resources for their inclusion. Programs and departments are the unit of analysis for my research questions, and will be examined during a 25 year period of change and continuity.

The interdisciplinary program is the main organizational structure for identity fields but make up only a small part of the overall academic arrangement in colleges and universities. Interdisciplinarity occurs when faculty from different disciplines join to conduct research in or teach about an area. For example, a course of study for women's studies may involve faculty from the departments of English, history, and sociology. As commonalities and opportunities for contributions became apparent across disciplines, formal changes in the structure of academic offerings for students occurred and developed into interdisciplinary programs. Having interdisciplinary programs is not a new idea but is a newly expanding idea with the current trend toward expansion beginning in the late 1970s (Brint, 2005; Sa, 2006). It signals a university's willingness to support an alternative structure of knowledge through its allocation of resources (Brint, 2005). As the most prominent change in the treatment of knowledge in recent decades, interdisciplinary programs have become an increasingly important alternative to traditional departments and an important site for scholarly study.

Departments form the core organizational unit of universities but are in the minority for women's and ethnic studies. They delineate the lines of curricular and disciplinary authority and provide an environment where professors and students with

similar interests can research, teach and learn with minimal misunderstanding (Duryea, 1973; Hecht et al., 1999; Trow, 1977; Walvoord, et al., 2000). As disciplines became more complex and specialized, academic departments arose, beginning in the mid-1700s and especially after the mid-1800s, to provide organizational structure for this expanding body of knowledge¹ (Dressel and Reichard, 1970; Duryea, 1973; Hecht et al., 1999). Today, disciplinary departments have become the central organizational unit in colleges and universities with nearly 80% of all administrative decisions in universities taking place at this level. (Hecht et al., 1999). “The academic department remains the central organizational unit of American universities and of many colleges, and it must be given much of the credit for the extraordinary success of American higher education over the past century in extending both educational opportunities and the frontiers of knowledge” (Trow, 1977: 33). Departments also play an important role as a “home” to professors and students. Professors and students are socialized into the norms and values of a disciplinary department from which they can develop a power of expertise. Women’s and ethnic studies are infrequently organized as departments, but departments are, nevertheless, an important part of analysis of their development.

The organizational structures of programs and departments confer different meanings for academic fields. Programs, as an organizational framework, are organizationally more flexible but also more at risk for elimination compared to departments. Departments, on the other hand, are more stable in the college or university hierarchy and are generally better institutionalized. Administrators may favor

¹ The early disciplinary departments arose at University of Virginia, Harvard, University of Vermont, University of Wisconsin, and University of Michigan (Duryea, 1973).

interdisciplinary programs to increase organizational flexibility and adaptability, promote leadership agendas, react to competing pressures, and optimize their use of resources (Sa, 2006). Fields that are placed into programs may be in a transitional phase either upward, as newly emerging fields, or downward, as shrinking low-demand fields, or may be serving a specific institutional or faculty interest (Brint et al., under review).

Inconsistent with the norms of programmatic and departmental status, women's and ethnic studies appear to have achieved relative stability in this framework during the period of 1975 to 2000. They have had widespread development as programs due to both internal and external pressures such as administrative resistance toward their establishment and supporters' belief that the combination of scholarly research and activism can be better achieved under the programmatic framework. Both programmatic and departmental status suggest institutionalization for these fields, therefore these two organizational structures will be analyzed together.

Theoretical Overview

The theoretical framing of the development of identity programs and departments incorporates neo-institutional theory, conflict theory, and social movement theory. The emergence of social movement programs and departments are a manifestation of larger social processes and an indication of the direction of the higher education institutional objectives. Identity programs reflect broad changes at the global and societal levels toward the promotion of more democratic ideals (Gabler and Frank, 2005). In the institution of higher education, these ideals are interpreted and reproduced, producing a

shift in its objectives. Higher education has become increasingly connected to other social institutions (Brint, 2005; Ramirez, 2006). As a socially embedded institution, it is developing an institutional identity of being inclusive, socially useful, and flexible (Ramirez, 2006). University protocols have changed to reflect a more egalitarian view, the student-body has become larger and more diverse, and initiatives, foundations, and structures have been introduced or re-oriented to give credence to this new frame.

Manifestations of social embeddedness are found throughout colleges and universities. Women's and ethnic studies manifested in part through the mechanisms of massification and student protest. Massification produced an increase in institutional capacity by enrolling more students and more non-traditional students², the core participants of women's and ethnic studies. Larger institutions have more ability to incorporate new fields. In addition, larger proportions of non-traditional students provide a potential increased demand for these fields. In addition, the presence of student protest recognizes students as active participants in change; some groups of students have forcefully demanded the inclusion of women's and ethnic studies programs, departments, and schools in universities. I argue and test that the size of the student body, its demographic characteristics, and protest activity will be the strongest mechanisms to influence growth in identity curricula. In this study, I find that the first two are influential but the last has little influence.

The expansion of identity fields across higher education is a sign of commitment to social embeddedness. Isomorphism has contributed toward their growth as colleges

² Non-traditional students include women and non-white students, the student groups that were not present in higher education in large numbers before massification.

and universities were compelled to reflect the framework that other institutions were displaying by recognizing non-traditional student groups. Variation may be found in the types of institutions in which women's and ethnic studies emerged. As isomorphism, based on the new institutional frame, advances and incorporation of the new fields spreads, differences between institutions in their receptivity to the new fields should fade. Their presence across a broad spectrum of colleges and universities supports an assertion that they have become institutionalized in higher education.

Conflict theory contributes to the discussion of the development of women's and ethnic studies by illuminating the nature of the process. With a cultural break, discord often ensues as factions rally toward old and new ways. Women's and ethnic studies programs and departments are both a symbol of a new institutional frame but are also a lightning rod for fears of/attacks on this frame – the devaluing of research and theory by pairing them with activism, the weakening of academic rigor, and the disintegration of the ivory tower. As a result, the process of incorporating women's and ethnic studies has been tumultuous. Protests have occurred for it, and resistance has emerged at all levels of the academic hierarchy. Contesting groups have clashed over social movement curricula, but regardless, programs and departments have grown and persisted throughout higher education. Through neo-institutional theory, I would expect fields to emerge that are more representative of the non-traditional student population, but through conflict theory, I understand that this process involved clashes between competing groups.

Women's and ethnic studies are tied to the Civil Rights and Women's Movements. Applying concepts from social movement theory clarifies this relationship.

The Civil Rights Movement was the source of “early riser” and “spin-off movements” (McAdam, 1995), including the emergence of identity curricula. By sharing a basic goal of greater equality among people, early movements transferred knowledge of tactics to later movements to gain success for specific causes. Supporters of women’s and ethnic studies drew on the experiences of the Civil Rights Movement and its progeny to elevate these fields to a greater level of acceptance.

The blending of neo-institutional, conflict, and social movement theory to discuss the development of identity curricula presents a foundation from which to understand growth patterns and influences on persistence. My hypotheses focus on these aspects of the development of women’s and ethnic studies: growth patterns, the main institutional and demographic influences in their creation, and institutional variation in rates of incorporation.

Data Analysis Overview

To test hypotheses, I draw on a data set which composites 25 years of college catalog listings of programs and departments for a sample of 293 institutions. The presence of programs and departments are recorded in five-year intervals, and changes are tracked over time. This longitudinal data set from the College Catalog Study (2007), combined with data from the Institutional Data Archive (2004), which assembles a wide variety of information about American colleges and universities, is utilized for descriptive and multivariate analysis. Hypotheses are tested with panel models using generalized estimating equations.

The period between 1975 to 2000, the decades covered by my study, includes a major portion of the development of identity fields. The first identity programs and departments began in the late 1960's, so by 1975, their spread across higher education was under way. By 2000, about two-thirds of sample institutions had an identity program or department. During the period covered by the study, I track growth and persistence and the factors related to persistence.

Several overall findings emerge from the data analysis: Growth has been rapid and widespread, especially for women's studies; African American studies has followed a different developmental pattern from women's and ethnic studies but in an unexpected way; the size of institutions, the demographic make-up of the student-body, and a campus curricular emphasis on the arts and sciences are important influences in the development of women's and ethnic studies; and evidence supporting institutionalization of these fields is strong. There is little or no difference in the presence of women's and ethnic studies based on several institutional characteristics such as public/private control, Carnegie classification, and institutional wealth.

One implication of the findings is that the development of women's and ethnic studies is not isolated to a certain type of university or at a certain level in the institutional hierarchy. This character of their developmental pattern is one demonstration of coherence with the theoretical perspective. An institutional commitment to diversity (Moses, 1994a), demonstrated through a genuine institutional effort toward the academic success of non-traditional students, is one aspect of a new

institutional logic of social embeddedness, and the establishment of women's and ethnic studies is one way that colleges and universities show commitment to this goal.

CHAPTER 2: ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Though higher education is highly institutionalized with a long tradition-bound history, it has seen comparatively dramatic change during the second half of the 20th century. Higher education has experienced change in many ways, but four major areas of change are in its mission, its students, its relationship with other institutions, and its financial stability. The factors related to these changes are complex, and cause and effect are difficult to distinguish. This chapter is not intended to disentangle the myriad of impacts on change in higher education but rather to introduce major components of this transformation and how they relate to the development of women's and ethnic studies. It offers a broad context within which to understand how women's and ethnic studies have emerged. Women's and ethnic studies have been both contributors to change in higher education, as well as have been impacted by it.

The nature and extent of change is shaped by the power structure within higher education institutions, and decision-making processes occur at many levels from central administration to department chairs (Gross and Grambsch, 1974; Kerr, 2001; Kezar, 2001; MacTaggart, 1996; Slaughter, 1993; Walvoord et al., 2000). Those in the central administrative office have power to shape change on campus as the ideological leaders and as lead mediators between campus and outside constituencies. Deans are the intermediaries between departments and central administration and handle a wide range of practical issues of university business. Academic Senate committees and governing/coordinating boards are two more groups that often wield power on campuses.

Department leaders generally have domain over professional, curricular and instructional issues. Each level of the hierarchy has some power to shape change in higher education, which varies somewhat across universities and may have varied across time. Though one study found little change in power structures in universities during the 1960s (Gross and Grambsch, 1974), Novak (1996) observes an overall trend toward greater consolidation of authority in coordinating boards and high level administration from the 1950s through the 1970s. The decision to add or change departments or programs falls within this structure. Therefore, the lines of authority in higher education have great impact on identity curricula and are dominant forces in its fate.

The Mission of Higher Education

By the beginning of the 16th century, the mission of teaching had already long been the core of higher education worldwide with its general organizational structure designed to accommodate expanding fields of knowledge (Perkins, 1973). American universities, modeled on English, Scottish, and German institutions (Dressel and Reichard, 1970), adopted service to the public as an important addition to the mission of higher education, as exemplified by the establishment of land grant institutions through the Morrill Act of 1862 and the integration of service into missions of universities. During the 19th century and accelerating in the 20th century, major universities directed more focus on research (Geiger, 1993; Perkins, 1973). Previously, faculty performed basic research to enrich teaching, but over time research became an end of itself, not necessarily connected to teaching. Especially in the last 30 years, the nature and relative

importance of research shifted as conducting applied research became acceptable and a boon to reputations and budgets. During this time, a general shift occurred from basic science to basic and applied science (Geiger, 1993; Slaughter, 1993).

The essential challenge for higher education is the need to incorporate conflicting missions in a framework designed for its original mission of teaching (Perkins, 1973). The newer missions of public service and research have different organizational requirements, which strain the institution. Public service is an institution-wide commitment yet requires smaller structures, notably departments, to support it and make it successful (Perkins, 1973). In addition, service to the public is at odds with the idealized notion of the autonomy of higher education. The mission of research, furthermore, elevates the importance of ideas over people, the lab and library over the classroom, external funding over internal budget allocation, and judgment of peers in a field over teaching performance and student progress (Perkins, 1973). Organizational tension results.

The organizational tension arising from this drift in mission may be a strain on all higher education endeavors including the establishment of new fields. Some new fields such as biochemistry are more closely aligned with the mission of research, whereas women's and ethnic studies are more aligned with the missions of teaching and public service. Misalignment with the emphasized mission of a university and its decision-makers could impact the process of establishment and growth of a new field.

Student Characteristics and Pedagogical Change

By the early 1960s, universal access to post-secondary school, which signaled the break-down of demographic barriers, was recognized as one of the great impacts on higher education (Kerr, 1963). The composition of the student body has changed tremendously in terms of sex, race, age and socioeconomic status, resulting in a dramatic increase in total enrollments, a phenomenon termed the massification of higher education (Geiger, 1999; Kerr, 1963). In 1948/49, the student population in American colleges and universities was about 2.5 million; in 1958/59, it was 3.4 million, and by 1968/69, it had reached 7.6 million (La Belle and Ward, 1996). The momentum of growth slowed in the 1980s, and some groups such as African Americans and Latinos lost enrollments. However, through most of the 1990s, enrollments rebounded and by 2000, total enrollment reached over 15.3 million (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2006). The GI Bill after WWII, and the racial equality and women's movements exerted tremendous forces in changing who went to college so that today the student body is at least half female, multi-racial, older, and less wealthy on average. This is in sharp contrast to student bodies of a half century ago (Astin, 2000; Hecht et al., 1999; Kezar, 2001; Martorana and Kuhns, 1975; Walvoord et al., 2000).

This substantial growth and democratization in enrollments is the critical foundation on which women's and ethnic studies emerged. These disciplines gain supporters by reflecting the unique backgrounds and experiences of newer groups of students. Enrollment in women's and ethnic studies classes increased the chance of the viability of these programs and departments, and graduating from them increased the

likelihood of training future scholars who could begin or expand programs and departments elsewhere.

Accompanying demographic change, student attitudes also shifted (Astin, 2000). Astin (2000) identified two main time periods of rapid change in student attitudes -- during the late 1960s to early 1970s, just prior to the start of my analysis, and from the end of the 1980s to mid 1990s. Four major shifts occurred in the attitudes and beliefs in students between 1966 and 1996: Women's educational plans and career aspirations grew to match men's, and attitudes towards the role of women in society were liberalized; the percentage of students that expressed a desire to be well off financially and to develop a meaningful philosophy of life diverged since 1977 until almost twice as many students valued the first over the second by 1996; students became more liberal and supportive on student rights, gay rights, and gender equality but more conservative on law and order and became more politically and academically disengaged; and students felt increased competitiveness, increased optimism about their academic performance, less interest in the liberal arts and teaching, and more interest in graduate school. Walvoord et al. (2000) notes that students now view education more as a product than an enlightening learning experience and have a lower level of commitment to their colleges and universities.

One consequence of these shifts is that liberal arts degrees have fallen out of favor and more practical, job-relevant degrees have been rising in prominence, especially during the period of 1970 to 1985 (Astin, 2000; Brint and Karabel, 1991; Brint et al., 2005; Kraatz and Zajac, 2001).

"Just as secondary schools became vocationalized in the early 20th century, when they were transformed from elite preparatory

institutions into institutions the majority attended and did not go beyond (Trow, 1961) so colleges and universities became definitively oriented to occupational-professional education at the end of the 20th century, at a time when they were becoming mass terminal institutions in the same sense” (Brint et al., 2005: 173-174).

Though the pattern of the relationship between the liberal and practical arts appears cyclical from the 1920s to 2000, roughly paralleling societal economic declines and prosperity, the period from 1970 has witnessed a steady dominance of occupational degrees (Brint et al., 2005). Thus, areas such as the health sciences, computer science and engineering have become strong student preferences for majors over such areas as history or English, indicating that students enter college with a career in mind and want directed study to meet that end.

An anomaly to this overall pattern of decline of the arts and sciences may be growth in social movement fields. These departments and programs are neither occupational fields nor traditional arts and sciences fields, but they are aligned with the shrinking arts and sciences, and their curricula and research topics draw from both the humanities and social sciences. They are fields that have largely risen during the time of massification, reflecting the demographics of nontraditional students, and they are aided by the liberalization of student views, despite student disengagement and a shift in preference for practical degrees. That these fields are funded and formally structured signals the recognition of and acquiescence to the changing student population. Actual student participation in these fields may be small, but their presence is a symbol to the university community of their validity as a course of study and the university’s acknowledgement of the demographic variety of the students enrolled.

In addition to changes in disciplines, teaching practices may have shifted as classes become more student-centered rather than teacher-centered (Hecht et al., 1999; Martorana and Kuhns, 1975; Walvoord et al., 2000). The relationship between the teacher and student has changed as a college education has turned from being used as a screening device to a social good (Hecht et al., 1999). Students often expect flexibility in modes of instruction and programs and a supportive environment for their education (Hecht et al., 1999; Walvoord et al., 2000). The burden has shifted from the student who traditionally had to adjust to professors' teaching styles to the professors who need to find the best way to support student achievement, moving from a teaching to a learning paradigm. (Hecht et al., 1999; Walvoord et al., 2000). Perhaps at the forefront of this trend, women's and ethnic studies have actively experimented with alternative forms of learning and instruction that focus on the student. As a part of their uniqueness from traditional disciplines, they have advocated a more democratic classroom, flattening the social hierarchy between teacher and student.

Institutional Interconnectedness

Another impact on higher education is a change in the relationship between it and external constituencies (Geiger, 1993; Hackett, 2001; Kerr, 2001; Kezar, 2001; MacTaggart, 1996; Martorana and Kuhns, 1975; Perkins, 1973; Slaughter, 1993; Walvoord et al., 2000;). The university ideal has been that it be unencumbered by political, economic, and social demands so that it may provide a fertile and free environment for the pursuit of knowledge. For centuries, this institutionalized ideal was

upheld to a greater or lesser extent, however in the last several decades, the justification of higher education as a disconnected institution in society has been eroding (Perkins, 1973). The spheres of government, business and public are increasingly overlapping with higher education, pushed by changes in needs and expectations.

Interconnected relationships among institutions reflect and favor the development of social movement fields. Demands for a society of inclusiveness manifested in higher education through the establishment of women's and ethnic studies and other social movement fields. These fields embody the blending of the political, social and academic – in fact, they embrace it.

However, interconnectedness can also be a liability for women's and ethnic studies. Major institutions of society have called for greater accountability in higher education. State governments and families, at the forefront, expect that concrete evidence be produced to show that needs are being met – that money is being well-spent, that research is worthwhile, and that activities in the classroom and on campus contribute to a meaningful education (Martorana and Kuhns, 1975; Walvoord et al., 2000; Kezar, 2001; MacTaggart, 1996). Disenchantment with higher education, beginning in the late 1960s, has been fueled by the credentialization process, a process in which students need more education to achieve the same or less of past generations (Collins, 1979), and the rising cost of education to state governments and families. These calls for accountability opens some new, innovative, and/or controversial fields such as women's and ethnic studies to criticism, with arguments that these fields have little to offer students in an increasingly competitive world and are not worth the cost of supporting them.

In practice, accommodating accountability concerns is very difficult in the institution of education, for much of the “output” is not measurable. Yet, the pressure to demonstrate merit has become strong. This situation is amplified for social movement fields where their status in the academic hierarchy may be unstable and their measures of success are fluid. For many teachers in these fields, a successful student is one who gains awareness and appreciation of personal and group heritage and of struggle based on gender, ethnic, or sexuality in a socially stratified society. Not only is this generally not a valued “output,” but it is one that is nearly impossible to measure to satisfy accountability demands.

Financial Stability

The financial stability of higher education institutions has changed dramatically during the last quarter century. The source of funding has shifted in universities as traditional funding sources became less assured, and the cost to families of college attendees rose sharply. Government block grants have given way to targeted funding for research, endowment funds have become more prominent, and industrial ties have grown substantially (Geiger, 1993; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Walvoord et al.. 2000). In 1963, Clark Kerr wrote that one of the great impacts on higher education was that more resources had been made available to colleges and universities, especially for research purposes (Kerr, 2001). However, he noted that by the late 1990s, funding had become restricted as competition for public money had increased from other sectors such as health care, crime-fighting, and primary and secondary education (Kerr, 2001). Financial

instability at the organizational level may challenge the development of women's and ethnic studies by intensifying competition for funds. More traditional fields and other newly emerging fields such as those in the sciences and engineering have greater capability to draw funds into the university and may be in a stronger position to ensure their funding.

The 25-year period from 1975 to 2000, a major period of development for women's and ethnic studies, has been a time of change in higher education, especially in its mission, students, external relationships, and financial stability. Thus, the institutional and organizational context in which these fields have risen is an important consideration in my analysis. The next chapter adds a narrower vision of the context of their development by examining the scholarly and developmental character of these fields.

CHAPTER 3: BACKGROUND OF WOMEN'S STUDIES AND ETHNIC STUDIES

Women's and ethnic studies have a relatively short but powerful history in American higher education. They have contributed to higher education in two significant ways: through the introduction of new theoretical and epistemological concepts and methods across disciplines and through the establishment of new programs and departments to promote and bound these areas as legitimate fields of study.

The analytical and empirical focus of my study concerns the second of these contributions, but both will be elaborated here to establish the context of these disciplines' development. A discussion of the curricular foundation of women's and ethnic studies, their historical trajectories, and the struggles that they have faced to become legitimate parts of colleges and universities will highlight major aspects of their development. This discussion will foreshadow the centrality of institutional capacity to support their growth and the significance of their dual mission of activism and scholarship in shaping their development.

Women's and ethnic studies formed from a common heritage yet have unique patterns of development. As I conceive them, they are both a part of a broader curricular movement, which I will call "social movements curricula." Social movements curricula is comprised of disciplinary areas such as women's studies, ethnic studies, and sexuality studies that can trace their founding to broader social movements in the United States. Women's and ethnic studies germinated from the American Civil Rights Movement of the late 1950s and 1960s and from the Women's Rights Movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and they benefited from the effects that these movements had on higher

education. The Civil Rights Movement called for recognition of and action on minority issues and demanded equality in treatment with respect to housing, employment, pay, and all other aspects social life. Its direct and indirect impact on higher education was far-reaching in attitude change, policy change, creation of new laws, and more. One crucial impact was that it contributed to the massification of higher education in which enrollment increased sharply for all demographic categories of students, increasing the student populations that women's and ethnic studies primarily serve (La Belle and Ward, 1996; Stimpson, 1986). The women's movement demanded equality between men and women and directed attention toward issues such as equal pay and promotion in the workplace and inequity in household duties. These movements introduced radical new ideas about the treatment of knowledge, helping to promote women's and ethnic studies as innovative intellectual areas of inquiry with both a political and academic basis (La Belle and Ward, 1996; Stimpson, 1986).

In addition to their relationship with the Civil Rights and Women's Rights Movements, social movements curricula are united by their galvanizing subject matter, which endorse calls for action, and the political nature of their introduction to academia. Women's and ethnic studies make a grand departure from the purported impartial inquiry and objective pursuit and dissemination of knowledge of traditional disciplines by adhering to a major objective of imparting knowledge through consciousness raising about the conditions of different segments of society. Those who are responsible for evaluating the establishment of new programs and departments on a campus are often from established traditional disciplines, and they are likely to have a more traditional

academic-professional view of what a proper course of study for students ought to be (La Belle and Ward, 1996; Stimpson, 1986). They may approve of such courses to provide breadth for students but question both the depth of knowledge that these areas have amassed in their relatively short existence and their value to students as vehicles to degrees. These disciplines have often been deemed unnecessary and potentially divisive -- two examples are shown through the criticisms of women's colleges toward women's studies and historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) toward African American studies (La Belle and Ward, 1993).

Both have benefited from the lessons of the Civil Rights and Women's Rights Movements and from population growth in nontraditional student and faculty, and both also experienced formidable challenges to their establishment and development as disciplines. Nevertheless, the development of women's studies and ethnic studies also drew from unique experiences, and the histories of women's studies and ethnic studies are quite different. I discuss women's studies first because past literature suggests that widespread expansion in American colleges and universities first occurred in women's studies and later occurred in ethnic studies (Altbach, Lomotey, and Rivers, 2002; Stimpson, 1986).

Women's Studies

The history of women's studies involves early foundings and patterns of incorporation in academe, the pedagogical foundations of the field, and the challenges it has faced.

Foundings and Growth Patterns

Women's studies activists called for the incorporation of the feminist perspective throughout academia and for creating and expanding women's studies as a discipline through programs and departments. The first courses in women's studies were taught in the early 1960s, and by 1970 women's studies was established as a systematic movement (Stimpson, 1986). Many early courses were presented as special topic seminars or received sponsorship from a residence hall or other peripheral entity, forgoing an official listing in the campus course catalog; later courses were developed within established departments to present the feminist perspective (Tobias, 2000). Women's studies was first incorporated into other disciplines in institutions that were large and flexible enough for innovation (Stimpson, 1986). Initially, it had influence in literature, sociology and history but eventually it became part of many other disciplines such as psychology, education and law (Christ, 1999, Stimpson, 1986).

The first women's studies program was established in 1970 at San Diego State University, and the second was established at Cornell, also in 1970 (Boxer, 1998; Buhle, 2000). Growth since that time was rapid -- more than 80 independent women's studies

programs had been established by 1973; these nearly doubled by 1975 and doubled again by 1980 (Howe and Lauter, 1980). By 2000, about 615 women's studies programs had been established across all institutional types, enrolling the largest number of students of all interdisciplinary programs (Buhle, 2000). In the mid-1990s, the average program had 18 affiliated faculty members teaching cross listed courses, although the majority of programs still had no full time position associated with it (Boxer, 1998). About two-thirds of universities, half of four-year colleges, and 40% of all higher education institutions had women's studies programs (Boxer, 1998).

In contrast, the organization of women's studies as departments has been slow and departments remain few in number (Boxer, 1998). By the end of the 1970s, it is likely that only one department had been established (at San Diego State), and by 1995, perhaps only 20 departments existed (Boxer, 1998). The reasons for slow departmental growth were several: 1) women's studies programs and departments were rising precisely at a time of slowing growth in higher education in general and contraction of the humanities and social sciences in particular; 2) achieving departmental status was not a shared goal of women's studies activists; and 3) it has faced formidable opposition from administrators and faculty who are opposed to it. The latter two will be discussed in more detail below.

The first cause of slow departmental growth has to do with the social and economic context in which social movements fields developed. By the 1970s, higher education was at the end of a period of substantial growth, so women's studies potentially missed an opportunity to benefit from an environment of significant expansion. At the

conclusion of the rapid expansion period, administrators may have become more circumspect about the further development of departments in their institutions, especially as funding priorities and availability changed. A decline in the humanities, in particular, constituted negative pressure on women's studies because the typical women's studies curricula is about half humanities and half social sciences in nature (Boxer, 1998).

The growth of women's studies was aided by the dissemination of information among women's studies activists. Learning from others' trials and successes mostly occurred informally (Boxer, 1998). Experiences of starting a women's studies program at one institution could be shared through association meetings, journal publications, and later, though internet list-serves (Boxer, 1998). The annual meetings of the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA), founded in 1977, served as a conduit for ideas and information about expanding women's studies and as a support group to commiserate and to sustain movement goals (Boxer, 1998). It was also a forum for scholarship, but most formal academic presentations occurred in other disciplinary conferences such as the American Sociological Association and the American History Association. Today, the NWSA is still active in promoting the creation and growth of programs and departments and seeks to advance the connection across scholarship, teaching, and activism (National Women's Studies Association, 2007). *The Women's Studies Quarterly*, the Feminist Press, and other media outlets also were important in facilitating the exchange of ideas and materials (Boxer, 1998).

Several other factors aided in its development. Female students and faculty members rose in numbers during the 1960s and 1970s, increasing the potential number of

supporters for women's studies (Christ, 1999, Stimpson, 1986). The rapid growth of women's studies was due in part to the ready and substantial population of supporters (Boxer, 1998). Women's colleges supplied many of the early advocates of women's studies that were hired in other colleges and universities, despite resistance towards incorporating women's studies into their own colleges (Stimpson, 1986).

Funding was also a factor in its development. Commissions such as the Commission on Educational Opportunities for Women established by the American Council on Education, Foundations such as the Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, and Rockefeller Foundation, and public agencies such as the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, and the National Institute of Education provided promotion of and funding for the advancement of women's studies (Stimpson, 1986). Some higher education administrators, recognizing the strong interest in women's studies by students and faculty and the relatively little investment required, supplied a budget for their development on their campuses (Boxer, 1998). However, the initiation of women's studies at many places was based on dedicated volunteer efforts or stretching a modest budget from an institution's administration (Boxer, 1998).

Curricular Foundations

Women's studies is closely tied to feminism, and some would argue that it is the academic arm of feminism as a political movement (Boxer, 1998; Buhle, 2000; Christ, 1999; Stimpson, 1986). Feminism, the basis of the women's liberation movement,

demands equality between women and men and was reinvigorated as a part of the Civil Rights Movement after lying nearly dormant for several decades. The women's liberation movement, rigorous around the turn of the 20th century, diminished with the passage of the 19th amendment and the growth of conservative forces. During the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, women were active and integral participants but some became disillusioned by their secondary status in activist groups (Boxer, 1998). In the midst of radical change for racial equality, women turned their focus on their own condition. The women's liberation movement arose as a result of the new energy for social change created in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement.

The education of women in higher education reflected the waxing and waning of the women's rights movement. Up to the 1920's, enrollment of women increased, and women's colleges established curricula equivalent to those offered by male-dominated colleges including classical studies in Latin, math and the sciences (Buhle, 2000; Stimpson, 1986). In later decades across all colleges and universities, female enrollment dropped, the curricula were "feminized" to emphasize what was perceived as the unique traits of women, and expectations for the intellectual development of women were generally low (Buhle, 2000; Stimpson, 1986; Walton, 2000). For example, in 1947, Lynn White, then-president of Mills College, was a vocal advocate for the development of a feminine curriculum encouraging women to take courses suited to what he perceived to be their aptitude in homemaking and spousal support (Stimpson, 1986).

Before the 1970s, curricula rarely identified women or women's point of view as legitimate forms of study. This dearth in academia became the focus of feminists in

higher education during the women's rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s as they worked to gain identity and a voice for all women. Goals of feminists in academia included establishing archives that catalogued women's achievements in history, identifying and analyzing causes of oppression, creating more egalitarian classrooms where all voices could be heard, and infusing consciousness-raising in classes about the status of women in society (Buhle, 2000; Stimpson, 1986). They sought to challenge the male-oriented premise of traditional fields, to integrate feminist thought and activism into disciplines, and to abolish sex discrimination at all levels of education (Stimpson, 1986).

Challenges in the Developmental Process

The establishment of women's studies in higher education has had its challenges both external and internal to the field (Boxer, 1998; Stimpson, 1986). Many women's colleges considered women's studies too aggressively feminist. Some faculty and administrators thought women were already sufficiently present in the curriculum in a more rigorous form. Other critics across higher education concurred and argued that it proposed a weak interdisciplinary method that lacked intellectual rigor and objectivity. Some argued that to develop a separate discipline to study women was too radical of an act, especially in light of the competition from other new areas that were more closely aligned with traditional disciplines such as computer science, environmental studies, and biotechnology that were also trying to find a place in higher education during the same time period. As an area of study, the argument was that it is too ideological and political

-- it was “warrior feminism unleashed, hostile to rational thought, common sense, and humane custom, and, as such, illegitimate” (Stimpson, 1986: 13).

In the 1980s, women’s studies faced critics who declared that it was not new and innovative anymore, that it had been a fad that should now pass (Boxer, 1998; Stimpson, 1986). This decade also saw the election of President Reagan and heightened conservatism across the political and social landscape. Critics who might have felt silenced by the early equality movements now enjoyed renewed strength and a voice in the conservative backlash against women’s and minority issues (Stimpson, 1986). Women studies, serving as a proxy for feminism in general, was accused of damaging the basic institutions and cornerstones of society – the family, the church, the economy, heterosexuality, a hierarchical order of things, and objective scientific inquiry (Boxer, 1998). As a result, the climate against it climbed and Federal funding in support of women’s issues dropped.

Throughout its development, women’s studies has often struggled to receive institutional support. An institution’s contribution toward a budget for development and maintenance of women’s studies has often been inadequate, institutional recognition of women’s studies with official courses, programs or departments has often been begrudging, and supportive faculty members have sometimes struggled to receive tenure or have had tenure revoked (Stimpson, 1986). The general trend toward the hiring of part-time and non-tenure track faculty in place of full-time tenure-track faculty to promote organizational flexibility and to save money may have had more serious consequences for women’s studies compared to other disciplines (Boxer, 1998). As a

result of this institutional trend, combined with its inchoate form as a subject of study, women's studies struggled to maintain its own organizational memory; few people can provide a living history of women's studies. When faced with limited capacity, institutional support has generally been in favor of traditional disciplines and against social movement disciplines. However, towards the close of the century, women's studies has become more stable and sometimes receives departmental status even though funding remained focused on more established departments (Buhle, 2000).

In addition to threats from external sources, the women's studies group of supporters has had its own fissures. Conflicts arose over issues such as nomenclature, program management, institutional affiliation, and organizational structure, which reflect the difference between the academic and activist goals of women's studies and indicate the formative stage in which women's studies continues to exist (Boxer, 1998; Stimpson, 1986). Debate arose over the name for this new area of study. To what extent should the name suggest a political/activism component versus an impartial study of sex roles? Suggested names included feminist studies, sex role studies, gender studies, female studies, feminology, dimorphics, and women's studies. Women's studies was eventually accepted as a balance between the two perspectives, however more recently some feel "women's studies" is too dichotomizing as a term, and "gender studies" may be more balanced (Boxer, 1998).

In addition, disputes arose about the management of a program or department (Stimpson, 1986). Proponents of women's studies advocated a flat structure and giving voice to many, but practical application of this ideal was sometimes contentious.

Questions arose about such issues as how much authority students should have over the program, whether feminists outside academia should take part, whether tenure-track positions should be secured, whether accepting foundation money constituted selling-out, and to what extent faculty should be involved in activism promoting social change.

Other contentious issues were whether women's studies should seek institutional affiliation, and how it should develop as a discipline (Boxer, 1998; Stimpson, 1986). Some researchers supported setting up research centers or working in the context of women's advocacy centers to explore and disseminate knowledge about women's issues. They questioned whether feminist goals could be compatible with the university system. Today, the feminist theoretical perspective is an important part of many fields. In fact, competency in this perspective is often required of graduate students in many fields such as sociology, political science, and psychology (Boxer, 1998). Some debated whether to aim to be a separate discipline or to infuse women's studies into other disciplines. Developing as a discipline requires a sufficient number of full-time scholars to expand research and teaching, however the majority of programs do not even have one full-time faculty member. Regardless, women's studies advocates today generally embrace both disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches, as well as promoting women's studies in other fields (Boxer, 1998).

A central issue that remains important today is whether women's studies should seek programmatic or departmental status, or organize as a loose collection of classes or parts of classes in other fields. Women's studies as a program or department offers stability and legitimization. As a program, women's studies does not have a dedicated

budget and faculty but does offer greater flexibility in its organization and management. As a department, resources and legitimization are more assured, but women's studies participants must adhere to institutional requirements such as serving on boards and following protocol for hiring faculty. Departmentalization may confer legitimization but this is not an assumed goal of women's studies activists. In addition, stability and legitimization bestowed by departmental status may come at a high price. Some women's studies advocates argue that establishing departmental status for women's studies sacrifices its radical feminist and activist components, co-opting it into the traditional academic structure. McMartin, in 1993, characterized these disputes as revolving around issues of institutionalization versus marginalization and argued that academic feminists face a trade-off between organizational security and the problem of cooptation (Boxer, 1998). She found that women's studies was distancing itself from community-based women's centers in favor of promoting itself as a scholastic endeavor, losing activist ties in the process.

None of these conflicts have been detrimental to the women's studies movement, and women's studies thrives today both as an independent field of study and as an influence on other fields. Despite (or perhaps because of) heavy criticisms and attacks, the commitment of its supporters remain strong, and it has found a solid home in academia. By 1993, more students had credits in women's studies (12%) compared to any other interdisciplinary field and in 1992/1993, more than 400 degrees were conferred in this field (Boxer, 1998).

"From radical beginnings in the free classes of an antiestablishment political movement, women's studies has developed into an integral part

of American higher education and of the network of private and public institutions that support it. Like no other educational movement in recent history, it has begun to change human consciousness—not in the ways that the experimenters who sought to expand mental awareness in the 1960s might have envisioned, but in more profound—and likely to be permanent—ways. Women's studies is developing everywhere.” (Boxer, 1998: 49)

Ethnic Studies

My use of the term, “ethnic studies,” includes disciplinary areas such as African-American studies, Chicano studies, Asian-American studies, American-Indian studies, Puerto Rican Studies and other areas focused on specific ethnic groups, as well as ethnic studies as a conglomerate area addressing multiple ethnic groups. Details of the development of ethnic studies presented here will be focused on ethnic studies in general and the first three of these types of programs listed above, although empirical analysis presented later will focus on two facets of ethnic studies: African American studies and all other types of ethnic studies combined. The aim and experiences for each of these ethnic areas is similar, though some aspects of their development and their curricular focus reflect variation in the groups being addressed.

Foundings and Growth Patterns

Growth patterns have varied across the different types of ethnic studies programs. Ethnic studies first began receiving recognition as an important conglomerate area of study in 1968 at San Francisco State and UC Berkeley (La Belle and Ward, 1993). By the late 1970s, many ethnic studies programs had been set up across the country, though most were on the west coast (La Belle and Ward, 1993). Widespread national growth

occurred during the 1980s, and growth continues today (Altbach, Lomotey, and Rivers, 2002). Ethnic studies programs have been more commonly established in public institutions than private institutions, perhaps because of their greater exposure to outside constituents (La Belle and Ward, 1993).

The number of African-American studies programs and departments grew substantially during the 1960s and early 1970s but more recently are in decline (Altbach, Lomotey, and Rivers, 2002; La Belle and Ward, 1993). By the early 1970s, 800 programs had been established, but by the early 1990s, the number of programs had dropped to 375 (La Belle and Ward, 1993). Ironically, HBCUs have been hesitant to adopt African American studies, arguing that their institutions already provide support and role models for the African American population rendering it unnecessary. Not until the late 1980s to 1990s has the movement for African American studies flowed to HBCUs (La Belle and Ward, 1996).

In contrast, programs and departments for Chicano/Latino studies and Asian-American studies were mainly established during the 1980s and are continuing to expand (Altbach, Lomotey, and Rivers, 2002; Chang and Kiang, 2002). The foundation for the first Chicano and Chicana studies department was laid in 1969 at UC Santa Barbara, and the first Asian-American studies program was established the same year at UC Berkeley, but substantial growth did not occur in either until a decade later (La Belle and Ward, 1993). Interestingly, white-American studies also started appearing mainly around the 1980s, for example Armenian American, Canadian American, Czech American, German American, Amish, and others, perhaps because of greater awareness in ethnic background

that ethnic studies had generated or as a backlash to minority studies (La Belle and Ward, 1993).

Like women's studies, ethnic studies arose largely from a history of institutional mistreatment in higher education toward non-traditional students and the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement of the late 1950s and 1960s. Until the aftermath of WWII, colleges and universities were attended by a select segment of society, and the curriculum reflected the white, male, middle and upper-middle class backgrounds of most of their students. Federal policy changes and the civil rights and student movements empowered underrepresented and oppressed groups of students to demand fair treatment in the higher education system and curricula reflective of their experiences.

Several governmental policy changes created substantial growth in and support for student populations, especially minority populations, before, during and following the Civil Rights Movement including the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, the GI Bill of Rights, the National Defense Education Act of 1958, and the Higher Education Act of 1965 (La Belle and Ward, 1996). The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was especially important to minority students entering higher education because it laid the groundwork for programs such as Upward Bound and policies supporting affirmative action. With these, critical enrollment increases and financial resources became available for program development, professional development, student aid, and other forms of assistance for minority students and faculty (Bengelsdorf, 1972; La Belle and Ward, 1996). The resultant enrollment increases and improved retention, especially in minority populations, provided more students who could enroll in ethnic studies courses creating a critical mass

of students necessary to sustain a program. Resources for development and support were often not available through a program's home institution because of tight budgets and/or lack of ideological support so aid and pressure for change from outside sources became a source for change.

The direct influence of the Civil Rights Movement on the development of ethnic studies programs was substantial. It brought together and empowered the disenfranchised in the United States and awakened others to the presence of extreme and persistent inequality but also divided the nation into opposing forces, which contributed to a conservative backlash in the 1980s. The Civil Rights Movement had its outlet on campuses largely in the form of student protests. Protests arose against such issues as racial inequality, the inflexible structure of higher education institutions, the Vietnam War, and overseas colonialism. Some protests directly related to the relationship between academia and nontraditional students. They sought to transform an inhospitable academic environment for minority students into one that is more relevant and valuable to students' lives in part through the establishment of ethnic studies.

"The historical role and fundamental contribution of ethnic studies have been to transform academic culture -- how the curriculum is defined and represented, the nature of scholarship, the practice of methods of research, expectations of pedagogy, the empowerment of diverse students, and the engagement with communities." (Chang and Kiang, 2002:149-150).

The history, curricular intent and challenges of African American studies, Chicano studies and Asian-American studies are elaborated below to establish a foundation of understanding of ethnic studies as a developing field.

Curricular Foundations

An important part of ethnic studies is presenting an honest portrayal of the ethnic minority experience in the United States, including awareness of cultural histories, a critical analysis of inequality, promotion of active intervention in the cycle of discrimination, and shattering stereotypes (Chang and Kiang, 2002; La Belle and Ward, 1996). To some extent, some of these aims have been incorporated into classes throughout many disciplines as multicultural studies. Multicultural studies is the study of ethnic/racial groups. Some classes or parts of classes in traditional departments highlight the contribution and/or struggles of minorities or particular ethnic groups to offer greater awareness of the non-white experience in the United States. However, ethnic studies is more than multiculturalism. For example, multiculturalism may convey support of assimilation, which is sometimes derided by ethnic studies, and downplay or ignore the importance of activism that is central to ethnic studies. All types of ethnic studies programs call on higher education institutions to “have an important civic role and responsibility as knowledge producers and interpreters to intervene in the cycle of distortion” (Chang and Kiang, 2002: 148).

African American Studies. African American Studies was among the first curricular areas to combine political, activist, and academic ideals. It became a model for programs in other areas in its unifying force and its examination of injustice (Chang and Kiang, 2002; La Belle and Ward, 1996). Its early history can be traced back to the late 1800s when W.E.B. DuBois and other scholars were active in documenting the history and analyzing the status and culture of African Americans (La Belle and Ward, 1996).

During this time, the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History and specialized journals were established. However, during the mid 20th century, these efforts were set back as support for assimilation and biological explanations for social conditions increased across academia (La Belle and Ward, 1996). With the Black Power, Black is Beautiful, and other movements associated with the overarching Civil Rights Movement, awareness of and anger over the social condition of African Americans were heightened and formalized into calls for African American studies programs and departments. The first black studies department was established at San Francisco State University in 1968. The National Association of Black Studies was established to provide a network of experiences for setting up additional programs and departments.

Though African American studies remains centered on increased awareness and analysis of African Americans' status in the United States, debate continues within the discipline about the nature of study (La Belle and Ward, 1996). Some scholars argue for more prominence or dominance of Afrocentrism in programs and departments. They wish to empower students by adopting principles of moral superiority over whites who victimize them (La Belle and Ward, 1996). Others see this approach as divisive, and advocate a more traditional approach of building black history archives, critically examining social conditions and relationships, and promoting change through increased awareness. These contrasting perspectives created dissension within and among some programs and departments.

Other areas that followed, such as Chicano studies and Asian-American studies, also focus on ethnic group awareness and inquiry and make a further contribution by

arguing that the black-white paradigm doesn't fit the American ethnic landscape, but rather the interrelationships among a multitude of ethnic groups should provide the foundation for inquiry (Chang and Kiang, 2002).

Chicano Studies. The establishment of Chicano studies was propelled by the support of student associations, notably El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), Coordinating Council on Higher Education, and the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (La Belle and Ward, 1996). Like other ethnic studies programs and departments, its goals include increased identity for students, greater appreciation of students' cultural background through reclaiming knowledge of their cultural past, and work towards interventions for the larger Chicano community to improve socioeconomic status. The National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies, founded in 1972, has provided a forum to promote and present research that exposes structures of inequality based on class, race and gender privileges in U.S. society and advocates the political actualization of Chicanos, rejecting an integrationist perspective of consensus and assimilation (National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies, 2005).

A challenge for Chicano studies is that it is encompassed by the broader Hispanic studies, which sometimes leads to contention about what the cultural focus of inquiry should be (La Belle and Ward, 1996). Hispanic studies includes the study of people from a variety of nationality backgrounds whereas Chicano studies focuses on Americans of Mexican descent.

Asian-American Studies. Asian-American students are among the more recent of ethnic groups calling for identity curriculum. The Asian population in the United States grew substantially after changes to US immigration laws in 1965 (Bengelsdorf, 1972). The accompanying increase in college attendance of Asian-Americans, in addition to the Vietnam War protests and protests against colonialism in Southeast Asia, quickly spurred a call for specialized study about the Asian-American experience. The aim of Asian-American studies parallels the aims of other ethnic programs including documenting, analyzing and disseminating knowledge about Asian-American groups' histories, identities, social formations, contributions, and contemporary concerns (Chang and Kiang, 2002). It also maintains an additional emphasis on the immigration experience and exploring the social and psychological impacts of refugees to the United States (Chang and Kiang, 2002). The Association of Asian-American Studies, founded in 1979, promotes greater ties among the many sub-groups of Asian-Americans and increased understanding of non-Asians of their cultures, interests and welfare (Association of Asian-American Studies, 2005).

Asian-American studies includes the examination of Japanese-, Chinese-, Vietnamese-Americans, as well as many other groups of Asian descent, and it is closely tied to experiences in home countries. Each of these groups has unique cultural backgrounds, immigration experiences, and positions in American society making generalizations across the group difficult. Another difficulty that is more acute for Asian-American studies than other types of ethnic studies is maintaining boundaries with area studies. Area studies focuses on the cultures and histories of other countries and follows

a more traditional format of inquiry and knowledge dissemination. Asian-American studies must draw on knowledge that is in the domain of area studies to best understand the Asian-American experience, but strives to etch out an independent curricular area to incorporate critical awareness of injustice and to advocate activism.

Challenges to the Developmental Process

Though different types of ethnic studies programs face unique challenges, they also face many common issues. Despite several decades of development of ethnic studies programs, struggles persist when trying to establish new programs. During the early period of development, student protest was a major venue to draw attention to the need and desire for ethnic studies programs, sometimes with great cost to students. For example, in 1968, a group of African American students at CSU, Northridge seized the President's office and held the president and other administrators there until the president agreed to their demands: establish an African American studies department, recruit more African American students and faculty, and don't press charges against them (La Belle and Ward, 1996). After three hours, their demands were verbally met, but they were later arrested. Some students went to county jail, and some went to prison.

Protest remains a part of the process used to gain institutional acceptance of programs. In 1993 at UCLA, student pleas for a new Chicano studies department went unheeded by the administration so some students launched an unsuccessful hunger strike. In 1995/1996, students at Columbia University protested in the same way in response to its administration's denial for an ethnic studies department. In addition, students

conducted sit-ins for the establishment of an Asian-American studies program at the University of Texas, Austin, in 1999 and were later arrested (Altbach, Lomotey, and Rivers, 2002; Chang and Kiang, 2002; La Belle and Ward, 1996).

Some faculty members dedicated to addressing issues of inequality have been active in trying to secure a place in institutions for ethnic studies programs and departments. Despite possibly jeopardizing their career advancement by aligning themselves to a curricular area outside of the mainstream, some faculty members have worked within the institution to develop, promote, and expand ethnic studies programs.

The reasons for persistent contentiousness in ethnic studies are multi-faceted (Bengelsdorf, 1972; La Belle and Ward, 1996). Because of its political outlook, the academic integrity of ethnic studies has been questioned. Some academics from traditional disciplines question whether it has a sufficient knowledge base to form a discipline -- whether it can stand alone as an independent unit, should be interdisciplinary, or should be studied at all. Another issue is whether it should encourage the participation of all students or focus on inclusion of a particular ethnic group. Targeting a narrow audience as most ethnic studies programs and departments do is criticized as a “self-celebration and segregation that doesn’t broaden the horizons of students” (La Belle and Ward, 1996: 76). It also may contribute to divisiveness by advocating ethnocentrism similar to the effect of eurocentrism of some traditional studies. Some academics within ethnic studies express concern that scholarship is generally not presented or packaged in such a way as to be communicable to the general population groups in which it is interested. Though the discipline is politicized, the important

findings of research studies are not always offered for practical usage or application to the mainstream.

Curricula also presents challenges as differences and similarities are worked out between ethnic studies and other social movement fields and with traditional fields. The relationships among ethnic studies, women's studies, international and area studies, and multicultural studies overlap to some degree, and they all have something to contribute to each other, but opening and maintaining a dialog among these areas has been difficult. For example, it was not until late in its development that women's studies integrated ethnic studies perspectives with its own to identify the African American, Chicana or Asian-American woman's experience as distinct from the white, European woman's experience. Similarly, ethnic studies has been tentative about adopting the feminist perspective (Moses, 2000). At some institutions, some of these areas may bind together to more effectively compete for resources for their survival, but attaining an effective interactive study among them has been difficult to achieve.

University administration and funding continue to present challenges as well. Ethnic studies programs strive to gain faculty appointments and tenure to support maintenance and growth of programs and departments. They compete in an environment that is often critical of their aims resulting in serious shortages in financial support of ethnic studies. Both contributing to and as a result of the difficulty of securing a solid resource base, challenges to the stability of ethnic studies as a formal area of study persist. Ethnic studies programs have often had to rely on multiple sources of support, including from the campus, foundations, and private donations. As with women's

studies, the Ford Foundation was especially active in providing financial support during the early stages of development of ethnic studies in higher education, but numerous foundations and entities have contributed to the establishment ethnic studies programs and departments (Bengelsdorf, 1972).

An unresolved issue, identical to one in women's studies, is whether gaining departmental status should be the ultimate goal for ethnic studies. Achieving department status signifies acceptance by the broader academic community and promotes stability and institutionalization for the field. However, the normal academic review process for curricular change, promotion, tenure, and budget allocation may pull ethnic studies away from its original goals (La Belle and Ward, 1996). It could mean loss of autonomy and internal integrity among core participants and contradict the mission of strong advocacy of social change and community outreach.

Despite the difficulties that ethnic studies programs have faced, ethnic studies has established itself as an important part of higher education benefiting individual students, the academic community, and society. Personal knowledge and cross-cultural knowledge have been expanded as the fight against inequality in the United States is integrated within colleges and universities in part through the development of social movement fields. Though ethnic studies has not often enjoyed the early endorsement of university administrations, John A. Peoples, Jr., then-President of Jackson State College in Mississippi, recognized the important contribution of ethnic studies in 1972:

“All of these ethnic studies attempt to deal with important aspects of omissions which we have allowed to develop over the years, not only in

our educational system, but within the society as a whole. It would be a mistake, I think, to take any of these new studies lightly because they all reflect a need for the United States, as one nation, to recognize and understand its multi-ethnic character" (Bengelsdorf, 1972: 16)

This background information about women's and ethnic studies provides the context for analysis of the major factors related to their development. Though they clearly have similar histories, approaches to inquiry, and challenges, particularities of women's and ethnic studies warrant independent analyses of the extent to which different influences, especially enrollment growth and political activism, have impacted them during most of their formative years from 1975 to 2000.

CHAPTER 4: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT PROGRAMS AND DEPARTMENTS

The main research questions motivating this analysis of the development of identity fields, as introduced in chapter 1, are: Has the presence of identity programs and departments changed over the last quarter of the 20th century? Why did they arise at this time in higher education's long history? And, what are the key contributing factors in their development? The first question is purely empirical, but for the last two questions, two conceptual areas are being addressed – the framework for curricular change and the mechanisms for curricular change.

The framework establishes the external and internal conditions necessary for this type of curricular change to occur in higher education while the mechanisms are the tangible influences on change. Several proposals have been introduced to contribute to the issue of curricular change in higher education but not all are applicable to the development of identity programs and departments or can be tested by presently available data. These proposals suggest influential curricular change from institutional shifts (Frank, Schofer, and Torres, 1994; Gabler and Frank, 2005) economic forces (Geiger, 2004; Kirp, 2004; Slaughter, 2001; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997); institutional placement as socially embedded (Brint, 2005; Ramirez, 2006); and a drive for legitimacy (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1978). These perspectives overlap, and none offer a complete explanation for the emergence of identity curricula. The first two perspectives are limited in their usefulness, but the last two offer a framework of the

external and internal processes that led to the development of women's and ethnic studies.

The mechanisms of curricular change are framework manifestations, and their contribution to the growth of identity curricula is more directly testable. The salience of different mechanisms of change are elaborated through an organizational capacity argument and social movement theory. Recognizing that the introduction of identity curricula into higher education is better characterized as a bumpy road rather than a tranquil stream, conflict theory contributes to understanding the nature of its inclusion. Interspersed in the following discussion of this theoretical perspective for the development of identity programs, hypotheses are presented.

History of Curricular Change

The history of the development of other social science specialties is a good point of departure to discuss the development of social movement programs. The American Social Science Association (ASSA) (1865 – 1909) was a pioneering effort to institutionalize social inquiry (Haskell, 1977). It attempted to offer social science as a scientific basis for understanding and dealing with issues related to the increasing interdependence in society. It did not set out to establish new fields of inquiry but rather to extend the competency of the traditional professions (law, medicine, science, religion). It collapsed, but it unintentionally instigated the start of new social science disciplines. The ASSA failed to adequately address the complexities of interdependence, born of extensive 19th century social change such as changing modes of production and class

structure, growth of an urban yet fragmented community, invention of machines, and increased social mobility. The emergence of these social complexities and the initial response of the intellectual community laid the foundation for the creation of specialized social science inquiry.

A critical juncture occurred in the development of social science disciplines when investigation and activism were deemed incompatible and activism became marginalized (Haskell, 1977). This declared incompatibility became a rallying point for supporters of social movement specialties decades later; in these specialties, investigation and activism became a radical act. Johns Hopkins president during the early 20th century, Daniel Gilman, was instrumental in shaping new social science specialties, and he dismissed reform agitation declaring that only scientific investigation can be formalized (Haskell, 1977). He offered the university as an organizational framework to promote the professionalization of the social sciences. As the social sciences developed, a consensus emerged that disciplines could not be organized in extremely controversial fields. Given that women's and ethnic studies were considered to be controversial fields, their emergence and persistence belies the assumptions upon which social science specialties were initially founded. Social movement specialties are grounded in the contention that scientific inquiry and activism can coexist and controversial fields can become institutionalized.

In part, the parallel is strong between the development of social science and social movement specialties. Both emerged from dramatic social change – the industrialization of the mid-19th century and the Civil Rights era of the mid-20th century. Haskell (1977:

26) notes that “the causes of professionalization do not lie in the specific labors of those who first construct the profession, or in the energy, dedication, or strength of mind – indispensable as these qualities are. Rather, they are related to the changing conditions of the larger society that encourage professionalizing activity and enable it to succeed.” In agreement, I argue that deeply interested activists are necessary for the development of social movements fields, but are not sufficient for their development. Larger social conditions foster an environment for this type of curricular change.

The Framework for Curricular Change

The following discussion of macro level perspectives about the evolution of identity curricula is intended to enhance the meso-level analysis of mechanisms of change that follows. Though they cannot be empirically tested directly to assess their viability, hypotheses indirectly address these conceptual areas. Primarily, they offer a framework through which to contemplate this type of curricular change on campuses.

Institutional Shifts

Institutional shifts can be analyzed at two levels: global (Gabler and Frank, 2005) and societal (Frank, Schofer, Torres, 1994). Global-institutional shifts provide the frame under which broadly defined change occurs in higher education (Gabler and Frank, 2005). Global institutions are universal “facts” that are “authorized and legitimated definitions and assumptions, taken for granted in world cultural scripts and organizational rules” (Gabler and Frank, 2005: 184). Gabler and Frank (2005) argue that a global

institutional frame forms the university's foundation and shapes teaching and research. It establishes the conceptual "reality" under which higher education evolves as an institution. A shift from a narrative of divine creation to mundane evolution instigated a change in the main elements of the global-institutional ontology of action and structure. Essentially, "in the past, understanding human behavior meant understanding the mind of God; today, understanding human behavior means building statistical models" (Gabler and Frank, 2005: 191).

Global institutions inform institutionalized models of society. Institutionalized models of society, according to Frank, Schofer and Torres (1994), are the "institutional arrangements that define what society is, what it can do, and how it relates to other entities" (232). As a product of shifts in global institutions and critical events in society, institutional arrangements change and modify definitions of society. The Civil Rights era in the United States was a watershed period in which past taken-for-granted beliefs were shattered, and more inclusive and egalitarian models of society began to take their place. Under these models, the framework of equality has become prominent even though evidence of it across the institutions of society may not be widespread³.

Global and societal models tacitly inform academicians in higher education, who elicit from them what is meaningful to research and teach. Frank, Schofer, and Torres (1994), in their examination of campus catalog class listings for history departments in land grant universities, found a distinct pattern relating change in institutionalized conceptions of society with the subject matter in history courses. For example, teaching

³ Gabler and Frank (2005) note the appropriateness of applying Goffman's concepts to the study of institutions and organizations.

about the history of ethnic groups was overlooked by historians early in the century, but after the Civil Rights Movement, it became a common part of courses in history departments.

The emergence of identity curricula fits within the framework of change in global and societal institutions. This curricula actively promotes the empowerment of individuals and the flattening of hierarchies and can be considered a manifestation of the contemporary global frame. Women's and ethnic studies emerged under the necessary condition of a widespread force in society calling for gender and ethnic equality.

However, many layers lie between global institutional change and the emergence of new programs and departments. It is a grand narrative that is not testable. In addition, questions arise over its legitimacy as an accurate characterization of change in higher education. For example, other global institutional shifts have occurred throughout history – did change in higher education reflect these shifts as well (Brint, personal communication; Hanneman, personal communication)? Its argument is consistent with proposals of social embeddedness but is more esoteric, thus it has less explanatory power compared to other proposals.

Economic Perspective

The swing of higher education toward a “market logic” is a common account given for curricular change. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) identify academic capitalism as a strong trend throughout higher education in which faculty and others associated with the university display a market mentality in their approach to academia. Though initially

theorized for science and technology fields, she expands the concept to include a general array of organizational entities in the university (Slaughter, 2001). Under academic capitalism, students and departments are framed by a market discourse. Students are treated as market actors, and departments and interdisciplinary programs are subject to initiation, expansion, reduction, or closure based on the power of supply and demand.

Geiger (2004) and Kirp (2004) identify “market forces” as a dominant motivator for change in academia. Wealthier colleges and universities have a competitive advantage over other institutions through their ability to afford higher caliber students and faculty, upgrading facilities and research centers, and other positive changes. As a result of “intensified competitive pressures” (Kirp, 2004), disparities among colleges and universities are becoming greater. This market mentality is dominating throughout higher education, including the development of knowledge; higher levels of research funding for the sciences protects them while the humanities are more at risk from less stable funding.

However, the concepts of academic capitalism and market forces do not fit as explanations for the growth of identity fields. Groups of students demanded women’s and ethnic studies programs, sometimes using protest and even violence, yet programs still may not have materialized, according to past literature. In addition, a centerpiece of Slaughter’s argument is that decreased state resources triggered academic capitalism, hence during retrenchment, colleges and universities were forced to change in response to shrinking budgets (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). Programs and departments with low enrollment that were intellectually stagnant were at risk of

closure and plans to create new academic units were shelved (Slaughter, 1993; Zusman, 1999). Departments of history, for example, were at risk of reduction or closure at some campuses (Parelius and Berlin, 1984). Women's and ethnic studies often have relatively low enrollment on campuses, and they have garnered a great deal of criticism over their academic integrity, yet they appear to be less at risk for closing than other fields. Based on anecdotal data, the persistence of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments seem to be independent of available institutional funding. These types of programs and departments appear to provide a legitimacy for the campus beyond the boundaries of their disciplines, perhaps shielding them from academic capitalism and market forces.

Another economic-related explanation for curricular change posits that it may occur due to the process of cornering a niche market (Brint 1991, Olzac and Kangas, forthcoming). This explanation is sometimes offered for the move toward professionalization (Brint, 1991). By specializing in professional studies, a college can capitalize on focusing on a targeted student population. Resources and image management can be dedicated to a small and specific area in which they can claim expertise, attracting a strong segment of the student clientele. Olzac and Kangas (forthcoming) use this reasoning to explain the rise in women's and ethnic studies in higher education. They argue that some universities have developed a niche market in these areas.

In contrast, I argue that the presence of women's and ethnic studies demonstrates widespread adoption of social movements curricula across higher education, signifying

institutional movement toward more democratic ideals. Rather than envisioning women's and ethnic studies as "specialty topics," I propose they are beacons of an underlying trend in higher education away from exclusivity and disinterested research and toward equal participation and research for social benefit. Hypothesis 11 and 12, my final hypotheses presented after a discussion of meso-level factors of influence, will assert that identity programs and departments have been adopted widely across institutional types over time.

Socially Embedded

An argument of an institutional orientation toward a market perspective signifies the interrelation of higher education and the economy. A perspective that focuses on higher education as a socially embedded institution is much broader than the market-driven ideology, recognizing the permeating connections across the institutions of society (Brint, 2005; Ramirez, 2006).

Colleges and universities are responsive to both economic and social change and respond in part through "interdisciplinary creativity" (Brint, 2005). While the global economy is important in creating new curricular endeavors oriented toward the commercial market in the sciences, the ethos of democratization influences the humanities and social sciences. Curricula that focus on issues of race, class, gender, and social problems promote higher education as a social good while at the same time the sciences propel it as a player in economic competitiveness. "New directions" in the

humanities and social sciences have emerged as a result of influences from the popular culture industries and student demographic change (Brint, 2005).

One way in which to frame this vision of higher education as an interconnected institution is through the concept of an institutional logic. “The concept of institutional logic, drawn from neo-institutional theory, provides a powerful lens for us to conceptualize how such beliefs and values are anchored in the wider environment and enacted locally within organizations to obtain legitimacy” (Gumpert, 2002: 52). As a socially embedded institution, higher education has shifted from being socially buffered with restricted attendance and canonical study (Ramirez, 2006). “Universities are increasingly influenced by a common logic of mass higher education suggesting they become broadly inclusive, socially useful, and flexible organizations” (Ramirez, 2006: 226). This logic has coalesced into a vision of the idealized university of the 21st century (Ramirez, 2006).

The core elements of a 21st century university are broad accessibility, social usefulness, and organizational flexibility (Ramirez, 2006). Universities that promote these characteristics increase their legitimacy through their alignment with the ideals of progress and social justice. Demonstrating them is difficult, so universities must advertise their commitment through organizational displays such as outreach programs, club sponsorships, and curricular change (Meyer and Rowan, 1978). As an organizational shift, the presence of women’s and ethnic studies programs and departments on campuses helps legitimate universities as 21st century institutions. This,

in turn, helps to protect women's and ethnic studies from reduction or elimination after their initiation.

Legitimacy

Attaining legitimacy is critical to organizational survival, especially in a highly institutionalized environment. Higher education is highly institutionalized, and in order to preserve legitimacy in the face of change, colleges and universities need to maintain the appearance of conformity and rationality (Meyer and Rowan, 1978). Conformity is symbolic – the ideals of inclusiveness and social justice are not measurable so universities must make organizational displays in response to changes to maintain legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan, 1978; Ramirez, 2006). In addition, “organizations are driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized in society” (Meyer and Rowan, 1978: 340). Rationality dictates that organizations within the institution of higher education conform to the prevailing environment of progress and social justice to preserve institutional health. Though colleges and universities are stratified into a classification system and are subject to status hierarchies, there is a widespread logic to which the overall institution conforms. To maintain legitimacy, universities are influenced by isomorphic tendencies (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) to become more like universities that have more effectively demonstrated commitment to this logic than themselves. Adopting women's and ethnic studies is one tool to demonstrate that commitment.

Summary of Theoretical Frames

The strongest theoretical contributions of past proposals about curricular change to the development of identity curricula emerge from realizing higher education as a socially embedded institution subject to pressures of legitimacy. As higher education matures as a mass institution, the entities on campuses that are directly related to the new frame should expand. Evidence of this theoretical framework is the growth of social movement programs and departments over time. This spread across higher education is the subject of the first hypothesis. The second hypothesis differentiates the two organizational structures, programs and departments. As discussed in the first chapter, the growing presence of both structures suggests institutionalization for identity fields. The second hypothesis explores these growth patterns.

Hypothesis 1: Women's and ethnic studies programs and departments have experienced continuous growth since 1975.

Hypothesis 2: The dominant paths of development are for women's and ethnic studies to start as programs and persist or to start as programs and become departments.

African American Studies: African American studies warrants a separate analysis of growth patterns. The development of African American studies is distinctive for three reasons. First, it was the first social movement field to become established in academia. Second, it was used as a model for those that followed. And third, past literature suggests that it has been in a state of stagnation or decline for the last couple of decades in contrast to identity programs overall. Theory would not suggest different growth patterns across different types of identity curricula. However, African American students continue to

have stagnant enrollment figures since the mid-1970s while other non-traditional groups have grown at a faster pace (Teddle and Freeman, 2002). Though the presence of African American studies also represents inclusiveness, the small student population and past findings suggest that their growth pattern may be different. The third hypothesis reflects a slow growth pattern for African American studies.

Hypothesis 3: African American studies has experienced a curvilinear developmental pattern from 1975 to 2000, initially increasing and then decreasing in the number of programs and departments.

Conflict Perspective

There is a disconnect between the theoretical frames and anecdotal literature about women's and ethnic studies. The first argues that the rise of identity curricula in higher education ought to occur because it is a product of larger global and societal institutional shifts to democratic ideals, and it is evidence of higher education as a socially embedded institution and its commitment to the higher education ideals of the 21st century. This has transpired – women's and ethnic studies have greatly expanded from the 1970s to today. However, the transition of integrating identity curricula into higher education has not emerged as one might expect for a replicate manifestation of these frames. Rather, anecdotal literature reports a tumultuous process. Conflict theory supports an explanation of intense competition as women's and ethnic studies emerged.

The framework that aligns higher education institutions with commitment to social embeddedness is present. For example, mission statements encapsulate institutional identity, succinctly expressing the core values of a university, and these statements

routinely express respect for diversity and inclusiveness. For example, a statement from the UCLA chancellor, Albert Carnesale, affirms that, “Diversity -- including racial, ethnic, economic, social and geographic -- remains a core institutional value for UCLA and is particularly crucial to the success of this institution for a variety of reasons” (UCLA website: <http://www.gdnet.ucla.edu/gasaa/admissions/diversity.htm>, 8/15/06).

The University of Texas at Austin states that its “core purpose” is “to transform lives for the benefit of society” (University of Texas at Austin website: <http://www.utexas.edu/welcome/compact/>, 8/15/06). In addition, Columbia University declares in their mission statement that:

“Columbia is dedicated to increasing diversity in its workforce, its student body, and its educational programs.. Both to prepare our students for citizenship in a pluralistic world and to keep Columbia at the forefront of knowledge, the University seeks to recognize and draw upon the talents of a diverse range of outstanding faculty, staff, and students and to foster the free exploration and expression of differing ideas, beliefs, and perspectives through scholarly inquiry and civil discourse. In developing its academic programs, Columbia furthers the thoughtful examination of cultural distinctions by developing curricula that prepare students to be responsible members of diverse societies.” (Columbia University website: http://www.columbia.edu/cu/vpdi/diversity_mission_statement.html, 8/15/06)

In keeping with these statements, many structures exist to encourage the enrollment and persistence of non-traditional students such as the Upward Bound program and freshman summer programs to acclimate new students to university life. For example, Georgia Tech has a week-long program for female students to increase their interest and confidence level in their studies at this institution.

However, the statements of devotion to equality quoted above are from the same schools whose administrations were particularly resistant to the start of ethnic studies programs relatively recently (during the 1990s), as identified in chapter 3. A misalignment between rhetoric and action is present surrounding the issue of adopting identity curricula. Advocates of women's and ethnic studies often have had to be resolute to create programs or departments. Detractors have been many, and have often been at the top of the higher education hierarchy. Institutions advertise a strong culture of inclusiveness and accessibility but attempt to deny a curricula that some non-traditional students demand and can benefit from. This statement cannot be empirically tested with presently available data, but it is apparent based on the lack of connection between anecdotal information and theoretical expectations.

If the presence of women's and ethnic studies is a sign of university commitment to institutional ideals of progress and justice and a demonstration of legitimacy, why is their scholarship commonly criticized and their formalization into the organizational structure routinely resisted? Possible explanations include inertia, the cost of formalization, the tension between scholarship and activism, and competing group interests.

Inertia may be one explanation for the challenge of identity curricula to integrate into higher education. It is organizationally easier to maintain current curricular structures rather than create new ones. In addition, cost may be a factor in the decision to deny the establishment of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments. Adopting new programs and especially new departments requires financial, personnel, and physical

space requirements, which can be a challenge for institutions to meet. Institutions may prefer to express their dedication to the 21st century logic using less costly means, so they resist the initiation of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments despite their positive association with the master frame.

These accounts of inertia and cost are not sufficient. An army of supporters for women's and ethnic studies have been active advocates for and crafters of change, countering arguments of inertia. Also, during the same period since the 1970s, numerous other fields have evolved and have been formed into programs or departments, especially in the sciences and engineering. Some fields appear to have been more easily incorporated into the programmatic and departmental structure of campuses than others given the same resources.

Identity fields and new science and engineering fields are all representations of embeddedness (Ramirez, 2006). Fields such as women's and ethnic studies are strongly tied to social causes and issues. Fields such as computer science and biochemistry are strongly tied to the economy through their preparation of students for the workforce and their ties with industry and technological development. The latter is a high status tie, thus they reap more collective benefit for institutions than the former. In a capitalist society where progress is defined as technological advancement and financial wealth, the economy presents the dominant opportunity for progress, not social awareness, so accordingly, associated academic fields benefit or suffer.

In addition, one could argue that the sharp rise in new science and technology specialties is a result of and in support of the triumvirate university-industry-government

power structure the elites in these institutions. University-industry partnerships have grown tremendously during the last several decades, and previous to that, the federal government financially supported and relied heavily on university scientific research for military applications (Geiger, 1993). These relationships foster development of fields to bring about profit and power. They do not (as social movement fields would have it) encourage pursuit of socially responsible scientific knowledge such as finding solutions for safe water and food supplies or childhood disease eradication for people in developing countries.

These contrasting developmental patterns highlight the contentious nature of the women's and ethnic studies path. A student protest for the initiation of a microbiology or nanotechnology department on a campus is unheard of.

The tension between dual goals of activism and scholarly research is another possible source of contention over the integration of identity curricula into higher education. Activism promotes an ideologically-driven pursuit of solutions to problems in contrast to disinterested scholarly research. This apparent dichotomy presents a challenge to the scholars that wish to incorporate them and a source of argument for more traditionally-minded scholars.

Based on conflict theory, curricular change occurs as a result of social groups competing over power, status, and resources. Using conflict theory as a guide, I would expect that women's and ethnic studies to follow a tumultuous path of development because of competing groups that are ideologically invested in their success or failure and competing institutional priorities.

Extrapolating from Barrow (1990), who investigated the impact on class formation from the melding of the corporate ideal into higher education within the context of our American political democracy, curricular change may occur from elite directed reinforcement of current institutional arrangements and the social hierarchy. Change occurs to strengthen support of the status quo. The evolution of social science specialties and the contemporary growth of new scientific and professional specialties fit this analysis.

Women's and ethnic studies, on the other hand, do not rely on elite sponsorship but rather on grass-roots type of organizing to attain their current level of development. Supporters of these fields compete against the ivory tower ethic and inertia. They represent a changing ideology that threatens tradition and elitism, two pillars with which higher education has long been associated; they represent the blending of activism and scholarly research; they represent the conflict outside the academy brought by the Civil Rights Movement; and they represent the loss of institutional exclusivity of the academy. Thus, their presence polarizes groups within and outside higher education on the basis of ideology – whether this evolution is welcomed, feared or attacked. They are a lightning rod for the changing logic of higher education.

Gross and Simmons (2006) suggest the disunity of the professoriate in their study about the level of American confidence in academia's neutral professionalism. The American public perceives political/ideological leanings in the academy; especially the politically conservative, religious right accuse the professoriate of liberal bias. Indeed, Ladd and Lipset (1975), in their studies tracking the political leanings of faculty, have

identified competing groups within the academy across time. The academy, though canonized as neutral pillars of society, is not immune to ideological sway, setting the stage for competing groups in higher education. These groups are ideologically driven on the issue of change to a new institutional logic, ensuring that those things that are associated with that logic will not gracefully be institutionalized.

Notably, change that requires modification to core elements of higher education rather than peripheral structures will receive intense pressure against institutionalization. Identity studies require organizational space to house new programs and departments and institutional acceptance as a valid curricular field. More is at stake on the organizational and institutional level by institutionalizing women's and ethnic studies compared to the addition of a peripheral structure such as a mandate to encourage the application of women and minorities. Both are strong signals of the 21st century logic, but the former is more foundational; thus it has been greatly polarizing, resulting in a conflict ridden path of development despite, or perhaps because of, alignment with broad ideological shifts.

Mechanisms for Curricular Change

A move toward social embeddedness helps to create an environment conducive for identity curricula. Conflict theory adds embellishment to realize the process as arduous. However, another level of analysis is needed for an explanation of the persistence of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments at individual campuses. To better understand the persistence of programs and departments on campuses, a more meso-level explanation works better. A combination of an

organizational capacity argument and social movement theory is effective at illuminating this part of the development of women's and ethnic studies.

Two major mechanisms for change that introduced identity curricula into academia were massification and student protest. Demographic change through massification is an argument of organizational capacity for these types of programs and departments to arise; a critical mass of certain types of students is required for their support. A proposal highlighting the influence from student protest argues that broad social movements instigated campus movements which in turn produced spin-off movements. These movements supported student protest for curricular change. Both massification and student protest directly shaped the character of this type of curricular change – inclusive, innovative, and questioning.

Women's and Ethnic Studies Development due to Institutional Capacity

An argument of institutional capacity draws from a resource perspective. An organization requires sufficient resources to meet its goals. Resources include campus size, funding, and reputation, which are organizational necessities for persistence and growth. Overall size of institutions is proposed to positively influence the development of women's and ethnic studies as a measure of an institution's overall capacity to include more programs and departments in their organization. Number of enrolled students is a strong indicator of size; more students require a larger institution. With more students, institutions both have the ability and the need to provide more programs and departments.

A general capacity to maintain more curricular units should likewise support an improved capability to promote social movement programs and departments as well.

Closely related to the importance of overall institutional size is the centrality of size of the non-traditional student body. As a result of the massification of higher education in which enrollment increased sharply for all demographic types of students, the student populations that women's and ethnic studies primarily serve increased, thereby providing a group of potential supporters (Stimpson, 1986). This source of capacity and demand is suggested as another key indicator for the presence of social movement curricula. Non-traditional students are not all interested in identity curricula, but identity curricula are primarily supported by non-traditional students. As the proportion of non-traditional students increases, their interests and demands receive more attention, increasing the likelihood of the establishment of women's and ethnic studies. The fourth hypothesis concerns these measures of capacity.

Hypothesis 4: The presence of women's, ethnic and African American studies programs and departments are associated with larger total enrollment on a campus and increased prominence of non-traditional students.

Other forms of capacity, funding and reputation, are proposed to have little or no effect on the presence of programs and departments based on the histories of women's and ethnic studies programs (see chapter 3). Generally, campus administrators did not supply funding for development of programs without a coordinated effort by people deeply interested in these programs. Also, in times of retrenchment, some small

programs and departments were cut back or eliminated at institutions (Gumpert, 1993), but not social movement programs despite their small size.

Selectivity is also expected to be weak. On the one hand, more selective institutions tend to have more liberal faculty (Ladd and Lipset, 1975), some of whom may take an interest in introducing curricula arising from social movements, and they may approach women's and ethnic studies as a cutting edge field fitting for high status institutions. On the other hand, faculty members tend to be conservative regarding internal university affairs such as curricular change (Ladd and Lipset, 1975). In addition, more selective institutions may use their status as a shield, insulating themselves from curricular change (Kraatz and Zajac, 1996; Kraatz and Zajac, 2001).

Historical accounts note many instances in which institutions resisted the establishment of women's studies, but evidence is lacking to suggest that this behavior varied by selectivity or the amount of available institutional funds. As expressed in the earlier discussion of the possible but unlikely applicability of Slaughter's concept of academic capitalism on the growth of identity curricula, these forms of resources are proposed to be unimportant. Its politicized nature, involvement of socially engaged people, and adherence to the 21st century university logic may have provided a measure of security against forces of financial wealth and institutional reputation. The fifth hypothesis roughly tests the concept of academic capitalism by assessing the influence from a changing budget on the development of programs and departments. The sixth and seventh hypotheses regard the overall influence of size of budget and selectivity as measures of reputation.

Hypothesis 5: The presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments are not associated with change in college and university budget.

Hypothesis 6: The presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments are not associated with level of financial resources.

Hypothesis 7: The presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments are not associated with selectivity.

Women's and Ethnic Studies Development Characterized as a Social Movement

The second argument concerning student protest and ties to social movements will be elaborated and applied to the development of women's and ethnic studies. I use social movement theory to frame this part of the analysis.

Social Movement Theory

The drive to establish and expand women's and ethnic studies in higher education, often a controversial proposition, can be conceived as a movement, and its proponents as movement activists. Because of women's and ethnic studies' early association with the highly charged atmosphere of the broader fight for women's and minority rights, advocates and detractors both internal and external to the university have been ardent in their positions. Hence, acquiring official recognition and acceptance in the academic community have often been difficult for supporters. The result has been a tortuous path for women's and ethnic studies development. Social movement theory, through its attention to the environment in which movements arise and the organization

of movements, is a second suggestive way in which to understand this antagonistic process of development.

A social movement is “a set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for changing some elements of the societal structure or reward distribution, or both, in a society” (McCarthy and Zald, 1990: 20). An alternative, broader, definition of social movements is that it is “a purposive and collective attempt of a number of people to change individuals or societal institutions and structures” (Zald and Garner, 1990: 123). Social movement theory focuses on understanding an aggrieved population and its group struggle in a society, however it is inherently applicable to the study of struggle in organizations as well (Zald and Berger, 1990). Zald and Berger (1990) utilize analogical theorizing, in which “concepts and images used for describing and understanding one set of phenomena are counterparts of aspects of some other phenomena,” in order to argue that social movements occur within organizations, and social movement theory is applicable to these events (187). They posit that social movement theory can increase understanding of conflict in organizations if the conflict takes place outside of regular channels. They draw a parallel between this and using social movement theory for the study of state conflict which occurs outside of institutional channels. Social movements in organizations can affect organizational priorities, control of organizational resources, and organizational growth. Social movements in organizations can reflect larger societal trends or the political context.

Social movement theory has several variations utilizing different though often complementary perspectives. Core assumptions are shared among the perspectives.

They assume that social movements are structured and patterned so they can be analyzed in terms of organizational dynamics, they are normal, rational and institutionally rooted, and they are embedded in larger structures (Buechler, 2000; McAdam, 1995). However, the key motivator for social movements varies among perspectives including deprivation, resource control, and political opportunity.

McCarthy and Zald introduced a turning point in 1973 in social movement theory when they proposed a shift in attention from a deprivation perspective in which a group's disadvantaged status is the key motivation for a movement to a more economic and organizational perspective in which access and control over resources are the key. In their resource mobilization theory, the viability of social movement organizations (SMO), which are units in social movement industries (SMI), can be evaluated in terms of a cost-benefit analysis of the recruitment, motivation, and participation of adherents and constituents and of the level of overall involvement of an SMO in a social movement (Buechler, 2000; McCarthy and Zald, 1990). In order for social movements to occur, they must have at least a minimal form of organization, an aggregation of resources both in terms of money and people, and ties to outside individual and organizational supporters.

McAdam, drawing from Tilly, Lipsky, Eisenger, Tarrow, and others, proposed a political version of the theory in 1982 in which political opportunities are central to the initiation of social movements, rather than availability and utilization of resources. Political opportunities are “changes in either the institutional features of informal political alignments of a given political system that significantly reduce the power

disparity between a given challenging group and the state” (McAdam, 1995: 224). He adheres to the main assumptions of resource mobilization theory; however, he argues that a change in the polity makes the utilization of resources for coordinated action possible.

Additionally, McAdam proposes a separate analysis for movements that evolve out of larger social causes, and it is this area of social movement theory that offers the greatest contribution to understanding the development of women’s and ethnic studies. I will draw primarily on McAdam’s political opportunity theory and its derivative, which focuses on spin-off movements, to explore the context in which these programs and departments have risen and the importance of their ties to that context through student activism. Characterizing the calls for women’s and ethnic studies programs and departments as spin-off movements deeply intertwines them with larger movements, so conceptualizing this relationship becomes an important part of understanding their development. It allows me to address the question: to what extent does student activism impact the development of women’s and ethnic studies programs and departments?

Elaboration of Social Movement and Spin-off Movement Perspectives

The social movement and spin-off movement perspectives are discussed below, and their application to the development of social movement fields appears in the following two sections. McAdam proposes a model with which to analyze pioneering social movements as well as to assess its applicability to and special circumstances of social movements that branch out of pioneering social movements. McAdam (1995) builds a three-part model from which to view social movements (further developed in

partnership with McCarthy and Zald (1996)). He emphasizes the importance of political opportunity for initiating a movement but also identifies the importance of movement organization and framing processes for movement persistence.

For a movement to arise, political opportunity is instrumental, and the timing and fate of a movement is also dependent on the “opportunities afforded insurgents by shifting institutional structure and ideological disposition of those in power” (McAdam, 1996: 23). Also, long-term effectiveness of a movement requires some level of organization through which to operate. Minimal informal infrastructure is necessary to initiate a movement, but eventually it must transform into a more formal organization that speaks for and defines the movement, dictates its course, and shapes its outcomes in order to expand and be successful (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). McAdam draws largely on McCarthy and Zald to recognize that a movement often houses itself within or is an auxiliary of an organization intended for other purposes. A particular organizational setting may be co-opted -- or, more likely, be expanded -- to fit the needs of the movement, which makes the movement less costly in terms of human and material resources and provides a network of solid relationships (Friedman and McAdam, 1992; McCarthy, 1990). For example, both Civil Rights groups and pro-life groups used the infrastructure and network of churches to further their causes (Gamson, 1990; McCarthy, 1990). Rarely do movements develop a new organizational structure to meet its needs. Thus, the form and level of informal and formal organization available to a movement affects its trajectory (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996).

Group consciousness develops through a framing process in which an issue is perceived and defined as illegitimate and is thus subject to change through group action (McAdam, 1995). The framing process involves strategically producing and/or interpreting relevant events in order to mobilize, including creating “specific metaphors, symbolic representations, and cognitive cues used to render or cast behavior and events in an evaluative mode and to suggest alternative modes of action” (Zald, 1996: 262). This process is important during both the emergent and growth stages of a movement to instigate interest and maintain dedication of constituents and adherents (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). Framing contests arise if movement leaders disagree on the best way to present the conflict, movement adversaries try to de-legitimize the movement by developing an alternate frame, or as the mass media transmits and interprets the frames (McCarthy, 1996; Zald, 1996).

The concepts of political opportunity, level of organization, and framing offers a broad guide for the study of social movements. More centrally important to the development of women’s and ethnic studies is McAdam’s elaboration of spin-off movements (McAdam, 1995; McAdam, 1996). Spin-off movements draw their momentum and inspiration from a precursor movement -- an initiator movement. Movements that follow close on the heels of the initiator movement and contribute to inventive tactics are termed “early risers” and share much of the same characteristics of initiator movements. Initiator movements are “not so much willed into being through effective mobilization as they are born of broad demographic, economic, and political changes that destabilize existing power relations and grant insurgents increased leverage

with which to press their claims” (McAdam, 1995: 221). In contrast, spin-off movements adopt a subset of innovations made available by the initiator and early risers. They are “creative adapters and interpreters of the cultural ‘lessons’ of the early risers” (McAdam, 1995: 229).

McAdam focused on the ways in which spin-off movements arose from initiator and early riser movements. Through diffusion, spin-off movements learn the ideas and tactics from associated earlier movements which may be effective in pushing their causes forward. Two elements are crucial if a diffusion process is to succeed: the presence of network ties and attribution of similarity. Network ties include both internal linkages with members and constituents of the movement and linkages to people and organizations outside the group. Dense internal ties and extensive external ties promote the learning process and contribute to overall success of the movement. Thus, the likelihood and timing of movement activities are influenced by ties that link initiators with spin-offs. Through the attribution of similarity, members of a spin-off movement identify themselves with those involved in early riser movements. They define both the surrounding situation and their group as essentially the same as that which came before, producing the critical condition of relevancy of the actions and ideas of the earlier movements. As a result of attribution of similarity, lessons learned through network ties can be readily adopted and adapted by spin-off movements.

When examining spin-off movements, the diffusion process trumps the three-part model of social movements in analysis. The three-part model of political opportunity, level of organization, and framing processes was developed with large initiator

movements in mind, as were virtually all social movement theories, but its applicability to spin-off movements is limited (McAdam, 1995). Though central to initiator movements, political opportunity is the least applicable to spin-off movements. The advantage has already been capitalized on by the earlier, broader movements, which have opened the door for other movements. Instead, the effectiveness of the diffusion process from early risers to spin-offs becomes centrally important for their success. Indeed, some spin-off movements actually arise during a time of no political change or a return to conditions of political constraint. For example, the gay rights movement, a descendent of the Civil Rights Movement, arose several years later during the more conservative Nixon administration (McAdam, 1995).

Developing and maintaining an organization to house a social movement is important to any movement regardless of its type. However, the cost of organizing and building an infrastructure is less for a spin-off movement (McAdam, 1995). Spin-off movements benefit from the organizational context already developed and in place by early risers. A great deal of the diffusion process involves adapting early riser organization and organizational tactics to their needs.

As with organizational development, the framing process is also less complex for spin-off movements (McAdam, 1995). Early risers develop the master frame, the way in which the broader conflict is to be perceived and acted upon. Given the presence of the attribution of similarity, spin-off movements work within the given framework to develop their own group consciousness and bag of tactics appropriate for their specific conflict.

The diffusion of frames is an important contribution of initiator and early riser movements to spin-off movements.

In the following sections, the concepts of the spin-off perspective will be applied to the development of social movement programs and departments including an explication of its associated initiator and earlier riser movements.

Civil Rights Movement as an Initiator Movement

The motivation for establishing women's and ethnic studies programs and departments at universities is linked to the student movement of the 1960s, which is linked to the American Civil Rights Movement. The Civil Rights Movement, from the 1950s through the 1960s, centered around the fight for equal rights for African Americans. Despite deeply ingrained cultural values of equality and freedom of all people, most non-white Americans lived an existence of severe daily discrimination at all levels of society. This contradiction became more apparent as the US government acknowledged inequity in education based on race and entered into international efforts to dismantle colonialism and spread American-style democracy, yet practiced, condoned, or ignored discriminatory practices based on race in the United States (McAdam, 1996; Zald, 1996). “Political and mobilization opportunities are often created by cultural breaks and the surfacing of long dormant contradictions that reframe grievances and injustices and the possibilities of action” (Zald, 1996: 268). After the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954 to desegregate public schools, groups mobilized to demand equality for African Americans in all areas of American society. A

political opportunity arose as an official recognition was made that “separate” does not imply “equal” in the education of children and that children should be educated together regardless of race. In addition, a cultural opportunity presented itself as the contradiction between American cultural values and societal practices became blatant and reprehensible to a larger number of people.

Mobilizing efforts took many forms during the Civil Rights Movement. Besides direct appeals to the polity using legitimate channels to voice dissent (which falls outside the definition of social movements), tactics ranged from disruptive methods of protest such as sit-ins and organized marches to radical protest such as rioting and arson. Aggressive tactics both raise consciousness of the goals of the movement and provide a negative inducement to bargain for gains by disrupting public order (McAdam, McCarthy, Zald, 1996). Though their numbers are generally small, radical protesters (those more likely to engage in more violent forms of protest) benefit a movement by strengthening the position and legitimacy of the mainstream movement group. In order to undercut extremists, potential constituents and adversaries may be more willing to bargain with the mainstream group, thus moving closer to movement goals (McAdam, McCarthy, Zald, 1996). Both groups played a part in producing many successful outcomes for the Civil Rights Movement.

The Student Movement as an Early Riser Movement

As a result of the effective mobilization for the Civil Rights Movement, other movements such as the student movement, women’s movement, and other ethnic

centered movements such as the Chicano and Native American Movements arose or were reinvigorated (McAdam, 1995). Together, these formed a strong basis from which the movement for the establishment of women's and ethnic studies on campuses could arise. The student movement, as a wide-spread phenomenon affecting American colleges and universities and a direct descendent of the Civil Rights Movement, is an especially powerful precursor to the establishment of social movement curricula.

The Civil Rights and student movements were connected both substantively and through the method of protest. The pivotal example of the same cause attended to in both movements is the fight for social equality for African Americans, which centered the Civil Rights Movement and spread onto college campuses. College campuses were sometimes used as hubs for organizing Civil Rights activities such as sit-ins or voter registration campaigns and were the site of demands for greater equality for African Americans in higher education. In addition, tactics that were originated or refined by Civil Rights activists were borrowed by student movement activists to address campus grievances. In fact, student movement activists were sometimes directly involved in Civil Rights activities, linking the student movement as a part of the larger social cause of the Civil Rights Movement.

The student movement was involved in many types of grievances and gave rise to many types of student groups targeting both institutional problems and larger social issues (Braungart, 1979; Geiger, 1999; Lipset, 1971; Peterson, 1969). Groups of students mobilized over African American inequality, impersonal services, a research driven campus culture, and policies encouraging military and industrial ties with higher

education. They demanded free speech on campus, more involvement with university governance, the elimination of war-sponsored research, withdrawal from Vietnam, the end of foreign colonialism, and an end to discrimination. Though these broad types of demands easily crossed individual campus boundaries and were prominent and notorious, campus-specific issues were numerous and involved a larger cross section of students (Peterson, 1969). For example, during the 1964/65 academic year, there were more protests about such grievances as dorm regulations and campus food service than against the Vietnam War (Peterson, 1969).

Some protests at universities were particularly galvanizing for the student movement (Braungart, 1979; Geiger, 1999; Peterson, 1969). The Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley beginning in 1964/65 was a dramatic display for the student movement. It called for a revision of university policy to allow for freedom of student political groups to speak and used mass civil disobedience to further its causes. It received national attention, and virtually all factions of higher education became involved either in support or in opposition to it. In 1968 at Columbia, a student group protested against CIA ties with the university and the building of a new structure on campus, and they sought to protect students' right to protest. With the intention of bringing attention to their cause and to radicalize students, the group occupied four buildings on campus and halted instruction. At Stanford and Catholic University of America, alleged arson took place at ROTC buildings over dissent against university ties with the military. Other universities with particularly active student movement protest during this time period

include San Francisco State, Southern Illinois, Howard, Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin, Duke, Connecticut, and Fordham.

Numerous student groups have been involved with the student movement (Braungart, 1979; Geiger, 1999; Peterson, 1969). The largest mainstream groups are the Young Democrats and the Young Republicans, which are in support of the larger Democrat and Republican parties. The first group was in support of and the second group was opposed to the student movement. Their memberships are large but not necessarily active in group causes. Other groups supported members who were active in their demands for social and campus change and looked to the Civil Rights Movement for inspiration.

During the height of the student movement, the largest active left-wing group was Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Established in 1960, it was called the New Left to signify its socialist orientation but rejection of the communist leanings of the Old Left. They called attention to inherent inequalities of “The Establishment” (the coalition of universities, government, military and big business) and demanded radical reform and democratization of the university system, participatory democracy in the U.S., end of American involvement in Vietnam, and Civil Rights for all people. They were organized into a loose federation of campus chapters, and their methods of protest included information campaigns, demonstrations, marches, and strikes.

The largest active conservative organization was the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), also founded in 1960 largely in response to the demands of the SDS. This group was aligned with the politics of Goldwater and Reagan and had the strongest

financial support of all student groups. They advocated a pure corporate capitalism and laissez faire economy and believed in victory over conciliation in international affairs. Their activities included rallying in support of military victories and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and demonstrating against the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and U.S. companies doing business with communist regions.

Major student groups that were directly involved in African American Civil Rights and campus rights were the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), and ethnically based student organizations such as African American Student Association. The latter two are more directly related to change in curriculum and will be discussed in the next section. In 1942, CORE was established by students at the University of Chicago to coordinate protest activities against all forms of discrimination of African Americans (Congress of Racial Equality, 2006). This organization began with interracial leadership and membership and adhered to peaceful resistance following the example of Gandhi, but over time leadership and membership became more exclusively African American, especially as the movement spread to southern schools, and became more militant. CORE supported sit-ins, freedom rides, and picketing as major forms of protest by its members, especially against segregation in public places.

The SNCC was founded in 1960 at Shaw University in North Carolina with similar aims as CORE (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 2006). Started as a non-violent movement to contrast against the violent behavior perpetuated against blacks by white racists, SNCC leaders adopted the more militant Black Power philosophy

during the mid-1960s as their guiding philosophy. Members conducted awareness campaigns, coordinated sit-ins, and supported community activism such as encouraging the registration to vote.

The CORE and SNCC and other groups like them, though primarily focused on social issues, were initiated by college students who used the organization of higher education for their initiation and growth. The movement spread as SNCC and CORE chapters opened in colleges and universities across the United States, which provided potential membership through recruitment of interested students, some level of financial resources, and an organizational framework to provide structure. The SNCC, CORE and others were important bridges among the Civil Rights Movement, the student movement and spin-off movements. The same philosophies and tactics that were used in the Civil Rights Movement were used in the student movement and the movement to establish women's and ethnic studies as legitimate fields.

Women's and Ethnic Studies Development as Spin-off Movements

Out of the student movement, a spin-off movement arose centered on curricular change. Some students argued that the current curricula of that time period were “insignificant, unreal, trivial” (Braungart, 1979: 33), demanding instead a curricula that addressed pressing issues in society (Braungart, 1979; Geiger, 1999). Sentiments against racism coalesced into statements against a pro-white curriculum that lacked minority or feminist points of view. Student groups at some institutions demanded inclusion of these alternative perspectives in curriculum and/or the development of curriculum to be housed

in new women's and ethnic studies programs. African American students were initially most prominent in demanding racially-liberating curriculum. For example, African American students at Howard University conducted sit-ins and boycotted classes in order to raise black consciousness, call for more attentive administration, and demand a black studies program (Peterson, 1969). Some school administrations such as those at Harvard and Brandis responded to student demands by establishing accredited black studies programs but other administrations resisted emphatically. Resistance to demands thus propelled the establishment of women's and ethnic studies programs as a spin-off social movement.

Student organizations were often instrumental in promoting ethnic studies programs by providing a network of individuals skilled in framing the issue in terms of the broader plight for racial equality and knowledgeable in tactics to assert their demands. Two sets of organizations that used tactics from the Civil Rights to gain official status for ethnic studies are the TWLF and ethnic student groups (Third World Forum, 2006; San Francisco State University 2006). The TWLF was a potent force on the UC Berkeley and San Francisco State campuses during the 1968/69 academic year. At UC Berkeley, their focal demand was for an autonomous ethnic studies college, which they called the Third World College. There, the TWLF was comprised of four student groups: African American Student Association, Mexican American Student Confederation, Asian-American Political Alliance, and Native American Studies Union. Each group had its own grievances and had negotiated with the university separately, but each failed to earn support of the administration for their demands. After unsuccessful appeals to the

university, the African American Student Association approached the other groups to form a united front in their common quest to establish an ethnic studies college, and this group became the TWLF. They garnered attention using tactics associated with the Civil Rights Movement, and after three months of protest activity, the administration negotiated with the group for an ethnic studies department.

At San Francisco State, the TWLF was comprised of the Black Student Union, the Latin American Student Organization, the Filipino-American Student Organization, and El Renacimiento (a Mexican-American student organization). They led possibly the longest strike in the history of American colleges and universities during the 1968/69 academic year. It was precipitated by the suspension of a teaching assistant who was active in Black Panther activities, which brought other smoldering grievances to the forefront as concrete demands. The group demanded an expansion of the already existing black studies department, the establishment of a school of ethnic studies, an increase in recruiting and admitting minority students, as well as 12 other demands. They used Civil Rights tactics such as picket lines, sit-ins, demonstrations, and breaking into the administration building, causing the resignation of the university president and campus closure. In March, after over four months of protest, the administration agreed to expand the black studies department and establish a school of ethnic studies.

These two examples of the process of establishing structures for ethnic studies in some higher education institutions highlight important factors tying the development of ethnic studies to social movement theory. Students who formed groups and who felt an urgent need to establish ethnic studies programs, departments, schools or colleges tended

to associate themselves with the greater fight against discrimination, which grounded them with the Civil Rights and student movements, though their aim was specifically curricular reform. They saw it as the same fight but different platform and desired outcome (McCarthy, 1995). This “attribution of similarity” allowed them to link with these broad movements to gain practical knowledge to successfully meet their goals. Student groups provided a strong network of ties to further their agenda, and students within these groups may have associated with other movement groups. They utilized tactics that were commonly used in the Civil Rights and student movements such as information campaigns and sit-ins. More recently, students sometimes use the same tactics as they demand structured ethnic studies curriculum if their demands go unheeded. In the last 15 years this occurred at institutions such as University of Texas, Austin, Columbia and UCLA (see chapter 3).

In the movement to establish ethnic studies, the story is not always one of student protest but is sometimes a more mainstream process of administrative action in response to a request for change by students, faculty or others. However, even if tactics borrowed from the Civil Rights Movement were not used, the attribution of similarity from the larger movement to the smaller is presumably strong. The curricular goals of these fields center around awareness and critical analysis of inequality and promoting solutions, thus attribution of similarity extends past movement structure and themes to the core meaning of movement goals.

The discussion so far has focused on ethnic studies, but the same argument can be applied to the development of women’s studies. Students who were involved in women’s

studies generally felt connected to the feminist and black rights movements (McCarthy, 1995). They associated themselves with the drive to establish black studies on campuses which started a few years before their own initiative to establish women's studies. Also, they were sometimes associated with women's centers or other women's organizations. However, there are few examples in the literature to demonstrate instances where groups that demanded the establishment of women's studies utilized tactics made available by these earlier movements.

An analysis utilizing the spin-off movement perspective, therefore, emphasizes the importance of student activism. With the attribution of similarity to larger movements and the diffusion of their tactics, students mobilized for curricular reform. This assertion forms the basis for the eighth hypothesis.

Hypothesis 8: The presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments are associated with student activism on campus.

African American studies, as the early riser, should be particularly tied to student activism. They were the first to develop, likely experiencing the greatest resistance, and they have the strongest tie to the Civil Rights, both being black rights movements. Some evidence suggests that there is not a strong unequivocal relationship between activism and the start of programs (Rojas, 2006), however, conceptually, the link should be there. Therefore, hypothesis 9 isolates African American studies and its early development to explore this link.

Hypothesis 9: Early development of African American studies was most strongly influenced by student activism compared to other measures.

Rojas (2007) discusses the process by which African American Studies emerged as a protest movement and developed into a legitimate field of study. The movement for the establishment of African American studies in higher education was directly tied to the larger movement for black equality, and as such, was characterized by conflict as it strove to break down curricular and organizational barriers. Later, the movement became one of legitimacy and sustaining a credible presence in higher education. This process involved a shift from activism and protest to bureaucratic maneuvering

Other Influences on Development

Though size of an institution, demographic change, and student activism are proposed to be the strongest influences on the development of women's and ethnic studies, other factors may also be involved, especially during their early formative years. Faculty involvement and other organizational characteristics such as religiosity and control are discussed below.

Faculty Involvement

Faculty involvement is a potentially important factor in the development of women's and ethnic studies. Faculty members were deeply tied to the student movement both in favor and against it. Though the university professoriate is generally considered the most politically liberal leaning of professions, they tend to be conservative when it

comes to internal university affairs (Kerr, 2001; Ladd and Lipset, 1973). The intellectual role that they play predisposes them to be questioning and critical in support of a liberal political view, a finding that has been supported by research studies conducted since the 1930s (Ladd and Lipset, 1973). For example, a study commissioned in 1969 by the Carnegie Foundation found that faculty were more likely against the Vietnam War than the general public, cried out against it earlier, were more likely to believe that black riots were caused by white racism rather than by blacks' failings, more in favor of busing for equality, and were politically more left than center (Ladd and Lipset, 1973; Ladd and Lipset, 1975). However, they were deeply divided by the student movement and other protests on their own campuses. "Probably no other matter...had so divided the American university, severing social and intellectual relations, as the controversies over how to deal with student protest" (Ladd and Lipset, 1973: 96).

On almost every campus with active student protest, faculty split into two or three groups, and though faculty members often split by politically left, center and right divides, some liberal faculty were quite conservative on campus issues and some conservative members were quite liberal (Ladd and Lipset, 1975). Faculty curricular specialty also shaped their leanings on campus issues with the social science and humanities faculty more liberal leaning than science, engineering and agriculture faculty. Differences across disciplines within universities were greater than differences across universities. Liberal leaning faculty members generally saw the student movement as aligned with the greater cause against discrimination, the Vietnam War and other issues, while conservative leaning faculty members perceived calls for affirmative action against

discrimination and acquiescence on other student demands as an assault on meritocracy and a threat to academic freedom.

Faculty members were deeply involved in issues of changing the map of curricular fields. Anecdotal evidence suggests that faculty that supported the establishment of women's and ethnic studies were generally left-oriented and feminists (for women's studies) and were active participants and sometimes the initiators of programs and departments (see chapter 3). For example, at Cornell in 1968/69, three groups of faculty members arose in response to student demands for black studies (Ladd and Lipset, 1975). The first, in support of establishing an autonomous black studies program, was liberal leaning and more in support of disruptive forms of protest. The second more conservative group wanted less autonomy for a black studies curriculum, did not recognize its value as an academic field of study, and considered this protest by students as a threat on academic freedom. A third group was less adversarial and supported some views from both sides and tried to act as mediators. These groups that formed at Cornell may be indicative of groups that formed at other colleges and universities in response to the introduction of identity fields.

Though faculty likely played a role in the development of identity fields, its influence will not be tested empirically. Complete data does not exist on the ethnic and gender breakdown and political orientation of faculties going back in time to 1975.

Organizational Characteristics

As social movement programs and departments diffuse across higher education, they signal conformity to the institutional ideal of being socially responsive and become institutionalized through the process of legitimacy. With this perspective as a guide, I would not expect other organizational characteristics to play a strong role in the development of women's and ethnic studies, after taking into account student characteristics and student activism. The institution of higher education as a whole is encapsulated within the global and societal institutional models, and adherence to the 21st century institutional ideal is a widespread goal across colleges and universities. Therefore, I do not expect to find prominent differences in the types of institutions that have women's and ethnic studies in the long run.

Past studies in related areas and anecdotal evidence suggest that some types of colleges and universities may have been at the forefront while others lagged in the development of women's and ethnic studies. Several early studies about the presence of student activism on campuses find that it varied by organizational characteristics suggesting that these spin-off movements for social movement curricula may also be affected by institutional characteristics. Williamson and Cowan questioned institutional leaders at four-year colleges and universities about their institution's level of permissiveness to allow students to discuss policy issues and to demonstrate in 1964 (Peterson, 1969). They found that private and large public universities were generally more permissive. Small public universities, liberal arts colleges, protestant universities, technical colleges and Catholic colleges present about an average level, and teacher's

colleges were lower than average in their level of permissiveness for student freedom of expression.

Peterson (1969) found that student activism was more likely at independent universities, independent liberal arts colleges, public universities and Catholic universities (these types of institutions had activity above the norm) and less likely at public liberal arts colleges, Protestant colleges, technical colleges, and teacher colleges. Universities that had very large enrollment were most likely to experience student protest (a curvilinear relationship), and if the student body was more left leaning or had more members that were Civil Rights activists then more student protest would more likely erupt. There was very little association between the geographic location of a campus or whether students predominantly commuted to campus and student protest activity.

Rojas (2000), in his study about the organizational influences on the presence of women's studies and black studies that were present as of 1975, found that in addition to the positive influences of size and demographic characteristics of students, elite liberal arts colleges and research institutions had more programs of these types. California was more likely to have programs than other regions and private institutions were more likely to have women's colleges. He found no contextual effect of the size of the black community surrounding the campus or the size of related academic fields such as sociology and anthropology. Rojas' data targets the existence of women's studies and African American studies programs as of 1975, but it provides insight to expectations for my longitudinal data set.

Olzac and Kangas (forthcoming) argue that the development of women's and ethnic studies is associated with the process of cornering a niche market. They analyzed a cross-section of institutions in 2002/2003 and found that institutions were more likely to have these programs in regions where many other institutions had the programs and similar type programs tend to cluster within institutions. For African American and ethnic studies, other institutional characteristics were not associated with their presence such as financial resources, competitiveness, full-time enrollment, and designation as a liberal arts institution or bachelor-only granting institution. The presence of women's studies is associated with competitiveness, enrollment, and liberal arts institutions but not with financial resources or bachelor-only granting institutions.

In general, three key descriptors distinguish American colleges and universities: public/private control, research orientation, and liberal arts emphasis (Reisman and Jencks, 1969). As stratifying characteristics, they are potentially important considerations as control variables in analysis about the development of new fields of study, as evidenced by past studies related to this topic.

Based on evidence from these studies and anecdotal evidence (detailed in chapter 3), organizational features could be expected to play a role in affecting the presence of social movement fields of study, especially early in its development. Rojas did not find influence from a sizable sociology, anthropology and English orientation, but a more effective measure may be the balance between the arts and sciences versus professional studies. Women's and ethnic studies do not fit the practical orientation of institutions that focus on professional studies because they do not have direct relevance to training

for a job. In contrast, institutions that favor the arts and sciences are expected to be associated with the presence of these programs and departments.

Furthermore, I expect that research-oriented institutions to be positively associated with the early presence of women's and ethnic studies. Research institutions by definition seek innovation and new insight. Rojas finds that campus location in California is positively associated with programs. California is, in fact, the state where these types of programs began, followed by east coast states. To account for my longitudinal data, I predict that campus location in coastal regions is positively associated with early presence of programs. Religious institutions are generally more socially conservative and cautious of curricula that reflects social movements. Thus, non-religious institutions are expected to be associated with the early presence of programs.

The influence of public control is ambiguous. Different pieces of evidence suggest a positive, negative, and no effect. The first initiations of these programs were at public institutions, but they quickly disseminated to private schools as well. No effect is predicted for control of institution on the presence of programs.

An additional important feature specific to women's and ethnic studies is whether an institution is a women's college or HBCU. Anecdotal evidence suggests that women's studies developed later in women's colleges and black studies (and perhaps ethnic studies in general) developed later in HBCUs, claiming that they were already "doing" women's issues or black issues. The tenth hypothesis regarding the influence of organizational characteristics on the start of women's, ethnic and African American studies reflects these pieces of evidence.

Hypothesis 10: The early development of women's, ethnic and African American studies are positively associated with arts and sciences institutions, research-oriented institutions, institutions in coastal regions, non-religious institutions; not associated with public/private control; and negatively associated with historically black/women's institutions.

Diffusion and Institutionalization

In the long-run, I expect wide-spread diffusion of women's and ethnic studies across all types of higher education institutions as indicators of social embeddedness. The "long-run" is a relative term and whether 25 years of development is enough to show diffusion is uncertain. By the year 2000, however, I expect to see a strong pattern of diffusion indicating its institutionalization.

The earlier discussion of the organizational capacity and social movements perspectives focused on the early decades of development. Organizational capacity may provide a strong explanation for those programs and departments developed during the early period of the rise of politicized curricula during which the largest influx of female and ethnic minority students were enrolling in higher education. Also, the presence of a strong activist culture at an institution was probably strongest closer in time to the Civil Rights era. When the trajectories of development are examined through the 1980s and 1990s, demographic characteristics of students and level of protest activity on campuses may weaken as influences as diffusion progresses and as the point of origin becomes more remote.

Earlier, a contrasting argument was made that the types of institutions that identity programs become established in differ as campuses develop niche markets.

However, I suggest that after reaching a threshold point, other factors take over such as isomorphic tendencies to further establishment and persistence of programs, at which time factors such as student demographics and activism becomes weaker. Furthermore, differences in the type of institutions in which they become established should be minimal. This change over time and expected trend toward institutionalization is the basis of the eleventh and twelfth hypotheses.

Hypothesis 11: Student demographic characteristics and student activism become weaker influences on the presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments over time.

Hypothesis 12: Over time, there will be no significant difference in organizational characteristics in the presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies on campuses.

Summary

The introduction of identity programs into higher education is a unique process in curricular development. It is a product of the intersection between higher education and the social movements of the 1960s. In conjunction with a shift in global and societal frames toward greater democratization, a change occurred in higher education to promote inclusiveness and social embeddedness. One product of this change was massification – a growing and increasingly diverse student body. These students were influenced by broad trends and sometimes became a force for change in curricula. Some students and others demanded curricula that reflected their group membership and that problematized social inequality.

Women's and ethnic studies and other identity fields grew out of this period of profound change in society and in higher education. A neo-institutional model suggests why this curricular change occurred at a particular time in history and has persisted but does not address the nature of that process. Drawing from conflict theory supports an understanding of the turbulent process of institutionalizing women's and ethnic studies in higher education, as it is well-documented to be anything but a smooth transition. Given an environment that is conducive to this type of new curricular development, a theoretical perspective utilizing an organizational capacity argument and social movement theory offers insight to the persistence of programs and departments on campuses.

Women's and ethnic studies do not conform to or confirm the current social hierarchy structure. They do not reflect academic traditions or the broader social milieu. They lay bare sexism, racism, hierarchies, suppression, and injustice. They advocate critical examination of the social landscape and righting wrongs. Programs and departments as a whole make up the canon of each university,⁴ and "radical" programs or departments such as these do not fit the traditional academic image. The new higher education image may be about inclusiveness and accessibility but the centuries-old image has been as the ivory tower – exclusive, teacher/researcher-centered, hierarchical, and tradition-bound. Women's and ethnic studies are expressions of social embeddedness but may be too extreme compared to the traditional higher education core to emerge gracefully since the mid-20th century.

⁴ Ramirez (2006) states that in American higher education, canon building is more university specific rather than occurring across all of higher education as an institution

Several hypotheses have been developed based on theoretical expectations of the development of identity programs and departments. Capacity in terms of overall size and constituency size is expected to be positively associated with women's and ethnic studies programs as is student protest activity. The presence of programs is expected to vary by organizational characteristics, but as women's and ethnic studies diffuse across higher education, minimal difference is expected in the types of institutions where they are found. In the next chapter, the data and methods will be presented to test these hypotheses.

CHAPTER 5: METHODS

An assessment of the development of identity programs in higher education is both a theoretical argument and an empirical analysis. Understanding why identity programs emerged during the second half of the 20th century in higher education is a conceptual argument centralizing the context out of which they materialized. Changes in global and societal models shaped a higher education logic that promoted notions of democracy, inclusiveness, and social embeddedness. The development of identity curricula fits within this framework, albeit on a contentious path. With presently available data, this argument is not empirically testable, so it stands as a proposition for the foundation of this type of curricular development.

Other aspects of the development of identity curricula are suitable for empirical testing. Its development is more than just a curricular fad, as some predicted it would be during its infancy stage, and it is more than a niche market; rather it has become institutionalized in higher education. Furthermore, its development on campuses is not a function of academic capitalism – responsive to market forces and subject to changes in university budget. The veracity of these statements is testable by observing how extensive and widespread across institutional types identity programs and departments have spread and determining their relationship with institutional characteristics. Through this analysis, we get an indication what the development of identity fields *is not*.

Instead, the development of identity fields *is* directly tied to the social movements of the 1960s through the resultant student demographic changes and student protests for curricular change. With massification, the capacity for this type of curricular change to

occur expanded – the enrollment of the type of students who are more likely to support these programs grew substantially, increasing potential support for their initiation and expansion. Learning the lessons from the movements of the 1960s, activism became a tool for some of these students to achieve their aims, one of which was the introduction of relevant curricula to their lives. The influences of the size of the student body, demographic characteristics of students, and student protest on the development of programs and departments is empirically testable and is proposed to be the primary influences on the development of identity fields.

In the previous chapter, twelve hypotheses were developed to test many facets of the development of identity fields. The first, second, and third hypotheses explore overall developmental patterns and suggest that models of democracy are increasingly dominant and are reflected in the expanding prominence of these types of programs and departments. The fourth hypothesis centers students as a measure of capacity. The following three hypotheses target other forms of capacity as unlikely explanations for growth. The eighth and ninth hypotheses centers student activism. The tenth hypotheses consider the influence from other institutional characteristics and early developmental patterns. And, the last two hypotheses addresses the diffusion of programs and departments over time.

Data Sets

A comprehensive guide identifying the presence of identity programs and departments across time and the nature of their initiation on campuses does not exist.

Anecdotal evidence and documented histories of programs are a rich resource from which to draw to make claims about developmental patterns, however in the absence of consistent data, arguments about trends and common motivators for development become difficult to form and support. A recently developed data set, the College Catalog Study (CCS), is a significant step in moving forward our understanding of change in the organizational structure of colleges and universities over time. With a sample of 293 higher education institutions, it allows me to address the questions about how the presence of identity programs and departments has changed over the last quarter of the 20th century and what the key contributing factors are in their development.

The CCS is a part of a larger project called Colleges and Universities 2000, directed by Steven Brint at University of California, Riverside. Colleges and Universities 2000 is a research group that has collected data about continuity and change in higher education from 1970 to 2000. The project began in fall of 2000 and was funded by the National Science Foundation. I was a member of the research team from fall of 2001 and became project manager in fall of 2002. The two products of this group are the Institutional Data Archive (IDA) and CCS. IDA was completed in fall of 2003, and CCS began in summer of 2002 and is expected to be completed in Fall 2007. CCS has been funded by the National Science Foundation, the Atlantic Philanthropies and the Spencer Foundation.

IDA is a diverse data source for information about four-year degree-granting American colleges and universities and is the source of information for many of the independent variables of my study. It combines 26 data sources such as HEGIS/IPEDS,

US News and World Report, and Carnegie for 384 institutions. It also contains the results of surveys given to the president and to the provosts of each institution regarding their perceptions of institutional structure, governance, and change.

The sample for CCS is a subset of the sample drawn for IDA. The sample for IDA is a stratified random sample with lower tier institutions under-sampled and higher tier institutions over-sampled. This sampling design was employed to improve statistical analysis possibilities since in the population of four-year higher education institutions, relatively few research-extensive institutions exist compared to bachelor granting institutions. A sample that drew, for example, 20% from each tier would offer too few research institutions for statistical analysis while bachelor granting institutions would heavily dominate the sample population. Instead, a stratified random sample permits greater flexibility and more efficiency for comparative statistical analysis (Maxim, 1999).

The CCS sample is comprised of those institutions in the IDA sample that had a complete set of college catalogs available from 1975 to 2000. Professor Brint contracted with College Guidance Associates of San Diego to provide college catalogs on microfiche. Catalogs were scanned for completeness, and institutions with incomplete sets were eliminated from the sample. This resulted in a reduction of the sample from 384 to 295. One institution was eliminated because its college catalogs were difficult to interpret over the time period. In addition, descriptive statistics revealed one institution

to be an extreme outlier on several variables so this case was also eliminated, resulting in a final sample size of 293.⁵

A comparison of the CCS sample, the IDA sample, and the total population on common descriptors of colleges and universities shows that public institutions comprise 45.7% of the CCS sample, 45.1% of the IDA sample, and 27.9% of the total population. Religiously-affiliated institutions make up 27.6%, 25.5%, and 33.2% of the CCS sample, IDA sample, and total population, respectively. The Carnegie Classification of the institutions in these data sets show a similar pattern to the above characteristics. The CCS and IDA sample institutions are nearly split across research/doctorate-granting, masters-granting, and bachelor-granting Carnegie Classifications while the total population ranges from 11.7% for research/doctorate-granting, 25.9% for masters-granting, and 30.5% for bachelor-granting. These differences between CCS and IDA compared to all colleges and universities are due to the sampling design in which top tier institutions were over-sampled (see table 5.1).

⁵ The case deemed to be an outlier had a very small student population, nearly perfect average SAT scores, and an extremely high operating budget per student, more than four times greater than the next highest operating budget per student. Although its exclusion does not affect overall findings in analysis presented in the next chapter, results from general estimating equations can be affected by outliers, hence this case has been removed (Ballinger 2004).

Table 5.1: Comparison of College Catalog Study Sample, Institutional Data Archive Sample, and the Population of Four-year American Colleges and Universities

	College Catalog Study (n = 293)	Institutional Data Archive (n = 384)	All Four-Year American Colleges and Universities (n = 1958)
Doctoral/Research granting	32.5%	31.0%	11.7%
Masters granting	32.1%	32.0%	25.9%
Bachelors granting	34.8% ⁶	36.5%	30.5% ⁷
Public	45.7%	45.1%	27.9%
Religious Affiliated	27.6%	25.5%	33.2%

A team of undergraduate and graduate researchers worked for about 1 ½ years collecting information from college catalogs. Data was collected in five main areas: major administrative units (such as colleges or schools), arts and science departments, professional schools and their departments, interdisciplinary programs, and general education requirements. The information gathered for major administrative units, professional schools, and departments included name changes, consolidations, disaggregations, movement of departments into different units, increasing prominence of new areas of study with preexisting areas, and eliminations. For interdisciplinary programs, all programs offering majors and/or minors were noted. For general education, the requirements for arts and science majors and for business majors (if different) were recorded. The structure and requirements for sample institutions were gathered from the 1975 catalogs and changes were recorded in five-year intervals to 2000. If a catalog was

⁶ The College Catalog Study and the Institutional Data Archive include two institutions with a Carnegie Classification as an engineering college and as a teaching college.

⁷ The Carnegie Classifications for all four-year colleges and universities do not add up to 100% because a sizable portion are classified as specialized institutions including seminaries, art schools, and business schools, which were excluded before the sample was drawn.

not available for the target period, the closest period to the target was used. In all, this dataset contains six time periods for the academic structure and general education requirements of 293 institutions. My study draws from two parts of CCS, the sections about interdisciplinary programs and about arts and science departments.

Quality of data has been assured. Fifteen coders were trained by Prof. Steven Brint and guided by a lengthy paper form for recording data. If coders demonstrated successful coding of a few test institutions, then they were given a set of institutions for investigation. Regular meetings took place to review coding procedures and clarify issues, and Professor Brint, a senior expert coder, and I (as project manager) were available to answer questions and oversee work. We found that organizational structure of institutions and organizational structure of catalogs varied widely, so frequent communication over issues and concerns was indispensable. Very large institutions were especially complicated so all institutions over an enrollment of 20,000 were independently coded twice. After coding these large institutions, coders then conferred with each other to resolve any discrepancies. If a smaller institution was unusually difficult to code, then it was subjected to the same procedure as the larger institutions. Four data imputers had responsibility for entering data into electronic forms designed on Microsoft Access. Their work was randomly checked for accuracy.

After completion of data collection, I checked data for accuracy. I also checked data for logical trends over time. For example, if a department split into two separate departments, I ensured that the two new departments were recorded correctly. In

instances where I could not determine proper trends, I consulted websites or contacted institutions directly.

The original coding scheme for major units, professional schools, and departments includes “U” for unchanged (since 1975 or later initiation date), “N” for name change, “C” for consolidation, “E” for elimination, and “R” for reconstituted into original form (after having been consolidated or eliminated in an earlier time period). Upon reviewing the complete data set, Prof. Brint and I determined that additional codes were needed to clarify trends and ease statistical analysis. We added “S” for units or departments that split apart. For departments, we also added the codes of “M” for moving to another unit (such as moving from the arts and sciences into a professional school), “P” for becoming a program, and “A” for adding a new area to an existing department, entailing an increase in prominence of a subject area (for example, “math” becomes “math and computer science,” and “computer science” had not previously appeared in catalogs.). These codes were added based on extensive notes that coders made on forms and deductive reasoning from other codes.

For each time period, each unit or department received a code. For example, if “sociology and anthropology” appeared unchanged from 1975 to 1990, it would be noted that it first appeared in 1975 and would be coded “U” for 1980, 1985, and 1990. Then, if it appeared as two separate departments in 1995, a code of “S” would be appropriate in 1995 for “sociology and anthropology,” and “sociology” and “anthropology” would be recorded on new separate lines and noted with appearance dates of 1995. Using this

method, paths of development can be followed for the organizational structure of these institutions since 1975.

A few institutions did not have an organizational structure that paralleled the vast majority of institutions. For example, an institution may have departments that are not divided into larger units or it may have only large units with no departmental structure. Some institutions do not have professional schools or interdisciplinary programs. However, the dominant organizational form consisted of major units that contained arts and science departments. Professional schools may or may not have departments within them. In addition, interdisciplinary programs were common. “Major unit” is defined as the broadest academic unit present at an institution. At most institutions, these were generally called “schools” or “colleges”. “Arts and science departments” is defined as a unit in the arts and sciences that has a chairperson and faculty assigned to it. “Professional schools” is defined as large units that prepare students in professional studies such as nursing and engineering, and “professional departments” is their associated departments. “Interdisciplinary programs” is defined as units that have a program coordinator, have associated faculty from multiple departments, offer a minor, major or both, and is degree-granting. Medical schools, centers, institutes, and other similar entities are not a part of the data set.

This data set is original and distinctive. No other data source contains this extensive of information about academic structure and requirements across a 25-year time period. However, several drawbacks must be kept in mind during analysis. Though strong efforts were made for collecting high quality data, some variability in coding is

inevitable with a team of 15 coders. Furthermore, adding three codes after the completion of coding improves tracking data trends but introduces another potential source of error. Of those universities that did not have a complete set of college catalogs located at CollegeSource, Inc. of San Diego, there may be a common characteristic that is unaccounted for. In addition, this data set relies on accurate college catalogs and college catalogs accurately reflecting organizational structure. The accuracy of catalogs is assumed to be high because they are the central resource for students' academic needs, often acting as a form of "contract" between university and student for the entry year of the student. However, some catalogs were difficult to decipher from an organizational point of view. For example, terminology may differ across universities, requiring a more careful analysis of structure. These drawbacks are acknowledged but do not interfere with the value of the data. With this data set, the most complete picture to date of the developmental patterns of women's and ethnic studies can emerge.

Statistical Methods

The data has a discrete time panel design in which the same set of colleges and universities were measured on the same variables at set and evenly-spaced time intervals. The structure of the dataset is in univariate format. For example, university budget is one variable; each institution is repeated six times, once for each time period, to record budget over time (UCR 1975, UCR 1980, UCR 1985, etc.). Repeated measures are identified by university ID for the six time periods. Hence, the data is pooled in the sense that each time period for each university is a record. As such, the sample size for

statistical analysis is not 293 (the number of institutions) but rather 1758 (the number of institutions multiplied by the number of time periods). Pooling data has the positive effect of increasing the number of cases entering into analysis to produce more stable estimates. However, since the cases in a pooled sample are not independent, adjustments must be made in applying statistical methods that take this non-independence into account. These adjustments will be discussed below.

A data set organizational challenge was how to account for unusual structures and changes in programs/departments over time. For example, five programs had titles such as Gender and Ethnic Studies. A program such as this received a “1” for both the Gender studies variable and the Ethnic studies variable for the institution since the study’s concern is with representation of major social movement curricular areas, even though it may not strictly be an independent unit. Twelve institutions in the college catalog data set have no interdisciplinary programs, but they remain as a part of analysis since they are an important representation of not having these or any other programs.

My first statistical objective is to create an overall picture of the development of social movement programs and departments through descriptive analysis. Overall counts and trend lines of programs and departments over time will address the first three hypotheses that concern general growth patterns of social movement programs and departments. In addition, counts of women’s, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments will be separated by key organizational characteristics for an indication of variability across institutional types to offer a partial test of the last hypothesis about the dissemination of social movement studies.

Most hypotheses will be tested through statistical modeling. The model must be able to incorporate particularities of the data. The dependent variables are binomial (none present/program or department present). A set of independent variables have been identified that are expected to influence the development of women's and ethnic studies, and these are categorical and continuous, some of which are time-varying. In addition, the element of time must be incorporated to assess change from 1975 to 2000 in the expected influences on the presence of programs and departments.

A central element of modeling effects over time is taking into account correlation between time periods (Ballinger, 2004; Hardin and Hilbe, 2003; Harrison, 2002; Littell, Stroup, and Freund, 2002). In a study in which a person or entity (such as a university) receives repeated measures on a variable across time, a strong assumption can be made that each time a variable is measured, it is tied to its measurement the time before. A series of logistic regression models can include t-1 measures to integrate the element of time, however it does not address the correlation of residuals over time. A generalized linear model, likewise, is effective at accommodating non-normal distributions and has the added flexibility of accepting different link functions but does not integrate time into its model. A hazard rate model (or event history model) is designed to analyze the occurrence of something over time, but it also assumes independence of observations and gives inflated type I error rates otherwise. It additionally focuses on the occurrence of a single event at one point in time such as quitting smoking or purchasing a house rather than the persistence of an event as does my study. Social movement programs and departments have spread across higher education over time, and these statistical analyses

would not be adept at this form of analysis and would misrepresent correlation within institutions across time.

A hierarchical linear model (HLM) is a viable option for this type of data analysis but is not utilized in my study (Raudenbush et al., 2004). It can accommodate binary data and the appropriate link functions, and it also accounts for repeated measures, identifying measurements across time as nested within individuals or entities. Additionally, it is capable of modeling a hierarchical organization of data and incorporating both random and fixed effects. For example, a study may be directed towards understanding the predictors of student test scores over time in particular classes of certain schools, and HLM would be an excellent choice for such a study. In consideration of parsimony and selecting a model that adequately fits the need, HLM has not been chosen to analyze the associated characteristics of the presence of social movement programs and departments in higher education institutions. HLM contains extended analysis that is unnecessary for this study.

The statistical technique used for this study that meets the requirements for non-normal dependent variables and measurements across time is the general estimating equation (GEE) with fixed effects, and the program used is SPSS 15.0. GEE is similar to generalized linear models; it is a generalization of the linear model in which the distribution of the dependent variable can take a variety of forms, and the link between the dependent variable and the set of independent variables can be manipulated (Ballinger, 2004; Hardin and Hilbe, 2003; Harrison, 2002; Littell, Stroup, and Freund, 2002). In addition, GEE allows for repeated measures of the variables and the modeling

of correlation within institutions across time, thus incorporating the element of time. A fixed effect model was chosen based on the type of panel design (Hardin and Hilbe, 2003). With a small number of panels, it is recommended to pursue a fixed effects model.

For this analysis, models are defined with a binomial distribution and a logit link function with an autoregressive correlation structure. Autoregressive correlation describes the expectation that correlation within each institution from one time period to the next will become exponentially weaker over time (Littell, Stroup, and Freund, 2002). The assumption of autoregressive correlation for my study is based on theoretical grounds. Since this curricula sees its genesis in an historical period, the Civil Rights, and the initial founding of programs and departments occurred shortly following this period, a safe assumption would be that as time passes from this distinctive start and as dissemination of programs and departments spreads, correlation between the time periods will become weaker.

GEE is based on maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) and assumes univariate and multivariate normality and no perfect correlation among the independent variables (Harrison, 2002). Since multivariate normality is difficult to assess in practice, the distribution of individual variables and the relationships between pairs of variables were examined at each time period (Hardin and Hilbe, 2003). Variables that appeared often as problematic were adjusted to better fit the assumption of normality, as identified in the variables section below. These adjustments have another beneficial effect – the Wald test, which is utilized to test significance of individual parameters, may be sensitive to

large differences in scale among the independent variables, and those variables that were modified, which resulted in smaller scales, were those with the largest distributions (Ballinger, 2004).

Though perfect correlation is not present in this set of independent variables, some instances of high correlation emerge in a test of bivariate correlations at each time period (see appendix A for correlation table). High correlation can create a problem in a model by introducing less stable coefficient estimates and higher standard errors (Harrison, 2002). Adjustments have been made in models to avoid these high correlations as noted in the models section below.

All analysis was conducted using both a weighted and an unweighted sample. The weighted sample is comparable to the total population of American four-year degree-granting higher education institutions. The choice to weight the sample is not straightforward. The college catalog sample is drawn from the IDA sample, and the weights were generated based on the IDA sample and the proportion that each institutional tier represents in the larger population. The two samples are very close in characteristics and the tiers are close in proportion.⁸ An unweighted sample would emphasize relationships involving top tier institutions more heavily than accurately reflects the total population, while a weighted sample more closely approximates the larger population. Thus, results presented in the next chapter are based on the weighted sample to improve generalizability to the population of comprehensive four-year

⁸ The percentage that each tier comprises of each sample are as follows: IDA tiers 1 through 4 are 18.8, 28.4, 26.8, 26.0, respectively; College catalog tiers 1 through 4 are 19.5, 30.0, 27.3, 23.2

institutions. Some difference was evident in the two sets of findings, and the instances where findings diverged are noted in the next chapter.

Both forward and backward model building is used. Model fit is assessed by the corrected quasi log likelihood under the independence criterion (QICC). The QICC offers a rough guide of goodness of fit and can be used to compare nested models when choosing the best subset of predictors (Hardin and Hilbe, 2003; SPSS syntax reference guide, 2006). A model with a QICC that is smaller reflects that it is more effective at predicting than a model with a larger QICC.

Interpretation of confidence intervals, coefficients, and standard errors that are generated by GEE models are equivalent to those for logistic regression. Thus, a significant and positive coefficient indicates an increase in the log odds of the dependent variable occurring. They also can be converted to an odds ratio for a clearer interpretation by using the formula, $\exp(b)$ (Harrison, 2002). In the following chapter, however, interpretation will focus on overall impact of variables, or lack of impact, because the concern of this study is regarding trends and the influences on the development of social movement studies, not incremental changes.

Variables

Dependent and independent variables are selected from the College Catalog Study, the Institutional Data Archive, and Rojas' study about student activism.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables are drawn from CCS. The dependent variables represent the presence or not of certain categories of social movement studies at each institution.

The dependent variables are: 1. the presence of women's studies programs and departments, 2. the presence of ethnic studies programs and departments, and 3. the presence of African American studies programs and departments. The data set contains unique information about both departments and programs, and this potential source of difference by organizational structure was assessed conceptually in the first chapter and will be discussed further in the next chapter, however they will be combined together in statistical models. The focus of concern is with the existence of formalized social movement curricula on campuses to understand where and why they are occurring. Furthermore, the number of social movement departments in these categories is low, hindering comparative statistical analysis. The type of organizational structure is a secondary consideration, thus this detail is presented descriptively only.

The majority of social movement programs are comprised of three main fields: women's studies, ethnic studies, and African American studies. Table 5.2 shows all of the identity programs that were present between academic years 1975-76 and 2000-01 in this sample and suggests the relevancy of selecting these three areas as the focus for empirical analysis. They are sizeable enough to permit statistical analysis yet are distinct enough to keep as separate entities.

Table 5.2: Types and Counts of Social Movement Programs and Departments that were Present in Higher Education Institutions between 1975 and 2000⁹

<u>Type of Social Movement</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Program/Department</u>						
Women's Studies	16	48	75	110	147	176
Ethnic Studies (including both broad and specific ethnic groups)	32	45	51	53	80	100
African American Studies	54	58	66	68	80	91
Sexuality Studies ¹⁰	0	0	0	0	0	5

African American studies was an early riser initiator of the social movement curricula movement (Rojas, 2006), as evidenced by its higher count in the first measured time period compared with the other groups in table 5.2. It experienced early and fast growth but then faced stagnation in later decades, including most of the decades covered by this study. It ended this quarter century as the smallest of the three sets of social movement units with an overall growth rate of 69% from 1975 to 2000. My category of African American studies consists of programs and departments labeled as African American studies, Afro-American studies, African American World Studies, African and African American Studies, African and Afro-American World Studies, Afro-American Studies and Research, Afro-Ethnic Studies, Black American Studies, Black Studies, Black/African American Studies, and Afro (Black) Studies.

Advocates of women's studies drew from the experiences of the development of African American studies but were also deeply informed by the women's liberation

⁹ Some institutions may have more than one program and/or department in a category. This table represents number of programs and departments overall. The next chapter will focus on and present data regarding the number of institutions with these programs/departments.

¹⁰ Sexuality Studies includes degree granting programs titled: Gay and Lesbian Studies; Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Studies; and Sexuality and Society.

movement and feminism. Women's studies programs have experienced substantial growth since its start and is among the most widespread of interdisciplinary programs (Brint and Turk-Bicakci, 2006). Table 5.2 shows that women's studies was a late starter beginning this study period as the smallest group with merely 16 programs and departments in 1975. It maintained explosive growth over the time period to become the largest of the social movement fields with 176 programs and departments (a 1000% increase from 1975 to 2000). My category of women's studies includes departments and programs called Women's Studies, Gender Studies, Feminist Studies, The Study of Woman, and Women, Culture, and Developmental Studies.

My category of "ethnic studies" combines program and department headings such as Ethnic Studies, Asian-American Studies, Chicano Studies, Mexican-American Studies, Latino Studies, Puerto Rican Studies, and American Indian Studies. All of these are tied together through their subject matter – ethnic identity and the study of their group experiences in society. Individual group histories differ, but they are bound by a common dialogue of ethnic identity. All draw on the lessons of the Civil Rights Movement. Table 5.2 demonstrates that a great deal of growth occurred in ethnic studies between 1990 and 2000, with the number of programs almost doubling during that time. The overall growth rate from 1975 to 2000 is 213%.

Table 5.3 identifies the titles of programs related to the study of ethnicity that arose since 1975, which are combined together for statistical analysis. Counts for some groups are small, supporting the aggregation of this category. Table 5.3 offers the overall counts of programs and departments in these areas, resulting in 16 units in Asian-

American Studies, 23 units for American Indian Studies, and 35 units for Chicano/Hispanic Studies. Only Ethnic Studies is sizeable for statistical analysis at 50 units. By combining this category, like-entities are held together and statistical power is improved. An exception is African American studies which is unique and remains a separate category. As an early riser, its most substantial growth occurred before 1975, whereas the most substantial growth period for ethnic studies occurred during the 1990s, as seen in table 5.2. The relevant characteristics that may be associated with the presence of these two program types across this time can conceivably be different.

Table 5.3: Types of Ethnic Studies Programs and Departments and Total Count from 1975 to 2000. (In parenthesis are additional titles of programs within category)

<u>Type of Program/Department</u>	<u>Overall Count</u>
Ethnic Studies (Minority Group Studies, American-Ethnic Studies, Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, Critical and Cultural Studies, Ethnic and Immigration Studies, Ethnic Groups in America, Ethnicity, Race and Migration, Interracial Studies, Race, Culture, and Power, Social and Ethnic Relationships)	50
Chicano, Hispanic Studies (Latino/a Studies, Chicano, Bilingual, Bicultural Studies, Hispanic/Latin American Studies, Chicano/Latin American Studies, Latino, Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Mexican American Studies, Puerto Rican and Latino Studies)	35
American Indian Studies (American Indian and Native Studies, Indian Studies)	23
Asian-American Studies	16

Again, the dependent variables are the presence of women's studies, and ethnic studies, African American studies programs and departments at each time period for each

campus. The dependent variables are binomial. For each category of identity field, a “0” indicates that no program or department exists and “1” indicates that a program or department was present in that year. For example, a “1” for a women’s studies program in 1985 for institution X indicates that this institution had a program in 1985. For each time period that a “1” appears for the presence variable, a department/program is persisting.

Independent Variables

Models analyzing the presence of social movement units include three control variables: measures indicating each time period, whether the same program/department was present in the previous time period and whether another social movement field was present. The time periods, one through six, are entered into the model to determine the extent of growth between 1975 and 2000. A significant finding will indicate that a social movement field has experienced significant growth over these decades. The second variable acts as a control for a strong inertia effect, that once a program or department has been established, it is very likely to perpetuate. The third variable incorporates the concept that once one social movement field has emerged, it will be easier for others to follow. Organizers of newer fields learn from the predecessors about overcoming controversy and establishing a program or department, and institutional leaders have demonstrated a willingness to branch into these new fields.

The main independent variables measure enrollment, demographic characteristics of students, and activism of students. Enrollment and demographic characteristics of

students are drawn from IDA: HEGIS-IPEDS. The total number of students is a central measure of capacity. More students indicate more potential for student demand for social movement studies and greater ability for an institution to justify and substantiate this curricular expansion. The average number of students range from 7,856 in 1975 to 9,136 in 2000 (see table 5.4). This variable was logged to better conform to assumptions.

Demographic characteristics are selected to represent non-traditional students. Race may be an important consideration for ethnic and African American studies and gender may be important for women's studies. Racial groups of students can be identified in two ways: absolute numbers of students in racial categories and the proportion of the total student population of racial categories. Both are meaningful with a different intent. The first incorporates the sense of a threshold, how many ethnic students are necessary to make an ethnically targeted program/department viable, while keeping in mind that some ethnic students will not be interested and some non-ethnic students will be interested. The second incorporates the sense of visibility. For example, what proportion of the student body do Asian-Americans need to comprise in order to have leverage to create an Asian-American studies program?

The difference between these measurements can be illuminated with hypothetical examples. A large university of 20,000 students may have 1,000 non-white students, perhaps a sufficient capacity to support an ethnic studies program. However, non-white students comprise only 5% of the population, which does not give them much voice. On the other hand, a small university of 2,000 students that has 500 non-white students

makes up 25% of the student population and garners them more visibility for having their needs met.

In American colleges and universities, the percentage of non-white post-secondary students has increased substantially over time. In 1976, 16 percent of all students were non-white, increasing to 28% in 1999 (Anderson, 2003). Between 1976 and 1999, non-white student enrollment increased by 137% while white student enrollment increased by 13% (Anderson, 2003). Hispanic student enrollment increased by 243% and Asian American enrollment increased by 360% (Anderson, 2003). Before other universities began diversifying as a result of the impact of the Civil Rights Movement, most African Americans (80%) graduated from HBCUs (Anderson, 2002).

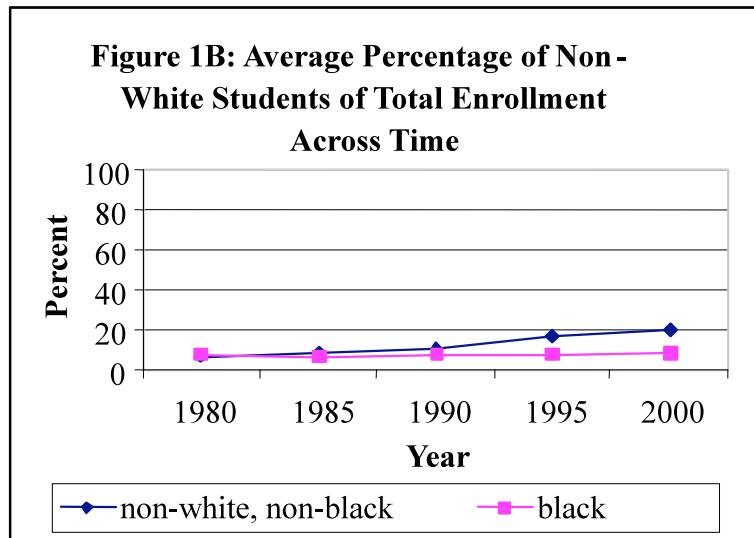
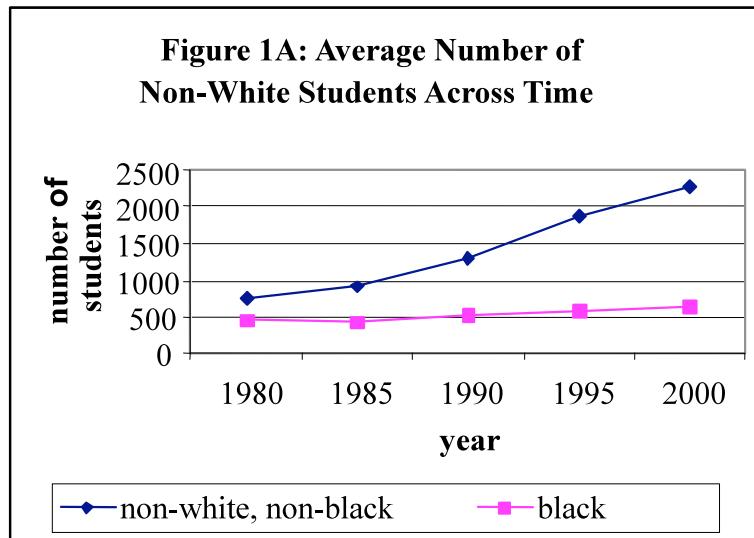
Figure 5.1 shows both the number and proportion of non-white students based on the college catalog sample¹¹. The average number of African American students enrolled in an institution was 436 in 1980 which decreased to 422 in 1985, then steadily rose from 519 to 583 to 640 from 1990 to 2000 representing a 47% increase across 20 years¹². Non-white, non-black students comprised an average of 743 students at institutions in 1980, increasing rapidly to 913, 1283, 1866, and 2273 students from 1985 to 2000. This

¹¹ Racial and gender breakdown of enrollment data is unavailable in 1985. In addition, this data is unavailable before 1980. Data was collected for the nearest adjacent year, 1984, and applied to 1985 for figures and statistical models. For statistical models, 1980 data was replicated for 1975. Though this is a source of error since 1975 to 1980 is likely a period of growth for non-white students, it is utilized to avoid the complete loss of this time period in analysis. Analysis was conducted using the periods 1980 to 2000 only, and no difference in overall findings were noted.

¹² Calculations for average figures for African American students come from the college catalog sample which include 8 institutions that are historically black colleges and universities. These colleges and universities wholly or nearly wholly enroll African American students. Without these eight institutions, average African American enrollment becomes 389, 379, 462, 513, and 572 from 1980 to 2000. Average percentages of African American students of the total enrollment are 6%, 5%, 6%, 6%, and 7% from 1980 to 2000.

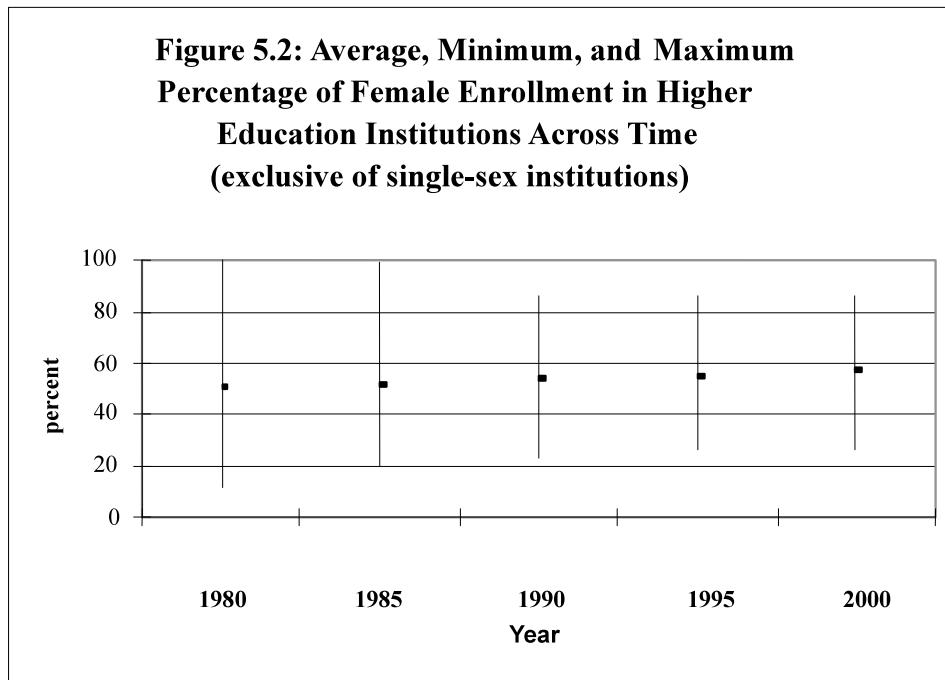
increase represents a 206% increase over time. The percentage of African American students that are present on campus, on average remained relatively flat across the years at seven to nine percent. The average African American population in 1980 was 8%, followed by 7%, 8%, 8%, and 9% for each of the time periods. The percentage of non-white, non-black students nearly tripled going from 7%, 9%, 11%, 17%, to 20% from 1980 to 2000. Both count and percentage measures, as different aspects of student capacity, will be assessed separately in models. The enrollments of black students and non-white, non-black students and the proportion of enrollment of non-white, non-black students were heavily skewed and were logged for statistical models.

Figures 5.1A and 5.1B: Average Number and Percentage of Non-White Students Enrolled in Institutions from 1980 to 2000



Female students, though also non-traditional students, have a different history in higher education from non-white students. Whereas the proportion of non-white students has grown between 1975 and 2000, female students already comprised approximately half of all students in higher education by 1980 (53%). The population of non-white

students rose in tandem with the rise of ethnic studies. In contrast, female students formed a ready population of potential supporters and enrollees for women's studies at its genesis. The number of female students has been sizable for several decades; however, variation does exist in the proportion of female students across institutions, substantiating its relevancy as a measure in this study. Variation in percentage of women in institutions ranges from 0 to 100% in all years. Even after removing 10 women's colleges and one all-male college, the range varies widely across institutions and across time, as seen in figure 5.2.



A higher proportion of female students may contribute to the development of women's studies on a campus due to their greater visibility and power that accompanies strong representation, however all-women colleges (100% or almost 100% female) are expected to be less likely to initiate women's studies than others based on anecdotal

evidence (see chapter 3). Both assessments will be made in statistical testing: a higher proportion of women at institutions will influence the development of women's studies but all-women's colleges will hinder it.

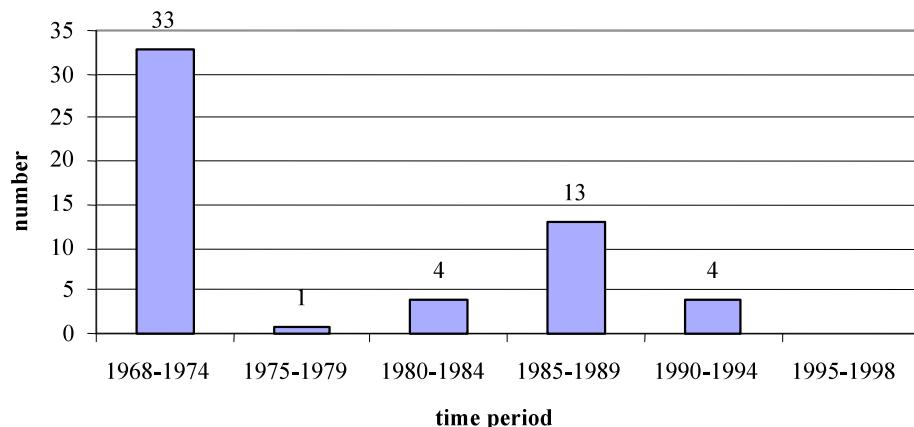
Enrollment measures contain some missing data. In 1975, four institutions are missing data, in 1980 three institutions are missing overall enrollment and four are missing on the non-traditional enrollment variables, for 1985 data two institutions are missing overall enrollment data and three are missing the non-traditional measures, in 1990 two institutions are missing all enrollment measures, in 1995 two institutions are missing data on all enrollment measures except for black enrollment which is missing only one institution. The year 2000 has complete data. Since this was a period of change for non-white enrollments, these data were not estimated and remain missing.

The level of activism of students is also proposed to significantly contribute to the development of women's and ethnic studies. Activism is defined as having at least one student protest event on campus during the previous five years. This information is gathered from a data set compiled by Fabio Rojas (2006). Data was collected for each year between 1968 and 1998 about student protest events that focused on African American issues at American colleges and universities. Issues that resulted in protests ranged from African apartheid, Civil Rights, campus politics, to curricular issues. Events were both disruptive and non-disruptive and include sit-ins, teach-ins, demonstrations, boycotting, and rioting. This information was collected from microfiche of newspaper articles in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*.

In his analysis of student protest and the establishment of African American studies, Rojas (2006) found that institutions where students engaged in non-disruptive protests in support of African American studies were more likely to create a department than other institutions, although disruptive protests did not have any effect on their establishment.

Data from Rojas were modified to fit the concerns of my study. Data were consolidated to note whether a protest event had occurred at each of the institutions in my sample during each five-year period that I focus on. Since my concern is with the occurrence of student activism rather than the type of activism, this distinction is not made. My proposition is that these social movement curricula were more likely to arise on campuses with a more activist culture – cultivated by students that were willing to protest for their beliefs. Hence, I make a basic distinction between those campuses that never had any protest activity against those that had. Considering the activist nature of these curricula, I would not expect them to arise at institutions where no protest activity was evident. Once institutionalization of the fields was well under way, mimetic isomorphism would extend its influence instead. Figure 5.3 shows the trend in the number of institutions that had protest activity from 1975 to 2000.

Figure 5.3: Number of Institutions with Student Protest Preceding the Target Time Periods



Drawbacks of this variable must be noted. The data is truncated - - Rojas' data collection ended in 1998, and mine ends in 2000. The final time period will not receive a full reporting of protest activity. However, protest activity, especially as it is measured by Rojas and utilized in my study, is strongly connected to the spirit of the Civil Rights, and as this era fades, the frequency and effect of protests would expectedly reduce greatly.

Another weakness is that Rojas' protest events are specifically about concerns of African Americans. This variable would be strengthened for this study if it comprised all types of protest events. However, campus protests during the Civil Rights and post-Civil Rights era were dominated by issues surrounding African Americans, as the central figures in the Civil Rights. As such, this variable captures a significant share of protest activity. Because of this specificity, this variable will probably perform strongest when

analysis focuses on African American studies, middling when focused on ethnic studies, and weakest when focus is on women's studies.

The method of data collection may also have implications on the completeness of data. Data collection is from two major newspapers on each coast that routinely cover national events. Protest activity at small colleges in the center of the United States may be under-reported. This issue is minimized by condensing the measure to the presence of any protest activity during a five-year period. Large coastal universities that are more likely to receive full reporting by these newspapers will receive a "1" regardless of how many times they have been reported on. Conversely, small Midwest colleges that may not receive much attention by these two large metropolitan newspapers will have greater opportunity to be noticed at some point across this time period if they indeed have an activist student body.

Other independent variables come from IDA. Forms of capacity other than human resources include financial resources and institutional reputation. One financial resource variable that is utilized is change in resources over time. Especially during the 1980s, university budgets faced contraction, potentially affecting decisions about academic structure. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) have noted this phenomenon as an aspect of academic capitalism, but I have proposed that it is not an influence on the developmental patterns of identity curricula because its affiliation with activism and new models of higher education affords it some immunity from budgetary crisis. This variable has missing data for eight institutions in 1975 and 1980, five institutions in 1985, and four institutions for the following years. Data were unavailable for 1970, which

would be required to calculate change in budget for 1975, so the calculation for change in budget from 1975 to 1980 is applied to the 1975 data as well as the 1980 data¹³. This has a drawback of losing some sense of trend at the beginning of this time period but has the benefit of retaining 1975 as a part of the panel. Table 5.4 shows the percentage of change in revenue from the previous time period after correcting for inflation. Percentage change in revenue varied widely over time and especially across institutions. Average increase in revenue across each five year segment was negligible at the beginning and end of the period but was more substantial during the 1980s and early 1990s. Across institutions, some institutions faced a loss in budget by as much as 68% from 1990 to 1995 while others had a gain in budget by as much as 142% from 1975 to 1980.

Another financial resource variable is wealth. Financial wealth is measured as total current revenue funds per student to offer a sense of budget capacity. By dividing funds by enrollment, the dominant factor of institutional size is minimized. Larger universities would be expected to have larger budgets, but the budget per student will vary regardless of size. This variable also has been adjusted for 2000 dollars, using the CPI index. Those institutions with large per student funds have more spending power to potentially make organizational changes. However, I have proposed in the previous chapter that the availability of funding is not sufficient to bring about identity curricula on campuses and is not expected to be a significant influence. Data are missing for 8 institutions in 1975, 5 in 1980 and 4 from 1985 to 1995. None are missing financial data in 2000. Since operating budgets vary widely with no clear method to estimate, these

¹³ Analysis was conducted using only 1980 to 2000 data, and no difference was noted in overall findings.

remain missing. Table 5.4 shows that revenue per student ranged from an average of \$14,924 in 1975 to \$24,497 in 2000. This variable is logged for statistical models.

Other measures of financial status of institutions are available such as federal grants, endowments, and instructional spending. However, I chose total current revenue funds because it is a standard broad measure of institutional budget that has been more consistently measured over time than other measures. In 1997, the National Center for Education Statistics changed its accounting procedure in IPEDS for private institutions. Because of this change, many financial measures are not comparable before and after 1997 and between public and private institutions. Data crosswalks are provided, but NCES cautions against making strict comparisons, especially for restricted and more detailed revenue items (Budak, 2000). A broad measure of total revenues minimizes this conflict.

Reputation is a resource that commonly is associated with different aspects of higher education as organizations but is proposed to have little influence on the development of identity curricula. Higher education is highly stratified ranging from highly selective research institutions to unselective four-year bachelor granting institutions. Massification has occurred at all levels of higher education, though to varying degrees, and evidence suggests that all levels are involved in promoting a more democratic campus (as presented in chapter 3). Hence, the presence of programs would not be expected to be influenced or vary by selectivity.

Reputation is measured by average SAT/ACT scores of incoming freshmen. These data, from IDA, originate from Astin scores. Astin converted ACT scores to SAT

scores and determined an average for most institutions for the years 1977, 1982, and 1999. Since my data intervals do not match this data set, I applied Astin 1977 data to my 1975 data, Astin 1982 data to my 1980, 1985 and 1990 data, and Astin 1999 data to my 1995 and 2000 data. In 2000, 20 cases had missing data for SAT and 17 cases had missing data for other years. Twelve of the 20 in 2000 were estimated by using the institution's Common Data Set. For the remainder and for the other years, estimations were made by mean substitution by tier and control for each year. Average SAT scores in 1979 was 986, in 1982 was 981, and in 1999 was 1114 (see table 5.4).

Other independent variables are institutional characteristics that are expected to show some difference across institutions during the initial stages of the development of women's and ethnic studies but become more uniform as these curricula become institutionalized. As suggested in hypothesis 9 and 12, a significant difference in these characteristics may be present early in the time period of the study but not in the long-term and overall presence of social movement programs.

The balance between the arts and sciences and professional studies is proposed to be an early influence. Women's and ethnic studies curriculum, with predominantly a mixture of social science and humanities in orientation, is more closely aligned with the arts and science; women's and ethnic studies curriculum is foundationally further away from professional studies. As such, institutions with greater emphasis on the arts and sciences can more easily incorporate identity curricula. This variable is calculated by taking the percentage of degrees that were awarded in the arts and sciences as opposed to professional studies. This variable is calculated for the year 2000 only and applied to all

years. I assume that no great change has occurred in the balance between these two broad categories across the years within institutions. Table 5.4 shows that an average of 50% arts and science degrees were awarded in 2000.

Table 5.4: List of Continuous Independent Variables by Year

<u>Variable</u>		<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>2000</u>
Total student enrollment	mean	7856	7936	8050	8822	8804	9136
	min	212	169	257	281	310	372
	max	60,127	54533	53199	54087	48676	51390
	sd	9647	9466	9463	10035	9768	10204
Enrollment of non-white, non-black students	mean		743	913	1283	1866	2273
	min		0	0	0	0	0
	max		13414	14556	15607	19369	21541
	sd		1566	1811	2363	3126	3614
Enrollment of black students	mean		436	422	519	583	640
	min		0	0	1	1	2
	max		4477	3918	4538	5626	5666
	sd		642	618	749	866	927
Percentage of enrollment of women	mean		52.52%	53.09%	55.18%	56.36%	57.71%
	min		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	max		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	sd		14.57	13.43	12.57	11.66	11.13
Percentage of enrollment of non-white, non-black students	mean		7.21%	8.64%	10.95%	16.50%	19.71%
	min		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	max		66.50%	72.71%	73.91%	76.46%	78.01%
	sd		7.80	8.87	10.47	14.10	15.43
Percentage of enrollment of black students	mean		7.75%	7.44%	7.81%	8.33%	8.99%
	min		0%	0%	.09%	.08%	.14%
	max		100%	99.83%	99.87%	100%	100%
	sd		15.27	15.05	15.42	15.46	15.68
SAT/ACT		<u>1977</u>	<u>1982</u>				<u>1999</u>
	mean	986	981				1114
	min	582	620				850
	max	1383	1360				1485
	sd	141	139				133
Operating budget/student	mean	14,924	14,933	18,119	21,403	23,829	24,497
	min	3,164	2,629	3,545	4,378	4,106	3,422
	max	111,669	137,509	123,977	146,943	136,427	175,506
	sd	13,052	14,065	16,133	20,269	22,186	24,858
Percent change in operating budget		<u>75 to 80</u>	<u>80 to 85</u>	<u>85 to 90</u>	<u>90 to 95</u>	<u>95 to 00</u>	
	mean		1.51%	22.66%	15.63%	12.68%	4.32%
	min		-38.60%	-25.76%	-38.83%	-68.40%	-58.94%
	max		141.74%	82.07%	106.49%	68.94%	80.29%
Percentage arts and science degrees	mean						50.0%
	min						6.0%
	max						100%
	sd						24.7

The remaining variables are dichotomous and mainly express institutional affiliation. They are summarized in table 5.5. Research oriented institutions comprise 32.1 percent of institutions. Research orientation is determined by its placement as a research I or research II institution in the 2000 Carnegie Classification. Non-religious institutions comprise 72.4 percent of institutions and 45.7 percent of institutions are public. Coastal institutions are determined by location in the northeastern, mid-Atlantic, or western states, and 39.9 percent of institutions are located in these regions. Finally, historically black colleges and universities (HBCU) and women's colleges make up 3.1 and 3.4 percent of institutions, respectively. These institutional characteristics are proposed to diminish in influence over time as social movement programs and departments become progressively more institutionalized in higher education.

Table 5.5: List of Categorical Independent Variables

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Research oriented	95	32.4%
Region (west, northeast, mid-Atlantic)	117	39.9%
Religious affiliation	81	27.6%
Public control	134	45.7%
Historically black (HBCU)	9	3.1%
Women's college	10	3.4%

Models

The statistical models and the associated hypotheses appear in figure 5.4. Models are repeated for assessing the development of women's studies (ws), ethnic studies (eth), and African American studies (afam). Hence, models are denoted to determine the particular segments being tested such as "model 1ws" for the presence of women's studies programs and departments.

Other than the control variables, each model varies depending upon the hypothesis it aims to test. Model 1 contains the variables measuring student capacity and offers the first indication of support for the fourth hypothesis. Models 2 through 4 assess other measures of capacity – change in university budget, total university budget per student, and reputation. These models test the fifth, sixth, and seventh hypotheses about academic capitalism and resources. Model 5 replaces the measures of capacity with the variable for student activism to give a first indication of assessing the eighth hypothesis. Model 6 combines both the student capacity and student activism variables for a stronger test of the fourth and eighth hypotheses. Model 7 is the full model containing all variables. It offers an indication of the impact of institutional characteristics as well as the main independent variables on the presence of programs and departments, as expressed in the fourth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth hypothesis. Model 8 is the best fitting reduced model that retains the main independent variables of student capacity and student activism as well as other independent variables that measure institutional characteristics that have a significant impact on the dependent variable. Model 8 offers the best test of the fourth, eighth, and tenth hypotheses about the impact of student

capacity, student activism, and organizational characteristics and is suggestive for the eleventh and twelfth hypotheses about diffusion.

Model 9 isolates African American studies as an early riser. Since it is the forerunner of social movement programs and departments, its influences during the early stage of its development are assessed since they may differ from later in the developmental period when dissemination broadens, as suggested by the ninth hypothesis. Two methods are appropriate to isolate early time periods. The first is to enter time as a class variable whereby time becomes a dummy-coded variable. Each time period is coded against all others, and one is left out of the model as a reference. As a class variable, a more detailed analysis can be made regarding individual time periods because coefficients are estimated for each time period rather than for the overall trend of time. Time interaction effects, in which time is interacted with variables of interest, can demonstrate that some causes are more influential at some periods compared to others. This method offers a detailed analysis across time but requires sufficient sample size and counts in categories of variables to generate findings.

The second method is to maintain time as a trend as in all other models, but select only the desired time periods for analysis. Hence, the full model would be as it is in model 8 but the data would include only 1975 and 1980. This method has the drawback of losing the contrast with the other time periods in analysis, but it more efficiently uses data. Preliminary analysis in which both models were assessed showed that the first method lacked convergence when time was entered as a class variable for African

American studies. Some cell counts were insufficient to generate reliable coefficients. Thus, the second method was chosen.

Models 10 and 11 introduce time interaction effects in models for women's, ethnic, and African American studies. Time interaction effects give an indication whether the effect of variables becomes greater, weaker, or remains the same over time. For example, if an interaction term between time and student activism is significant and negative in a model, we can argue that student activism becomes less important to the presence of programs and departments over time. Model 10 is the reduced best fitting model with the addition of interaction effects between time and any significant student capacity and activism variables to address the eleventh hypothesis predicting a weaker influence of these factors over time.

Model 11 is the reduced best fitting model with the addition of interaction effects of time with organizational characteristics that were significant in the best fit model. This model will assess whether there is a difference in the types of institutions that have women's and ethnic studies over time as a test of the twelfth hypothesis.

Many models are being presented, but the key models to test the central hypotheses of this dissertation are models 8, 9, 10, and 11. Findings based on these models will offer valuable insight to the development of women's, ethnic, and African American studies – the influence from student capacity and student activism, and its variability across institutional types.

In the next chapter, findings will be presented based on these models.

Figure 5.4: Models for General Estimating Equations and Their Associated Hypotheses

Note: The following models are estimated using the assumption of an autoregressive correlation structure, AR(1).

$Y_1 = ws$: presence of women's studies program or department

$Y_2 = eth$: presence of ethnic studies program or department

$Y_3 = afam$: presence of African American studies program or department

$X_1 = time$: identification of each of the six time periods from 1975 to 2000

$X_2 = past$: presence of program of the same type in the previous period

$X_3 = othersm$: presence of social movement program other than the targeted program

$X_4 = enrol$: total enrollment, logged

$X_5 = enrnnl$: enrollment of non-white, non-black students, logged

$X_6 = enraal$: enrollment of African American students, logged

$X_7 = enrwp$: proportion of enrollment of women

$X_8 = enrnnpl$: proportion of enrollment of non-white, non-black students, logged

$X_9 = enraap$: proportion of enrollment of African American students

$X_{10} = opchng$: change in operating budget

$X_{11} = opstudl$: operating budget per student, logged

$X_{12} = sat$: average SAT/ACT scores

$X_{13} = protest$: occurrence of protest activity during past five years

$X_{14} = asdeg$: percentage of arts and science degrees awarded

$X_{15} = res$: classification as Carnegie research or doctorate institution

$X_{16} = region$: located in west, northeast, or mid-Atlantic states

$X_{17} = religion$: no religious affiliation

$X_{18} = control$: public control

$X_{19} = hbcu$: historically black college or university

$X_{20} = womens$: women's college

Model 1: capacity, student enrollment (hypothesis 4)

Note: "A" and "B" tests enrollment and proportion of enrollment separately.

$$\text{Model 1ws: } Y_1 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_7 + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$$

$$\text{Model 1eth-A: } Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_5 + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$$

$$\text{Model 1eth-B: } Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_8 + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$$

$$\text{Model 1afam-A: } Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_6 + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$$

$$\text{Model 1afam-B: } Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_9 + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$$

Model 2: capacity, financial change (hypothesis 5)

Model 2ws: $Y_1 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{10} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 2eth: $Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{10} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 2afam: $Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{10} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 3: capacity, financial wealth (hypothesis 6)

Model 3ws: $Y_1 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{11} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 3eth: $Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{11} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 3afam: $Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{11} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 4: capacity, reputation (hypothesis 7)

Model 4ws: $Y_1 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{12} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 4eth: $Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{12} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 4afam: $Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{12} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 5: activism (hypothesis 8)

Model 5ws: $Y_1 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{13} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 5eth: $Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{13} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 5afam: $Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_{13} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 6: student capacity and activism (hypotheses 4, 8)

Note: "A" and "B" tests enrollment and proportion of enrollment separately.

Model 6ws: $Y_1 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_7 + b_6X_{13} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 6eth-A: $Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5 + b_6X_{13} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 6eth-B: $Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_8 + b_6X_{13} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 6afam-A: $Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5 + b_6X_{13} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 6afam-B: $Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_9 + b_6X_{13} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 7: full (hypotheses 4, 8, 12)

Note: "A" and "B" tests opstudl and sat separately to avoid high correlation.

Model 7ws-A: $Y_1 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_7 + b_6X_{11} + b_7X_{13} + b_8X_{14} + b_9X_{15} + b_{10}X_{16} + b_{11}X_{17} + b_{12}X_{18} + b_{13}X_{20} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 7ws-B:	$Y_1 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_7 + b_6X_{12} + b_7X_{13} + b_8X_{14} + b_9X_{15} + b_{10}X_{16} + b_{11}X_{17} + b_{12}X_{18} + b_{13}X_{20} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$
Model 7eth-A:	$Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_8 + b_6X_{11} + b_7X_{13} + b_8X_{14} + b_9X_{15} + b_{10}X_{16} + b_{11}X_{17} + b_{12}X_{18} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$
Model 7eth-B:	$Y_2 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_8 + b_6X_{12} + b_7X_{13} + b_8X_{14} + b_9X_{15} + b_{10}X_{16} + b_{11}X_{17} + b_{12}X_{18} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$
Model 7afam-A:	$Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_9 + b_6X_{11} + b_7X_{13} + b_8X_{14} + b_9X_{15} + b_{10}X_{16} + b_{11}X_{17} + b_{12}X_{18} + b_{13}X_{19} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$
Model 7afam-B:	$Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_9 + b_6X_{12} + b_7X_{13} + b_8X_{14} + b_9X_{15} + b_{10}X_{16} + b_{11}X_{17} + b_{12}X_{18} + b_{13}X_{19} + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$

Model 8: best fitting model while keeping student capacity and activism (hyp. 4, 8, 11, 12)

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Model 8ws: } Y_1 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_7 + b_6X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \\ \text{Model 8eth: } Y_2 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_8 + b_6X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \\ \text{Model 8afam: } Y_3 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_9 + b_6X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \end{aligned}$$

Model 9: best fitting model applied to 1975 and 1980 data (hypothesis 9)

$$\text{Model 9afam: } Y_3 = \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_9 + b_6X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e$$

Model 10: best fitting model with interaction terms of time by student capacity and time by activism (hypotheses 11)

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Model 10ws: } Y_1 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_7 + b_6X_{13} + b_7X_1X_7 + b_8X_1X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \\ \text{Model 10eth: } Y_2 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_7 + b_6X_{12} + b_7X_1X_8 + b_8X_1X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \\ \text{Model 10afam: } Y_3 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_8 + b_6X_{12} + b_7X_1X_9 + b_8X_1X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \end{aligned}$$

Model 11: best fitting model with interaction terms of time with significant organizational variables (hypothesis 10, 12)

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Model 11ws: } Y_1 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_7 + b_6X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \\ \text{Model 11eth: } Y_2 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_8 + b_6X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \\ \text{Model 11afam: } Y_3 &= \alpha + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_9 + b_6X_{13} + b_iX_i + v(\text{AR}(1)) + e \end{aligned}$$

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS

Empirical testing of the development of social movement programs has yielded both expected and unexpected findings. Three main conclusions emerge from data analysis: 1. the development of African American studies, an early riser, differs from the development of women's and ethnic studies, but not in an expected way; 2. student demographic characteristics figure more prominently than student activism – in fact, student activism plays almost no role; 3. evidence is strong in support of wide dissemination of social movement programs and departments across American higher education institutions.

This chapter is presented in three parts. The first section presents growth patterns. The second section presents descriptive statistics to show comparisons between those institutions that have social movement fields with those that do not. The first two parts offer evidence for the first three hypotheses and suggest initial insights for the remaining hypotheses. These sections do not use weighted data as do the statistical models.¹⁴ They present data as a reflection of this sample of colleges and universities.

The third section presents models to offer a more definitive assessment of hypotheses. I utilized model selection by both forward entry and backward deletion to determine the influences on the development of social movement programs and departments. Women's studies, ethnic studies, and African American studies are the foci, and the theoretically derived motivators for development (institutional capacity for size

¹⁴ Statistical models 1 through 8 were also tested using unweighted data. Points of departure in variable significance levels between the models using unweighted and weighted data are identified in footnotes.

and activism) drove the model-building process. Measures for these concepts appear in all models either separately or together. In addition to these primary motivators, multiple institutional characteristics that are common descriptors of American colleges and universities are included in some models to assess where development is occurring and whether dissemination is under way. In the text, a significant impact of a variable is defined as $p < .05$ with a two-tail test, however tables show greater detail of significance levels.

All variables and models target the 12 hypotheses that were introduced in chapter 4. These hypotheses emphasize different aspects of the development of social movement programs and departments. This chapter presents data by the order of models and focuses on describing model findings, while the next chapter, the discussion, is presented by the order of hypotheses and concentrates of applying descriptive analysis and model findings to hypotheses.

I defined and operationalized variables in the previous chapter, however two variables require further elucidation. I hypothesized that classification as a women's college or as an historically black college or university would be associated with fewer women's studies or African American studies programs and departments, as suggested by anecdotal evidence in literature. In this sample, 10 institutions are women's colleges and 9 are HBCUs out of 293 institutions. Because so few institutions carry one of these designations, (about 6.5% of institutions), this point is examined descriptively instead of by statistical models.

Women's colleges are more likely to have women's studies than other institutions while little difference is apparent in the presence of African American studies between HBCUs and other institutions, as shown in figure 6.1a and figure 6.1b. Women's colleges were more likely to have women's studies in every period compared to other institutions. By 2000, all but one women's college (out of 10) had women's studies. In contrast, African American studies appeared in HBCUs and in other institutions at about the same rate across the 25 years. Based on this sample of institutions, anecdotal evidence suggesting that these curricula appeared less often in women's colleges and HBCUs is not supported.

Figure 6.1a: Percentage of Women's Colleges that have Women's Studies across Time

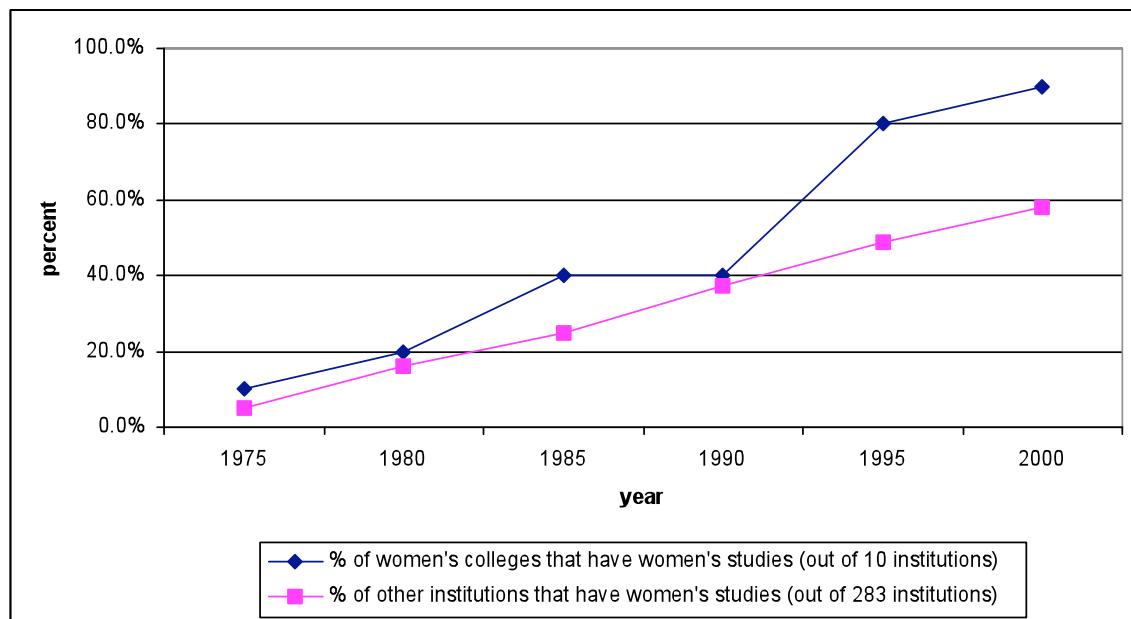
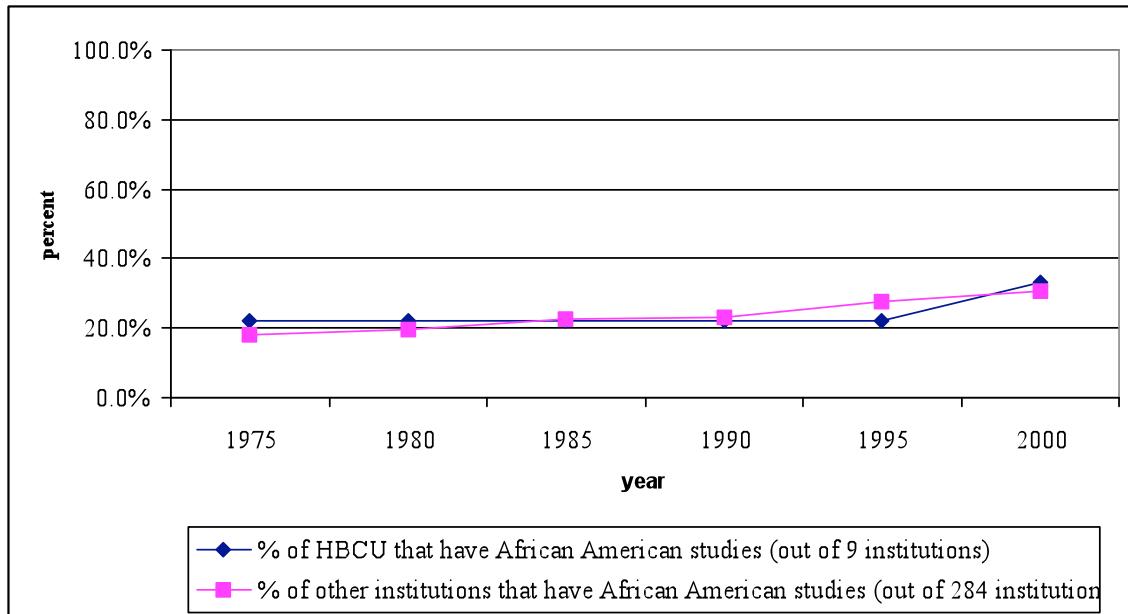


Figure 6.1b: Percentage of HBCUs that have African American Studies across Time



Section 1: Growth Patterns

Social movement curricula have witnessed tremendous growth across this 25 year period. Women's studies, ethnic studies, and African American studies all increased between 1975 and 2000, and clearly the largest increase has occurred in women's studies (see table 6.1). Women's studies existed in 16 institutions at the beginning of this period (out of 293) but existed in 176 institutions by 2000. In the year 2000, women's studies programs and departments were at 60% of sample institutions. While women's studies programs and departments were in about two-thirds of institutions, ethnic and African American studies were in about one-third of institutions in 2000. Ethnic studies began the period in 32 institutions and ended it in 100 institutions, and African American studies began in 54 institutions and ended it in 91 institutions.

Women's studies experienced a phenomenal growth rate of 1000% between 1975 and 2000, while ethnic studies grew 213% and African American studies grew 69%. African American studies, as an early riser, experienced its greatest growth before the period under investigation for this analysis, before 1975, and had a very slow growth rate from the late 1970s to the late 1980s. The growth rate rebounded somewhat during the 1990s. Though the growth rate never became negative, as suggested by some literature, it does slow considerably during the 1980s. In parallel, ethnic studies appeared at fewer new institutions during the 1980s and early 1990s, with growth picking up in the late 1990s. In contrast to these two areas, women's studies grew substantially during every five year period.

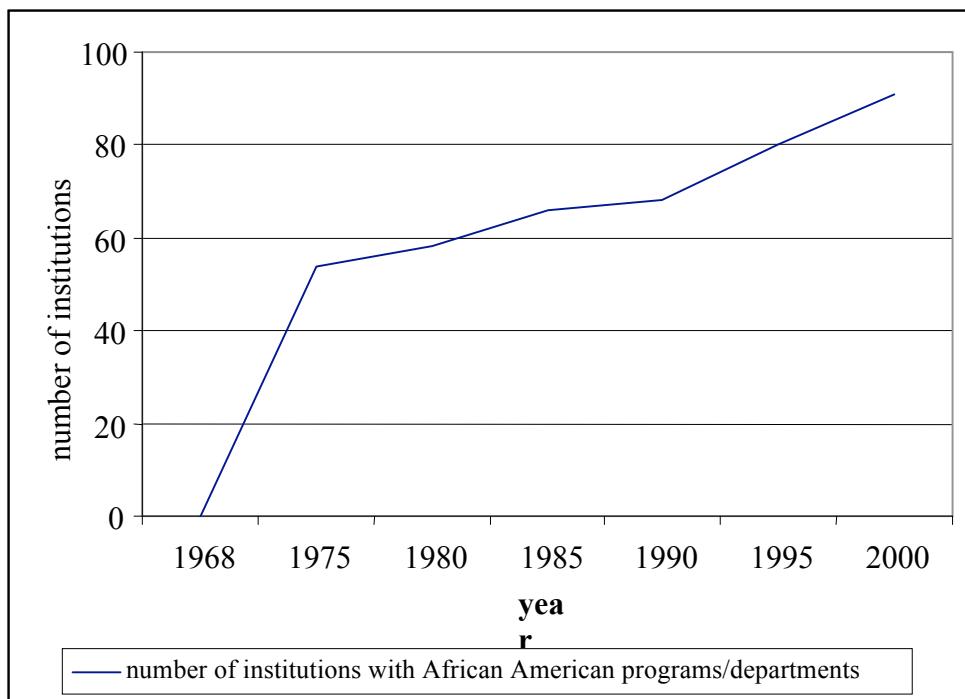
Table 6.1: Number of Institutions with Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and African American Studies Programs or Departments Across Time

	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>2000</u>
Women's studies	15	48	75	110	146	173
Ethnic studies	30	38	41	45	63	74
African American studies	54	58	66	68	80	90

These data support the first hypothesis, that women's and ethnic studies have experienced continuous growth since 1975. Women's studies programs and departments have consistently increased over the period, and ethnic studies programs and departments have increased, though at a slower rate during the middle part of the period. However, these data do not support the third hypothesis regarding a curvilinear growth pattern for African American studies. Growth increased at the end of this period rather than decreased. If the period before 1975 is taken into account during which 54 institutions

initiated an African American studies program or department, an accurate description of its growth pattern based on this sample would be an S-curve, dramatically increasing, then almost flattening, then increasing again (see figure 6.2).

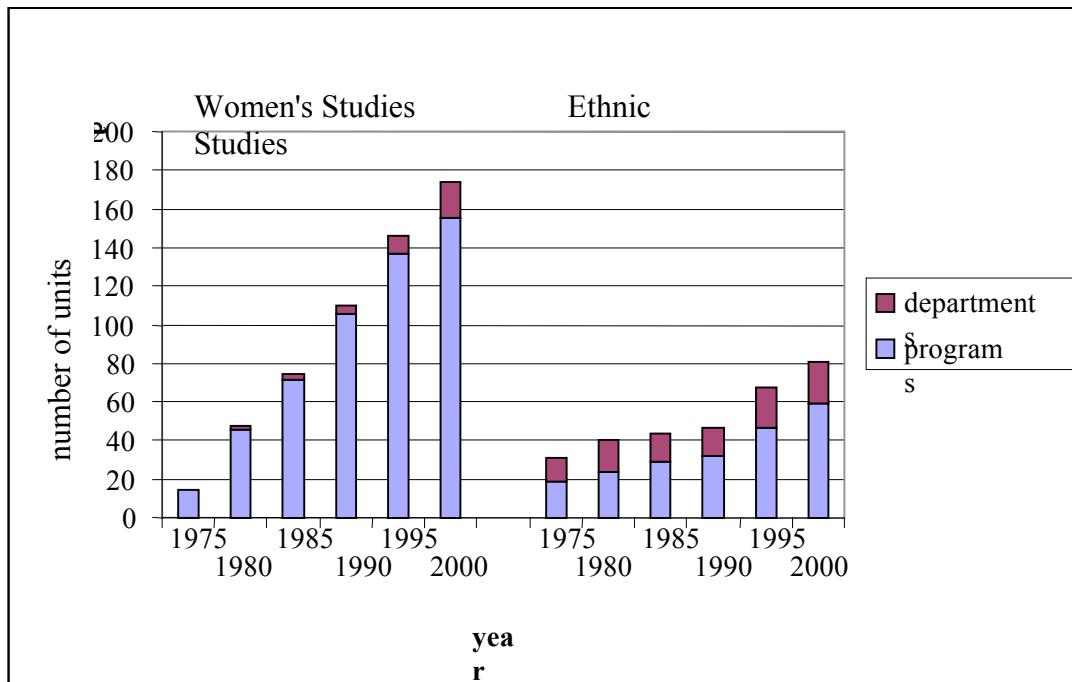
Figure 6.2: Growth Pattern for African American Studies



Women's and ethnic studies were hypothesized to have an upward trend of growth, and a detail of this trend was that these areas would start as programs and persist or become departments (hypothesis 2). Between 1975 and 2000, 11 women's studies programs became departments and five ethnic studies programs became departments, and there was no movement in the opposite direction for either area. These data support the second hypothesis. Figure 6.3 expands on this finding by isolating counts of programs

and departments at each time period. Clearly, the vast majority of women's and ethnic studies is organized as programs.

Figure 6.3: Counts of Programs and Departments in Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies



Section 2: Descriptive Statistics

The remaining hypotheses predict factors associated with the presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies. Hypotheses propose that measures of enrollment and student activism influence their presence, but financial and reputational status do not. Variability may be apparent between the types of institutions that have and do not have programs and departments during the early period of their development, but this variability should fade over time as they become more institutionalized. Descriptive

statistics of each variable that represents these elements, shown over time, offer a first indication of the accuracy of these proposals.

Institutional Capacity

Student enrollment, representing the size of institutions, is an important element of institutional capacity. With a greater number of students, institutions are more able to create and sustain a variety of curricula. Table 6.2 shows that institutions with women's studies, ethnic studies, and African American studies show higher enrollments compared to institutions that do not have these programs or departments. These three fields were housed at much larger institutions, having two to three times larger enrollment than institutions without these programs and departments. For example, institutions with women's studies in 1975 had 12,626 students on average while other institutions had 7,595 students. In 2000, this gap widened to 12,068 students for the first set of institutions and 4,910 students for the second set. Enrollment differences were also great between institutions that have ethnic studies and those that do not. In 1975, institutions with ethnic studies had 17,182 students on average compared to 6,776 students in other institutions, and in 2000, these numbers changed to 15,283 students and 7,060, respectively. Institutions with African American studies were roughly double the size of other institutions across time. In 1975, institutions with African American studies had an average of 14,437 students compared to 6,344 students in other institutions, and in 2000, the first group of institution shad an average of 13,173 students while the second had 7,347 students. Of these social movement fields, ethnic studies is at the largest

institutions on average, followed by African American studies. Though enrollment is clearly larger at institutions that have social movement-related study programs, these curricula have been incorporated into smaller institutions over time. The average number of students decreased for the set of institutions in each of these curricular areas between 1975 to 2000.

Two other important elements of enrollment are the counts for non-traditional students and the percentage of total enrollment made up of non-traditional students. As the populations most likely to demand women's, ethnic, and African American studies, more female students, non-black minority students, and African American students are expected to be positively associated with the presence of each of these curricula. As shown in table 6.2, institutions with and without women's studies and African American studies have been similar in the proportion of women and African American students that make up their student bodies. Over half of students are female, and about seven to nine percent of students are African American across institutions. However, a large gap is present in the average number of African American students that are enrolled at these two sets of institutions. About twice as many African American students are in institutions with African American studies than in institutions without African American studies. For institutions with ethnic studies in 1975, the number of non-white, non-black students was 459% greater compared to other institutions, though this gap narrowed in 2000 to be 275% greater. The gap in percentage of enrollments that are non-black minority enrollments is also great. On average, institutions with ethnic studies enrolled 15% of this non-traditional student population in 1975 compared to institutions without ethnic

studies, where non-black minority students comprised 6% of enrollment. By 2000 the proportions of non-black minority students had grown at all institutions, but the gap remained large between institutions with and without ethnic studies at 40% and 16%, respectively. Overall, institutions with and without social movement-related programs and departments exhibited clear differences in size and proportions of non-traditional students enrolled.

Table 6.2: Comparing Institutions with and without Social Movement Programs/Departments: Average Total Enrollment, Average Enrollment of Non-Traditional Students, Average Proportion of Enrollment of Non-Traditional Students

Variable	Institutions	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Women's Studies</u>							
enrollment	with	12,626	13,036	14,136	13,751	12,172	12,068
	without	7,595	6,923	5,937	5,851	5,414	4,910
% women	with	57%	53%	53%	54%	56%	58%
	without	52%	52%	53%	56%	57%	58%
<u>Ethnic Studies</u>							
enrollment	with	17,182	16,445	15,078	16,103	14,698	15,283
	without	6,776	6,652	6,898	7,490	7,176	7,060
enrl non-blk minority	with	2,847	2,673	2,937	3,843	4,455	5,030
	without	509	460	580	814	1,151	1,341
% non-blk minority	with	15%	16%	18%	22%	28%	30%
	without	6%	6%	7%	9%	13%	16%
<u>African American Studies</u>							
enrollment	with	14,437	13,667	13,473	14,925	13,802	13,173
	without	6,344	6,503	6,460	6,961	6,909	7,347
enrollment, black	with	787	781	749	971	961	910
	without	357	351	327	384	443	520
% black	with	9%	9%	8%	9%	8%	9%
	without	8%	7%	7%	7%	8%	9%

Other forms of capacity include financial status and reputation. With more money and more prestige, institutions can better accommodate these programs and departments, but I hypothesized that these would have little to no influence compared to other measures. Table 6.3 shows the differences in three measures of capacity between those institutions that had social movement curricula and those that did not. Change in operating budget across each five year period, correcting for inflation, showed similar patterns when comparing women's studies and African American studies. Institutions that had one of these two areas grew financially at a faster rate on average than other institutions during most of this time period. Institutions with and without ethnic studies, on the other hand, showed variable growth patterns in their operating budgets. Only at the beginning and end of this period did institutions with ethnic studies outperform other institutions.

As with change in operating budget, institutions with women's studies and with African American studies showed a similar pattern to each other in operating budget per student (corrected for inflation). For both areas, institutions with these curricula had higher operating budgets per-student than other institutions, and the difference increased over time. Institutions with women's studies had budgets that were 23% higher on average than other institutions in 1975 increasing to 84% higher in 2000, and those with African American studies had budgets that were 66% higher in 1975 and 88% higher in 2000 than other institutions' budgets. Institutions with and without African American studies showed the biggest gap in budget and the highest per-student budgets overall compared to the other two social movement areas. In contrast, institutions with ethnic

studies had marginally larger budgets than other institutions, with a gap that was quite small across the years. These institutions also had the smallest overall per-student budgets when compared to institutions with women's studies and African American studies. For institutions with women's studies, average budget per student ranged from \$15,071 in 1975 to \$30,133 in 2000; with ethnic studies, average budget per student ranged from \$14,781 in 1975 to \$29,349 in 2000; and with African American studies, the wealthiest set of institutions in the long-run, budget per student ranged from an average of \$13,261 in 1975 to \$36,233 in 2000.

It is interesting to note that even though the count for institutions that have women's studies or African American studies is smaller compared to the group of all other institutions, the standard deviation associated with average budgets per student is much larger for the former groups. Operating budget per student tends to be higher for institutions with these social movement programs and departments, but variation in budget is also greater compared to other institutions.

Table 6.3: Comparing Institutions with and without Social Movement Programs/Departments: Other Forms of Capacity – Change in Operating Budget per Student from One Time Period to the Next, Operating Budget per Student, Average SAT/ACT Score

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>2000</u>
Women's Studies							
change in op with budget	with		4.51%	24.69%	16.97%	14.46%	4.11%
	without		0.92%	21.95%	14.82%	10.91%	4.63%
op budget per student	with	12,290	18,417	21,815	28,272	30,696	30,113
	without	15,071	14,236	16,847	17,243	17,010	16,400
ave. SAT/ACT	with	982	1013	1016	1035	1159	1149
	without	986	975	969	949	1070	1064
Ethnic Studies							
change in op with budget	with		8.77%	22.08%	14.15%	11.40%	9.36%
	without		0.39%	22.75%	15.89%	13.02%	2.65%
op budget per student	with	16,144	16,327	20,908	23,760	24,495	29,349
	without	14,781	14,721	17,658	20,991	23,651	22,858
ave. SAT/ACT	with	991	981	989	991	1124	1138
	without	985	981	980	979	1112	1106
African American Studies							
change in op with budget	with		3.39%	27.18%	16.74%	13.57%	6.92%
	without		1.03%	21.31%	15.29%	12.34%	3.16%
op budget per student	with	22,038	21,663	26,277	31,048	35,189	36,233
	without	13,261	13,236	15,705	18,435	19,556	19,294
ave. SAT/ACT	with	1076	1061	1059	1053	1183	1179
	without	965	961	959	959	1089	1086

Student Activism

In addition to institutional capacity to house social movement programs as indicated by size and type of student body, student protest activity is another proposed influence. For this sample of institutions, those with a social movement program or

department more often experienced at least one incidence of student protest activity during the previous five-year period compared to other institutions, and protest activity was more prevalent earlier during this twenty-five year period (see table 6.3). Of institutions that had women's, ethnic or African American studies in 1975, 20% to 26% had had student protest activity previous to 1975. In comparison, 9% to 11% of institutions without these curricula had protest activity. During the subsequent periods, this large gap disappears – institutions with these programs and departments were generally more likely to have previously experienced protest activity, but were not as dramatically different from other institutions as they had been in 1975. In 1990, 9% to 13% of institutions with social movement programs and departments had experienced protest activity between 1985 and 1989 compared to 2% to 4% of other institutions. In 2000, none of these institutions had protest activity between 1995 and 1998, the last year for which protest activity data was collected. Unsurprisingly, data shows that the greatest number of institutions that had experienced protest activity and the greatest division between the two groups of institutions occurred at the beginning of the study period, the point closest in time to the Civil Rights era.

Table 6.4: Comparing Institutions with and without Social Movement Programs/Departments: Percentage of Institutions that had Protest Activity During the Previous Five-Year Period

Institutions	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Women's Studies</u>						
with	20%	0%	5%	9%	2%	0%
without	11%	0.40%	0%	2%	1%	0%
<u>Ethnic Studies</u>						
with	23%	0%	5%	9%	3%	0%
without	10%	0.40%	1%	4%	1%	0%
<u>African American Studies</u>						
with	26%	0	3%	13%	3%	0%
without	8%	0.40%	1%	2%	1%	0%

Institutional Characteristics

I hypothesized that social movements curricula would be associated with institutional characteristics early during this time period, fading over time. I assessed differentiation across institutional types through five measures. Each of these measures represents major aspects of institutional identity including curricular and research emphasis, location, religious affiliation, and public/private control. I hypothesized that institutions that concentrate more on the arts and sciences rather than professional studies will more likely have social movement fields because these fields have much in common curricularly with the arts and sciences. Furthermore, I hypothesized that doctoral and research institutions, at the forefront of the development of new knowledge, will venture into these fields earlier than other institutions. Non-religious schools in more liberal regions of the country will also adopt women's, ethnic, and African American studies sooner than other institutions since they are more likely to be politically and socially

aligned with the type of research produced by these fields – critical of social norms. Last, I hypothesized that public schools will develop these programs and departments earlier because they are generally more responsive to public demands than private schools. Observing these measures over time will suggest how widely disseminated across institutional types these social movement curricula have become. Findings are presented in table 6.5.

Institutions with social movement fields are more likely to emphasize the arts and sciences as opposed to professional studies, especially those that have African American studies.¹⁵ Institutions with social movement fields award a majority of arts and science degrees (53%-61%) while other institutions award a majority of professional degrees, with no great difference across the years or among the social movement fields.

Institutions with social movement units are more likely to have a classification as a Carnegie research or doctorate institution compared to other institutions.¹⁶ The percent of institutions with women's studies that are research/doctorate ranges from 40% to 56% across the years, initially increasing in percentage points until 1985 and then decreasing. This pattern suggests that women's studies was more often in master's and bachelor's institutions during the early years, then moved in greater numbers into research and doctorate institutions during the 1980s, and then disseminated across other types of colleges and universities once again. Those without women's studies range from 32% research/doctorate in 1975 to 16% research/doctorate in 2000. Ethnic and African

¹⁵ In the College Catalog Study sample, institutions award an average of 50.0% of their degrees in the arts and sciences.

¹⁶ In the College Catalog Study sample, 32.5% of institutions are classified by Carnegie as research or doctorate.

American studies parallel each other in their relationship with Carnegie classification. About 60% of institutions with one of these fields are research/doctorate compared to about 25% of institutions without these fields. Both generally spread into masters and bachelors institutions over time. Institutions with ethnic studies ranged from 60% research/doctorate to 57% research/doctorate from 1975 to 2000, and African American studies ranged from 65% to 54%.

Social movement fields are more likely to be found in institutions that are located in the west, northeast, or Atlantic states than in other regions.¹⁷ Women's studies and African American studies demonstrate similarity with 50% to 56% of their host institutions located in these generally more liberal regions of the country, with no distinct pattern over time. Less than 40% of institutions without women's or African American studies are located in these regions. Ethnic studies spreads into less liberal regions of the country over time; in 1975, two-thirds of institutions with ethnic studies were in the west, northeast, or Atlantic states but by 2000, slightly over half were located in these regions.

Social movement fields are more likely to be found at non-religious institutions.¹⁸ Again, patterns of classification are distinct across the different social movement fields. Institutions with women's studies are more likely to be non-religious, but women's studies extends into religious-affiliated institutions over time (93% non-religious in 1975, 83% non-religious in 2000). The percentile of institutions that are non-religious among those with ethnic studies ranges in the high eighties, while the percentile ranges in the

¹⁷ In the College Catalog Study sample, 39.9% of institutions are located in the northeast, mid-Atlantic, or west.

¹⁸ In the College Catalog Study sample, 72.4% of institutions are non-religious affiliated.

low nineties for African American studies, neither group showing a distinct pattern over time. About two-thirds of institutions without women's studies, ethnic studies, or African American studies programs or departments are non-religious.

Public control is the last measure I used to distinguish institutional types, and I hypothesize that it would not be a significant influence on the presence of programs and departments. Social movement fields appear more often in public colleges and universities rather than private¹⁹. In 1975, about two-thirds of institutions with women's studies were public, and in 2000, half are public. In 1975, 70% of institutions with ethnic studies were public, while in 2000 64% were public. African American studies, on the other hand, was more evenly split between public and private institutions. Just over half of institutions with African American studies are public across time. Less than half of institutions that do not have women's studies, ethnic studies, or African American studies are public.

Clearly, differences are apparent in the types of institutions that have and do not have social movement programs and departments. For some characteristics, there is evidence of diffusion over time. Whether these differences are significant in statistical models, in which each characteristic is assessed while controlling for others, will be examined in the next section.

¹⁹ In the College Catalog Study sample, 45.7% of institutions are public.

Table 6.5: Comparing Institutions with and without Social Movement Programs/Departments: Institutional Characteristics

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Institutions</u>						
<u>Women's Studies</u>							
% A&S degrees	with	56.3%	60.1%	57.0%	59.7%	58.9%	57.1%
	without	49.6%	48.0%	47.5%	44.1%	41.1%	40.0%
% Carnegie doctorate or research	with	40.0%	56.3%	53.3%	50.9%	47.3%	43.9%
	without	32.0%	27.8%	25.2%	21.3%	17.7%	15.8%
% in west, northeast, Atlantic states	with	53.3%	56.3%	54.7%	56.4%	50.7%	50.9%
	without	39.2%	36.7%	34.9%	30.1%	29.3%	24.2%
% non-religious institution	with	93.3%	97.9%	93.3%	86.4%	82.9%	83.2%
	without	71.2%	67.3%	65.1%	63.9%	61.9%	56.7%
% public	with	66.7%	66.7%	61.3%	53.6%	47.9%	50.3%
	without	44.6%	41.6%	40.4%	41.0%	43.5%	39.2%
<u>Ethnic Studies</u>							
% A&S degrees	with	53.9%	53.0%	54.2%	55.1%	53.9%	55.9%
	without	49.5%	49.5%	49.3%	49.0%	48.9%	48.0%
% Carnegie doctorate or research	with	60.0%	60.5%	61.0%	60.0%	55.6%	56.8%
	without	29.3%	28.2%	27.8%	27.4%	26.1%	24.2%
% in west, northeast, Atlantic states	with	66.7%	60.5%	61.0%	57.8%	52.4%	51.4%
	without	36.9%	36.9%	36.5%	36.7%	36.5%	36.1%
% non-religious institution	with	86.7%	89.5%	87.8%	86.7%	87.3%	86.5%
	without	70.7%	69.8%	69.8%	69.8%	68.3%	67.6%
% public	with	70.0%	76.3%	70.7%	68.9%	66.7%	63.5%
	without	43.0%	41.2%	41.7%	41.5%	40.0%	39.7%
<u>African American Studies</u>							
% A&S degrees	with	62.4%	60.7%	60.6%	59.9%	60.9%	61.0%
	without	47.1%	47.3%	46.9%	47.0%	45.8%	45.1%
% Carnegie doctorate or research	with	64.8%	65.5%	65.2%	63.2%	60.0%	54.4%
	without	25.1%	24.3%	22.9%	23.1%	22.1%	22.7%
% in west, northeast, Atlantic states	with	55.6%	50.0%	51.5%	50.0%	51.3%	53.3%
	without	36.4%	37.4%	36.6%	36.9%	35.7%	34.0%
% non-religious institution	with	92.6%	93.1%	90.9%	92.6%	91.3%	91.1%
	without	67.8%	67.2%	67.0%	66.2%	65.3%	64.0%
% public	with	51.9%	55.2%	53.0%	54.4%	50.0%	50.0%
	without	44.4%	43.4%	43.6%	43.1%	44.1%	43.8%

Section 3: Statistical Models

Through model building in GEE, we can gain an understanding of causal relationships and attain a sense of consistency of findings as suggested by bivariate descriptive statistics shown in the previous section (Hardin and Hilbe, 2003). As variables were added or deleted from models, I checked the major findings for stability. Variables were entered in sets according to theoretical and substantive guidelines set forth in chapters 4 and 5: institutional capacity and student demand; other institutional capacity; student activism; and institutional characteristics. After attaining the full model, variables were deleted based on the Wald test statistic and monitoring the QICC. The weakest variables were deleted in stages. An exception was made for the key variables for hypothesis testing – institutional capacity, student demand, and student activism. I retained these variables throughout backward selection to maintain focus on them and track their effects. After determining the best fit model for each curricular area, interaction terms were incorporated to assess whether effects of significant variables change over time. They were entered after determining the main effects in order to evaluate the main effects' variability over time. Interaction terms can suggest whether an effect was stronger at the beginning of the period compared to later.²⁰ Tables 6.6 through 6.10 show results of GEE models.

Model fit is assessed by the corrected quasi likelihood under the independence criterion (QICC), which offers a guide to the comparative strength of models and allows

²⁰ Interaction terms were also tested as a part of the model building process. Except for the term, “time*protest”, for ethnic studies, all interaction terms become eliminated during backward selection. No difference in findings result from this alternative method.

choice among the best subset of predictors (Hardin and Hilbe, 2003; SPSS syntax reference guide, 2007). The QICC, as shown in tables 6 through 10, ranges from 730 to 799 for models centering on women's studies, ranges from 393 to 438 for models centering on ethnic studies, and ranges from 369 to 379 for models focusing on African American studies.²¹ The QICC does not change greatly across nested models but does offer an indication of change in model fit. The worst fitting model for each area, as suggested by the QICC, is model 5, which highlights student protest, a first indication of its lack of importance in these models. Other models that perform less well are models 2 through 4 which highlight other forms of capacity besides student enrollment. The reduced model produced the lowest QICC, reflecting the model building process.

Control Variables

Time, past existence of a program or department in the same curricular area, and presence of another social movement program or department at the institutions are entered as control variables in every model. The variable, "time," incorporates a sense of the trend for growth over time, and the variable, "past," acts as a control variable accounting for the strong inertia effect that once a program or department is initiated, it tends to stay in place. The variable, "other sm," is another control for the increased likelihood that more social movement units will arise if others are already in place.

These control variables showed some difference across the social movement fields in the GEE models. For example, "time" has a variable effect across the different

²¹ The QICC for models using unweighted data performed worse, ranging from 75 to 100 points higher for these curricular areas.

curricula. For women's studies, "time" is highly significant in nearly all models, indicating that these programs and departments experienced significant growth from 1975 to 2000, as confirmed by the counts in table 6.1. For ethnic and African American studies, "time" is not significant in models.²² As table 6.1 shows, the growth patterns were comparatively slow for these fields, and GEE analysis suggests that they were not substantial enough to support an argument of extensive growth since 1975. "Past" is highly significant and has the strongest effect in every model, reinforcing the inertia concept. "Other sm" is highly significant for women's studies and ethnic studies and is significant in most models for African American studies. It is not significant in the analysis of African American studies during the early period. The emergence and persistence of women's studies and African American studies relied to some extent on the presence of predecessors to ease their transition into the university organizational structure. African American studies, as the early riser, could not rely on the institutionalization of predecessors.

Model 1 – Institutional capacity and student demand

All other variables, besides the control variables, move into and out of models as the intent changes. Institutional capacity and student demand are hypothesized to be primary motivators for the inclusion of social movement programs and departments at colleges and universities. GEE model 1, which assesses the impact of overall student

²² In models 2eth, 3eth, 4eth and 5eth if unweighted data is used, time is significant ($p < .05$). As shown in table 2, ethnic studies has a larger growth rate than African American studies between 1975 and 2000, but not near the explosive growth rate of women's studies. Analysis on unweighted data reflects this.

enrollment and the enrollment of non-traditional students on the presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies, is a part of tables 6.6ws, 6.6eth, and 6.6afam.

The model for women's studies, model 1ws, includes measures for the log of total enrollment, "enrollment," and for the percentage of enrollment that is female, "% female." "Enrollment" ($b = .48$) and "% female" ($b = .02$) are both significant. Holding other variables constant, the log odds of institutions having women's studies programs increases as enrollment increases and as the percentage of female students increases.

Table 6.6ws: General Estimating Equation Models for Women's Studies Programs and Departments: Model Building Incorporating Capacity, Student Demand, Student Activism, and Institutional Characteristics (models 1ws through 6ws)

Variables	1ws (B/SE)	2ws (B/SE)	3ws (B/SE)	4ws (B/SE)	5ws (B/SE)	6ws (B/SE)
Intercept	-9.15*** 1.24	-4.27*** .26	-8.84*** 1.85	-6.90*** .77	-4.18*** .25	-9.11*** 1.24
Time	.34*** .06	.36*** .06	.34*** .06	.29*** .06	.36*** .06	.34*** .06
Presence in past (1=pres.)	7.59*** 1.82	7.77*** 1.73	7.69*** 1.61	7.68*** 1.66	7.86*** 1.87	7.61*** 1.80
Other sm (1=present)	1.34*** .26	1.76*** .23	1.70*** .23	1.68*** .23	1.78*** .23	1.35*** .26
Enrollment (logged)	.48*** .11					.48*** .11
% female enrollment	.02** .01					.02* .01
Change in op. budget/student		.01 .00				
Op. budget/st (logged)			.50** .19			
SAT/ACT				.003*** .0008		
Protest (1=prot. activity)					-.60 .56	-.62 .56
QICC	771.70	779.48	785.35	784.77	798.67	773.29

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

For ethnic studies and African American studies, I constructed two models of enrollment effects, one that includes enrollment count figures (model 1A) and one that includes percentage of enrollment figures (model 1B). Overall enrollment and the enrollment of non-traditional student groups are highly correlated, so overall enrollment

is eliminated from the models that include non-traditional student enrollment.²³ Models 1ethA and 1ethB are presented in table 6.6. The log of overall enrollment ($b = .49$), the log of enrollment of non-white, non-black students ($b = .58$), and the log of the percentage of enrollment that is non-white and non-black ($b = .74$), are all highly significant.²⁴ As overall enrollment increases, the enrollment of non-white, non-black students increases, and the percentage of non-white, non-black students increases, the log odds of an institution having an ethnic studies program increases.

²³ Harrison (2002) argues that high correlation between independent variables can cause numerical imprecision, less stable coefficient estimates, higher standard errors, and less powerful statistical tests. For Ethnic studies, “enrl” and “enrnnl” are correlated at .86 to .87 across time. For African American studies, it ranges from .73 to .74.

²⁴ If “enrl” and “enrnnl” are entered into the same model, then “enrnnl” becomes non-significant, suggesting that overall enrollment may be a more important factor in having an ethnic studies program than ethnic enrollment. However, since these variables are highly correlated, this argument is unreliable.

Table 6.6eth: General Estimating Equation Models for Ethnic Studies Programs and Departments: Model Building Incorporating Capacity, Student Demand, Student Activism, and Institutional Characteristics (models 1eth through 6eth)

Variables	1ethA (B/SE)	1ethB (B/SE)	2eth (B/SE)	3eth (B/SE)	4eth (B/SE)	5eth (B/SE)
Intercept	-7.61*** .57	-9.69*** 1.03	-4.91*** .11	-1.79 2.24	-5.54*** 1.08	-4.83*** .43
Time	.02 .07	-.02 .08	.11 .08	.13 .08	.09 .07	.11 .08
Presence in past (1=pres.)	5.88*** .39	5.83*** .39	6.38*** .42	6.38*** .41	6.41*** .41	6.39*** .42
Other sm (1=present)	1.28*** .33	1.30*** .32	1.90*** .32	1.99*** .32	1.86*** .31	1.92*** .31
Enrollment (logged)		.49*** .11				
non-blk minority (logged)	.58*** .08					
% Non-bl minority (logged)		.74*** .20				
Change in op. budget/student			.01 .01			
Op. budget/st (logged)				.34 .24		
SAT/ACT					.001 .001	
Protest (1= prot. activity)						-.26 .52
QICC	400.07	400.79	432.61	432.37	437.99	438.37

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Table 6.6eth: General Estimating Equation Models for Ethnic Studies Programs and Departments: Model Building Incorporating Capacity, Student Demand, Student Activism, and Institutional Characteristics (models 1eth through 6eth) (continued)

Variables	6ethA (B/SE)	6ethB (B/SE)
Intercept	-7.59*** .58	-9.64*** 1.04
Time	.02 .08	-.03 .09
Presence in past (1=pres.)	5.89*** .40	5.85*** .40
Other sm (1=present)	1.28*** .33	1.31*** .32
Enrollment (logged)		.48** .11
non-blk minority (logged)	.58*** .08	
% Non-bl minority (logged)		.75*** .20
Change in op. budget/student		
Op. budget/st (logged)		
SAT/ACT		
Protest (1= prot. activity)	-.12 .65	-.29 .64
QICC	402.03	402.62

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

The percent of African American students of total enrollment, on the other hand, is not associated with the presence of African American studies in any model except for those isolating 1975 and 1980 (in model 9). Models 1afamA and 1afamB in table 6.6

show that the log of enrollment is significant ($b = .38$)²⁵, and the log of enrollment of black students is significant ($b = .31$) but percent of African American enrollment is not.²⁶ As more black students enroll in an institution, the log odds that an institution has an African American studies program or department increases. Overall enrollment has an effect on the presence of African American studies but the percentage of black students does not.²⁷

²⁵ In model 1afamB using unweighted data, enrollment becomes not significant.

²⁶ If enrollment and enrollment of African American students are entered into the same model, then enrollment of black students becomes non-significant.

²⁷ Correlation between “enrl” and “enrbp” is low at -.10

Table 6.6afam: General Estimating Equation Models for African American Studies Programs and Departments: Model Building Incorporating Capacity, Student Demand, Student Activism, and Institutional Characteristics (models 1afam through 6afam)

Variables	1afamA (B/SE)	1afamB (B/SE)	2afam (B/SE)	3afam (B/SE)	4afam (B/SE)	5afam (B/SE)
Intercept	-6.45*** .49	-8.024*** 1.03	-4.93*** .34	-5.97* 2.35	-7.00*** 1.26	-4.95*** .35
Time	.12 .10	.13 .10	.12 .10	.11 .10	.05 .10	.12 .10
Presence in past (1=pres.)	6.92*** .43	6.90*** .42	7.22*** .43	7.19*** .43	7.14*** .44	7.23*** .43
Other sm (1=present)	1.65*** .39	1.55*** .42	1.81*** .40	1.80*** .40	1.77*** .41	1.83*** .40
Enrollment (logged)		.38** .13				
Af-Am enroll (logged)	.31** .10					
% Af-Am enrollment		.01 .01				
Change in op. budget/student			.00 .01			
Op. budget/st (logged)				.12 .25		
SAT/ACT					.002 .001	
Protest (1= prot. activity)						.21 .46
QICC	369.43	373.50	376.60	377.12	376.24	379.22

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Table 6.6afam: General Estimating Equation Models for African American Studies Programs and Departments: Model Building Incorporating Capacity, Student Demand, Student Activism, and Institutional Characteristics (models 1afam through 6afam)
 (continued)

Variables	6afamA (B/SE)	6afamB (B/SE)
Intercept	-6.44*** .49	-8.03*** 1.03
Time	.12 .10	.13 .10
Presence in past (1=pres.)	6.92*** .43	6.90*** .42
Other sm (1=present)	1.65*** .40	1.54*** .42
Enrollment (logged)		.38** .13
Af-Am enroll (logged)	.31** .10	
% Af-Am enrollment		.01 .01
Change in op. budget/student		
Op. budget/st (logged)		
SAT/ACT		
Protest (1= prot. activity)	-.03 .44	.10 .42
QICC	371.43	375.49

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Models 2 through 4 – Other forms of capacity

Models 2, 3, and 4 introduce other forms of capacity besides student enrollment characteristics. Model 2 considers the effect of change in financial capacity on the

presence of social movement programs and departments. Model 2ws, as shown in table 6.6ws, indicates that a change in operating budget does not influence the log odds that an institution will have a women's studies program or department, but overall size of budget per student ($b = .50$) and reputation of an institution ($b = .003$) do have positive net effects, as shown in models 3ws and 4ws.²⁸ However, both of these influences fade with the inclusion of other variables in later models.

Neither budgetary considerations nor institutional reputation have a significant influence in the presence of ethnic studies or African American studies in models 2, 3, and 4.²⁹ However, later models suggest that size of operating budget per student may play a small role in the presence of ethnic studies. Overall, financial and reputational forms of capacity appear to play little role in the presence of social movement programs and departments on campuses. Reduction or expansion of budgets and institutional reputation play no role while size of budget may have a small influence.

Model 5 – Student activism

Model 5 assesses student activism. As foreshadowed by the discussion of the QICC above, the student activism variable, “protest,” does not perform well, as shown in tables 6.6ws, 6.6eth, and 6.6afam.³⁰ In every model in which it appears by itself (in

²⁸ In model 2ws using unweighted data, change in operating budget is significant ($p < .05$).

²⁹ In model 4afam using unweighted data, SAT is significant ($p < .01$). However, it does not appear significant in any other model using unweighted data for African American studies.

³⁰ Model 5 and model 6 (model 6 also includes “protest”) were also tested on data that did not contain the year 2000, using only the five time periods between 1975 and 1995. Since the protest data is truncated for the period before 2000, covering only 1995 to 1998, and since very few protest events happened during this

addition to control variables), it is not significant (model 5ws, model 5eth, model 5afam). Student activism during the previous five-year period is not expected to influence the presence of social movement programs or departments according to these models. However, as will be seen below, other models for women's studies that include additional variables do show a significant effect of "protest" on the presence of women's studies, in contrast to the expected finding that African American studies would be more closely related to protest activity.

Model 6 - Institutional capacity, student demand, and student activism

The next model, model 6, combines the main variables of interest, institutional capacity, student demand, and student activism, into one model as shown in tables 6.6ws, 6.6eth, and 6.6afam. Model 6ws shows that enrollment ($b = .48$) and the percentage of enrollment that is female ($b = .02$) have a significant influence on the presence of women's studies.³¹ "Protest" does not have a significant influence. In agreement with models 1ws and 5ws, overall student enrollment and the percentage of female enrollment have a positive influence on the presence of women's studies programs and departments, and protest activity during the previous five years has no influence.

Model 6 for ethnic studies and African American studies is tested twice as in model 1 to accommodate concerns about high correlation between enrollment variables. Overall size of the student body is important for the presence of both fields (eth: $b = .48$;

time, this data could be unreliable for 2000, skewing overall findings. However, no difference in findings for either model in any social movement curricula was apparent when 2000 was eliminated.

³¹ In model 6ws using unweighted data, percent of enrollment that is female is not significant.

afam: $b = .38$), as is the size of the target populations (eth: $b = .58$; afam: $b = .31$).

However, the percentage that makes up the targeted population of total enrollment is an important influence for ethnic studies but not for African American studies. Visibility of targeted non-traditional student populations on campus appears to be more important for the presence of ethnic studies than for African American studies. As with women's studies, protest activity has no influence for ethnic studies and African American studies in these models. Models 6eth and 6afam reflect findings of previous models.

Model 7 – Full models

The seventh model presents the full model, introducing all proposed institutional characteristics. Two versions are presented in tables 6.7ws, 6.7eth, and 6.7afam – version A includes the SAT/ACT measure while version B includes the operating budget measure. Both of these variables were significant in earlier models for at least some of the social movement areas. This warrants two full models to accommodate high correlation between the two prestige measures.³²

For ethnic studies and African American studies, two additional models could potentially be defined – one for non-traditional enrollment and one for the percentage of non-traditional enrollment. However, from the seventh model onward, only the measure for the percentage of enrollment will be utilized. Total enrollment, a strong effect in all models, is highly correlated with non-traditional enrollment but is weakly correlated with the percentage of enrollment of non-traditional students. The percentage variables can

³² Correlation between operating budget per student and SAT/ACT ranges from .74 to .82 over time.

appear in models that contain total enrollment, a key component of models, without concern. Furthermore, when non-traditional enrollment is included in models with overall enrollment, it is no longer significant. The size of non-traditional student enrollment appears to be a weaker influence than the overall size of the student body. Thus, using only the proportion of non-traditional enrollment appears to be the best alternative to simplify further model building. In addition, change in operating budget will no longer be utilized in models since it has had no effect thus far.

The full models for women's studies, model 7wsA and model 7wsB, reflect most of the findings already presented in earlier models. For women's studies, overall size of enrollment (model A: $b = .73$, model B: $b = .65$) and the percentage that is female (both models: $b = .03$) have influence, but financial and reputational characteristics do not. A change from past models occurs in the "protest" variable. With the inclusion of institutional characteristics, protest activity becomes an important influence on women's studies in this and later models.³³ Institutions that had protest activity during the previous five years are less likely to have a women's studies program.

The remaining variables in model 7wsA and 7wsB are measures of institutional characteristics to assess in what types of institutions women's studies may be concentrated. The percent of degrees that are granted in the arts and sciences has a positive effect on the presence of women's studies programs and departments in an institution (both models: $b = .02$). Other characteristics have no effect including classification as a research/doctorate institution, region of the country, religious

³³ In model 7wsA and 7wsB using unweighted data, "protest" is not significant. However, protest does become significant in the first stage of the model reduction process with the exclusion of "religion."

affiliation, and public/private control.³⁴ Having a strong arts and science orientation influences the presence of women's studies, but otherwise, there is no significant difference in whether institutions have women's studies according to the full models.

³⁴ For models 7wsA and 7wsB using unweighted data, "region" is significant ($p < .05$).

Table 6.7ws: General Estimating Equation Models for Women's Studies Programs and Departments: Full Model and Best Fit Model (models 7ws and 8ws)

Variables	7wsA (B/SE)	7wsB (B/SE)	8ws-1 (B/SE)	8ws-2 (B/SE)	8ws-3 (B/SE)
Intercept	-17.36*** 2.86	-13.64*** 1.67	-17.37*** 2.85	-17.29*** 2.81	-15.83*** 2.49
Time	.37*** .07	.36*** .07	.37*** .07	.37*** .07	.38*** .06
Presence in past (1=pres.)	7.04*** 1.34	7.07*** 1.37	7.04*** 1.34	7.05*** 1.34	7.04*** 1.33
Other sm (1=present)	1.05*** .27	1.06*** .27	1.05*** .27	1.05*** .27	1.03*** .27
Enrollment (logged)	.73*** .16	.65*** .16	.73*** .15	.75*** .14	.67*** .11
% female enrollment	.03* .01	.03* .01	.03* .01	.03* .01	.03** .01
Op. budget/st (logged)	.52 .26		.52 .26	.49* .25	.39 .23
SAT/ACT		.00 .00			
Protest (1= prot. activity)	-1.49** .55	-1.44** .55	-1.49** .56	-1.50** .56	-1.50** .56
% arts and sci degrees	.02** .01	.02** .01	.02** .01	.02** .01	.02** .01
Research instit. (1=res/doct)	-.30 .34	-.11 .33	-.30 .34	-.31 .34	
Region (1= coastal)	.42 .23	.43 .23	.42 .23	.42 .23	.44* .22
Religion (1=non-relig.)	.00 .34	.03 .33			
Control (1=public)	.07 .36	.03 .36	.08 .30		
QICC	734.80	739.55	732.80	730.93	729.58

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

The full models for ethnic studies, as shown in table 6.7eth, show variation from the full models for women's studies. The size of the student body (model A: $b = .58$, model B: $b = .63$) and the percentage of it that is non-white and non-black (model A: $b = .94$, model B: $b = .93$) are both important influences on the presence of ethnic studies. The two other measures of capacity and protest activity are not significant. Of the institutional characteristics, institutions with a greater arts and science orientation (both models: $b = .02$) and those located in non-coastal regions (model A: $b = -.96$, model B: $b = -.95$) are more likely to have ethnic studies. On the other hand, "research," religion," and "control" are not significant. There is no expected difference in the research orientation, religiosity, or public/private control between institutions that do and do not have ethnic studies.³⁵

³⁵ For model 7ethA using unweighted data, percent arts and sciences is not significant, and for model 7ethB "region" is not significant.

Table 6.7eth: General Estimating Equation Models for Ethnic Studies Programs and Departments: Full Model and Best Fit Model (models 7eth and 8eth)

Variables	7ethA (B/SE)	7ethB (B/SE)	8eth-1 (B/SE)	8eth-2 (B/SE)	8eth-3 (B/SE)
Intercept	-7.12* 2.75	-11.28*** 1.82	-6.39** 2.12	-5.96** 2.15	-5.97** 2.14
Time	-.04 .09	-.07 .09	-.03 .09	-.02 .09	-.03 .09
Presence in past (1=pres.)	6.00*** .44	5.94*** .43	5.99*** .44	6.03*** .43	6.03*** .44
Other sm (1=present)	1.43*** .32	1.35*** .32	1.44*** .32	1.46*** .31	1.45*** .31
Enrollment (logged)	.58** .20	.63** .21	.53** .17	.58*** .15	.54*** .13
% non-blk min (logged)	.94*** .23	.93*** .23	.94*** .23	.92*** .23	.92*** .23
Op. budget/st (logged)	-.45 .28		-.50* .25	-.58* .23	-.55* .23
SAT/ACT		.00 .00			
Protest (1= prot. activity)	.01 .65	-.13 .64	.01 .65	-.01 .65	-.01 .65
% arts and sci degrees	.02** .01	.02* .01	.02** .01	.02** .01	.02** .01
Research instit. (1=res/doct)	-.14 .43	-.41 .42			
Region (1= coastal)	-.96** .34	-.95** .35	-.95** .34	-.97** .34	-.98** .34
Religion (1=non-relig.)	-.46 .45	-.51 .45	-.44 .44	-.22 .40	
Control (1=public)	.41 .45	.63 .46	.41 .44		
QICC	399.53	401.57	395.77	394.41	392.62

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

The two full models for African American studies, 7afamA and 7afamB in table 6.7afam resemble each other closely, as was true for women's studies and ethnic studies. The size of enrollment is significant (both models: $b = .48$). However, in contrast to women's and ethnic studies in which non-traditional enrollment played a role, the percentage of enrollment that is African American does not influence the presence of African American studies. In parallel with the other social movement areas, operating budget per student and average SAT/ACT scores at an institution do not influence the presence of African American studies. Despite using a measure that is most closely tied with activism surrounding African American issues, the "protest" variable also has no effect. In addition, no difference in the presence of African American studies across institutions is apparent based on most institutional characteristics, including emphasis on the arts and sciences, research orientation, region of the country, and control. Institutions that are non-religious were more likely to have African American studies (model A: $b = 1.04$; model B: $b = 1.00$). Unlike the other social movement fields, institutions differ on whether they have African American studies by religious affiliation.³⁶

³⁶ For models 7afamA and 7afamB using unweighted data, "percent arts and science degrees" is significant and in model 7afamA, "religion" is not significant.

Table 6.7afam: General Estimating Equation Models for African American Studies Programs and Departments: Full Model and Best Fit Model (models 7afam and 8afam)

Variables	7afamA (B/SE)	7afamB (B/SE)	8afam-1 (B/SE)	8afam-2 (B/SE)	8afam-3 (B/SE)	8afam-4 (B/SE)
Intercept	-9.63* 3.77	-11.95*** 2.12	-9.62* 3.72	-10.31*** 1.71	-10.61*** 1.43	-10.24*** 1.37
Time	.17 .10	.10 .10	.17 .10	.16 .10	.16 .10	.16 .10
Presence in past (1=pres.)	6.68*** .43	6.63*** .42	6.68*** .42	6.68*** .43	6.68*** .43	6.70*** .42
Other sm (1=present)	1.22** .43	1.25** .43	1.22** .43	1.22** .43	1.22** .43	1.22** .42
Enrollment (logged)	.48* .22	.48* .22	.48* .22	.49* .21	.53** .17	.46** .16
% Af-Am enrollment	.01 .01	.01 .01	.01 .01	.01 .01	.01 .01	.01 .01
Op. budget/st (logged)	-.07 .33		-.07 .33			
SAT/ACT		.00 .00				
Protest (1= prot. activity)	-.22 .43	-.36 .44	-.22 .43	-.24 .45	-.21 .44	-.19 .46
% arts and sci degrees	.02 .01	.01 .01	.02 .01	.02* .01	.02* .01	.02* .01
Research instit. (1=res/doct)	.17 .58	-.04 .48	.17 .57	.13 .45		
Region (1= coastal)	-.00 .37	-.04 .36				
Religion (1=non-relig.)	1.04* .45	1.00* .45	1.04* .45	1.03* .45	1.02* .45	.76 .44
Control (1=public)	-.48 .46	-.24 .44	-.48 .46	-.44 .43	-.46 .43	
QICC	374.96	375.23	372.96	372.33	370.39	369.41

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Based on full models, women's studies, ethnic studies, and African American studies are all positively influenced by student enrollment considerations and not influenced by financial and reputational considerations. Protest activity plays a role for women's studies but not for the other social movement areas. Emphasis on the arts and sciences and location of the institution in the country contributes to the existence of women's and ethnic studies on campuses while religious affiliation influences whether an African American studies program or department is found on campus. Full models are not the most efficient models for drawing conclusions from data to support or refute arguments since they may contain specificity error. As models are reduced to focus on the key variables as well as the variables that contribute to explaining variation in the presence of social movement programs and departments, a closer approximation to the true relationships in the population of higher education institutions can be attained.

Model 8 – Reduced models

From the full models, the reduced models – the models that will be the best test of most hypotheses – are developed. To attain the best fitting model from a full model, model 7A was used as a base and the Wald test statistic was used to determine the order of elimination of variables. For ethnic and African American studies, the choice between starting with 7A or 7B is moot, because neither financial nor reputational measures played a role in the presence of these programs and other variables were nearly identical in the two models. This choice is made based on findings of the full model for women's studies. Operating budget per student may play some role in the presence of women's

studies, but there is little evidence that SAT/ACT plays a role after other factors are taken into consideration such as enrollment. Thus, all three curricular areas begin with model 7A for reducing to the best fitting model.³⁷

Tables 6.7ws, 6.7eth, and 6.7afam present the findings for model 8. For each curricular area, the weakest variable was eliminated until a best fit was reached. An exception was made for the key variables of interest, which were retained regardless of their strength in the models. “Time,” “past,” and “other sm” were retained as important control variables and maintaining the sense of trends over time; “enrl” and “enrwp/enrnpl/enrbp” were retained as important measures to assess the importance of student demand on the presence of social movement programs and departments; “protest” was retained as an important measure of student activism and its effect on the presence of programs and departments. Other forms of capacity and institutional characteristics were subject to elimination.

As shown in models 8ws-1, 8ws-2, and 8ws-3, the process of backward deletion resulted in the initial elimination of “religion” as the weakest variable, followed by “control” and “research.” This resulted in a small improvement in QICC from 735 to 730. Findings of the best fitting model for women’s studies, model 8ws-3, differ little from the full model, model 7wsA. The main difference is that “region” becomes a significant effect in the model.

³⁷ For women’s studies, model fitting was also conducted using model 7wsB, which includes SAT/ACT, since this variable was tested in isolation with control variables and was found significant in model 4ws. At no point during the model fitting process did SAT/ACT become significant and does eventually become eliminated from the best fitting model.

Most variables in model 8ws-3 influence the presence of women's studies. The control variables all play a strong role in the presence of women's studies. "Time" ($b = .38$), "past" ($b = 7.04$), and "other sm" ($b = 1.03$) all increase the log odds that a women's studies program or department will be present. These programs and departments have increased in number across institutions over time, have persisted within institutions, and have benefited from the existence of other social movement fields on campus. Overall enrollment of students ($b = .67$) is a stronger influence compared to the proportion of the enrollment that is female ($b = .03$), but both increase the log odds that women's studies is present. Surprisingly, student activism consistently decreases the log odds that women's studies is present across models ($b = -1.50$). Institutions with protest activity in the previous five years were less likely to have a women's studies program or department. Higher percentage of degrees in the arts and sciences and location in coastal regions also increased the log odds that women's studies will be present in institutions. Women's studies tends to be more common in institutions that have a greater emphasis on the arts and sciences ($b = .02$). They also may be more common in institutions located in more liberal regions of the country ($b = .44$). "Region" must be interpret with caution because it remains a weak variable and does not become significant until the last stage of model reduction, after the elimination of "religion," "control," and "research."³⁸

One variable, operating budget per student, was retained in the final model for model 8ws. This variable showed borderline statistical significance throughout the

³⁸ Model building was also conducted on unweighted data, and order of deletion and overall findings remained the same.

model-building process, so although it is not significant in model 8ws-3 and is therefore a candidate for exclusion, it was retained for purposes of discussion in the next section.³⁹

The best fit model for ethnic studies results in almost the same conclusions as the full model. As a reflection of this, the QICC changes little going from 400 in model 7ethA to 393 in model 8eth-3. “Protest” was the weakest variable in the model, but following the guidelines to retain the main variables of interest, the second weakest variable, research orientation, was eliminated instead. The next elimination was public/private control, followed by religious affiliation.

The variables that remain in model 8eth show the same pattern as earlier models with one exception – operating budget per student. The log of this variable decreases the log odds that an institution will have an ethnic studies program or department ($b = -.55$). With the first exclusion, “research,” operating budget per student became weakly significant and remained so throughout the rest of model reductions. “Time” and “protest” were not significant, indicating that ethnic studies has not grown over time more than would be expected from the influence of the other variables in the model, and past student activism does not influence the presence of ethnic studies. Other control variables, “past” ($b = 6.03$) and “other sm” ($b = 1.45$), increase the log odds of ethnic studies being a part of the campus organization as expected. The institutional capacity measures are highly significant. Both “enrl” ($b = .54$) and “enrnpl” ($b = .92$) increase the log odds for the presence of ethnic studies. The overall size of the student body and the percentage of it that is non-white and non-black are strong influences on whether an

³⁹ With the elimination of operating budget per student, all variables remain significant, thus there are no substantive changes in findings by retaining this variable.

institution has ethnic studies. The types of institutions that have ethnic studies varies in two ways: those that focus more on the arts and sciences ($b = .02$) and those located in conservative regions of the country ($b = -.98$).⁴⁰

African American studies is influenced by the smallest number of predictors compared to women's studies and ethnic studies. Going from model 7afamA to 8afam-4, stripping the model of superfluous variables, resulted in one variable emerging as significant and another becoming non-significant. QICC changed little from the full to reduced model, from 375 to 369. The first and weakest variable to be excluded was "region" followed by "opstudi," and "research." The fourth and fifth eliminations would have been "protest" and "enrbp" but they were retained as main variables of interest. Instead, "control" was removed fourth. "Religion" was retained in the final model though it became non-significant at the fourth stage with the elimination of "control." In all other models except the final one, "religion" appeared to have a weak influence on the presence of African American studies. In order to retain this possible influence on African American studies as a point of discussion, and because QICC changed little, the final model includes this non-significant variable.

The main differences between the full and reduced models are that "religion" became non-significant and the percentage of arts and science degrees became significant. Institutions that emphasize the arts and sciences increases the log odds that they will have African American studies ($b = .02$), a finding that emerged in model 8afam-2. Consistent effects with past models are that "time" is not significant and "past"

⁴⁰ Model building was also conducted on unweighted data, and order of deletion remained the same, however "region" became non-significant.

($b = 6.70$) and “other sm” ($b = 1.22$) do increase the log odds of African American studies being present. In addition, institutions with larger enrollments ($b = .46$) are more likely to have African American studies. The percentage of black students of total enrollment and the incidence of student activism in the past do not influence whether an institution has African American studies.⁴¹

Model 9 – Early development of African American studies

African American studies stands out among social movement curricula because it was the first to become established. It receives special attention in model 9 because I want to determine the influences on the early development of the field. Accordingly, I investigate only 1975 and 1980.⁴² Model 9 starts with the full model, as presented in model 7afamA, and progresses through backward deletion while retaining the main variables of institutional capacity, student demand, and activism (see table 6.8afam). The final model, 9afam-4, shows that student activism did not play a role in the presence of African American studies during the 1970s. However, institutions with larger enrollments ($b = 1.13$), a higher proportion of black students ($b = .02$), with a greater arts and science focus ($b = .03$), and in less liberal regions of the country ($b = -1.89$) were more likely to have African American studies during this time. This is in contrast to model 8afam-3 that used all time periods and in which no influence was noted for most of

⁴¹ Model building was also conducted on unweighted data, and order of deletion and overall findings remained the same.

⁴² When time was entered into the model as a class variable, indicating that it was a dummy coded variable in which each time period is compared to all others, the model did not converge. This model, using the earliest time periods, is used as an alternative (see chapter 5 for details).

these characteristics. This contrast suggests that African-American studies became widely disseminated across different types of institutions during the period 1980 to 2000.

Table 6.8afam: General Estimating Equation Models for African American Studies Programs and Departments: Best Fit Model for 1975 and 1980 (model 9afam)

Variables	9afam-full (B/SE)	9afam-1 (B/SE)	9afam-2 (B/SE)	9afam-3 (B/SE)	9afam-4 (B/SE)
Intercept	-17.78* 8.21	-17.55*** 3.33	-17.92*** 2.83	-17.58*** 2.87	-16.99*** 2.70
Time	.84 .65	.84 .65	.84 .65	.83 .65	.85 .67
Presence in past (1=pres.)	8.33*** 1.78	8.34*** 1.18	8.34*** 1.18	8.37*** 1.22	8.27*** 1.17
Other sm (1=present)	1.61 .86	1.63 .84	1.62 .87	1.51 .93	1.53 .94
Enrollment (logged)	1.22** .43	1.11** .38	1.16*** .31	1.08*** .26	1.13*** .24
% Af-Am enrollment	.02** .01	.02* .01	.02* .01	.02* .01	.02** .01
Op. budget/st (logged)	.02 .61				
Protest (1=prot. activity)	.01 .47	.02 .41	.01 .41	.04 .42	.04 .39
% arts and sci degrees	.02 .02	.02 .01	.02* .01	.03 .01	.03* .01
Research instit. (1=res/doct)	.13 1.18	.14 .89			
Region (1= coastal)	-2.19* .91	-2.20* .91	-2.20* .90	-2.11* .90	-1.89* .80
Religion (1=non-relig.)	1.74* .71	1.75* .69	1.78 .67	1.20 .62	
Control (1=public)	-.77 .89	-.79 .91	-.84 .90		
QICC	93.47	91.55	89.57	88.02	86.87

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Models 10 and 11 – Time interaction effects

The final two models introduce time interaction effects. I use these models to investigate whether explanatory variables may have changed over time. Models 10ws, 10eth, and 10afam, as shown in table 6.9, address whether influence from institutional capacity, student demand, and student activism measures may have changed over time. Models 11ws, 11eth, and 11afam, as shown in table 6.10, consider whether the influence of institutional characteristics may have changed over time.

Focusing on the time interaction variables in model 10ws, model 10eth, and model 10afam, size of student body remains a constant influence across time in the presence of women's and ethnic studies. However, the influence of enrollment on the presence of African American studies decreases over time ($b = -.18$). This finding suggests that African American studies is moving into smaller institutions. The influence from non-traditional student demand does not change over time for any of these social movement studies areas. Hence, the proportion of the student body that is non-traditional is a constant influence over time (in the case of African American studies, lack of influence is constant). Past activism influences the presence of women's studies, but not differentially over time, whereas past activism is simply not an influence on the presence of African American studies. For ethnic studies, student activism has a weakening influence on the presence of programs and departments over time ($b = -.74$), but overall, there is no significant effect.

Table 6.9: General Estimating Equation Models for Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and African American Studies Programs and Departments: Best Fit Model with the Addition of Interaction Terms (model 10)

Variables	10ws (B/SE)	10eth (B/SE)	10afam (B/SE)
Intercept	-16.68*** 3.20	-7.05* 2.74	-16.93*** 2.32
Time	.54 .68	.17 .52	1.77*** .50
Presence in past (1=pres.)	7.16*** 1.44	6.08*** .45	6.84*** .44
Other sm (1=present)	.99*** .27	1.43*** .31	1.16** .41
Enrollment (logged)	.91*** .20	.49* .22	1.20*** .25
% non-trad enrollment	.01 .02	1.45** .44	.02* .01
Op. budget/st (logged)	.38 .22	-.53* .23	
Protest (1= prot. activity)	-2.15* .88	1.32 .95	-.84 .73
% arts and sci degrees	.02*** .01	.02** .01	.02* .01
Region (1= coastal)	.41 .22	-.95** .34	
Religious (1=non-relig)			.82 .44
Time*enrl	-.06 .05	.02 .06	-.18** .06
Time*%non-trad	.01 .01	-.14 .10	-.00 .00
Time*protest	.22 .32	-.74** .26	.22 .33
QICC	733.07	396.06	370.91

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

The final model, model 11, includes interaction effects between time and those institutional characteristics that were significant in the eighth model. For women's studies, this includes "% arts and sci" and "region"; for ethnic studies, it includes "opstudi," "% arts and sci," and "region"; for African American studies, it includes "% arts and sci." As models 11ws, 11eth, and 11afam show, no institutional characteristics vary over time. All three social movement areas remain predominantly in institutions that emphasize the arts and sciences, and women's and ethnic studies tend to be concentrated in different parts of the country, and ethnic studies tends to be located in less wealthy institutions.

Table 6.10: General Estimating Equation Models for Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and African American Studies Programs and Departments: Best Fit Model with the Addition of Interaction Terms (model 11)

Variables	11ws (B/SE)	11eth (B/SE)	11afam (B/SE)
Intercept	-15.80*** 2.49	-5.07 5.30	-9.74*** 1.47
Time	.37** .14	-.22 1.17	.05 .22
Presence in past (1=pres.)	7.05*** 1.32	5.97*** .44	6.72*** .42
Other sm (1=present)	1.04*** .27	1.48*** .32	1.22** .42
Enrollment (logged)	.69*** .11	.54*** .13	.46** .16
% non-trad enrollment	.03*** .01	.92*** .23	.01 .01
Op. budget/st (logged)	.37 .23	-.56 .59	
Protest (1= prot. activity)	-1.53** .58	.01 .61	-.17 .46
% arts and sci degrees	.03** .01	-.02 .02	.01 .01
Region (1= coastal)	-.43 .47	-.64 .74	
Religious (1=non-relig)			.76 .44
Time*opbud/st		-.00 .13	
Time*%arts&sci	-.00 .00	.01 .00	.00 .00
Time*region	.22 .12	-.08 .19	
QICC	730.22	397.23	371.08

To recapitulate, all social movement programs and departments demonstrate the strong inertia effect expected from organizational structures and are associated with the presence of other social movement fields. The overall size of the student body and an emphasis on the arts and sciences in institutions appear to be key contributing factors to influence the presence of social movement programs and departments. The proportion of non-traditional students influences women's and ethnic studies but not African American studies. Likewise, the location of the institution in the country appears important to the former programs but not the latter. Last, wealthier institutions may be less likely to have ethnic studies programs and departments. This chapter has summarized and interpreted models; the next will tie them to descriptive statistics and apply them to the hypotheses and substantive arguments.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Women's studies, ethnic studies, and African American studies are intriguing fields as a study in curricular change. Some early proponents debated whether to incorporate them into existing fields or to advocate independent programs or departments. A few decades later, they have become widespread as programs and noticeable as departments. They have evolved from unheard-of entities 40 years ago to a common part of the academic structure. This rapid rise, predicated on the external social environment, has been subject to influences from higher education institutions and their students.

Overall Findings

As noted at the start of the previous chapter, three major findings emerge from data. First, the development of African American studies differs from the development of women's and ethnic studies, but not in an expected way. Throughout my study, women's and ethnic studies were highlighted as major examples of social movement curricula, and African American studies was recognized as distinct enough to keep separate from the ethnic studies conglomerate category. Ethnic studies and African American studies are both based on racial/ethnic identity, but African American studies was the first of the social movement fields to become incorporated into higher education. Drawing from social movement theory, early riser movements, such as the movement to incorporate African American studies into higher education, are distinct from those

following, so this field was kept separate to increase integrity of the ethnic studies category and search for differences between them.

Indeed, differences were evident between African American studies and women's and ethnic studies. In my models, few demographic or institutional variables show significant net effects on the existence of African American studies. It is influenced by size of the institution, but little else (there are weak, unstable effects in the percent of arts and science degrees that an institution awards and in religious-affiliation). It is broadly represented in institutions. Most notably, it has not been influenced by student protest. In contrast, women's and ethnic studies has been influenced by student protest (in ethnic studies as a weakening effect over time) as well as other factors such as non-traditional enrollment, percent arts and science degrees, and region. As late comers, it is not surprising that they would show more differentiation on variables, having had less time to disseminate, but the findings regarding student protest are unexpected.

Second, institutional capacity and student demand are important influences on social movement programs and departments overall, and clearly more important than student activism. As expected, larger universities have more ability to create and sustain new programs and departments, and those with a larger proportion of non-traditional students have more demand for these fields.

Student activism, on the other hand, does not have a relationship with these fields in an expected way. Two basic causes could explain why. First, student activism may not, in fact, strongly influence the presence of social movement curricula. Programs and departments may arise at the same rate regardless of whether the student population has

an activist culture. Second, the measure may be problematic to underscore a true relationship. I adapted this measure from a study by Rojas (2006), and it specifically counts protest activity as it relates to African Americans. I used it as a measure to broadly assess student culture/institutional openness toward activism. This measure may not be specific enough to address the relationship between activism and social movement curricula.

Third, women's, ethnic, and African American studies have grown substantially and disseminated widely in higher education. This point is the subject of the first and last hypotheses and will be discussed in greater detail below.

These three findings stand out as important features of the development of social movement programs and departments. The next section offers details for hypotheses and additional findings and draws on data for discussion.

Hypotheses

Hypotheses are listed below followed by a discussion of data that tested them. Table 7.1 offers a summary of findings based on the models presented in the previous chapter. The following discussion about hypotheses relies on this summary but also on details offered by individual models and univariate statistics already introduced in the chapter 6.

Table 7.1: Summary of Findings for Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and African American Studies

Variables	Women's Studies	Ethnic Studies	African American Studies
Time	*	-	-
Presence in past (1=present)	*	*	*
Other sm (1=present)	*	*	*
Enrollment (logged)	*	*	*
% non-trad enrollment	*	*	-
Change in Op bud/student	-	-	-
Op. budget/st (logged)	-	*	-
SAT	-	-	-
Protest (1= prot. activity)	*	-	-
% arts and sci degrees	*	*	*
Research/Doct (1 = res/doct)	-	-	-
Region (1= coastal)	*	*	-
Relig (1 = non-relig)	-	-	-
Control (1 = public)	-	-	-

* p < .05; - lack of significance

Hypothesis 1: Women's and ethnic studies programs and departments have experienced continuous growth since 1975.

The first goal was to confirm that the growth of these programs and departments has been rapid. Based on anecdotal evidence, women's and ethnic studies were proposed as fields with strong growth patterns. Observing counts over time, growth of women's studies programs and departments have been substantial, while ethnic studies programs and departments have grown, though at a lesser rate. Multivariate models support these findings. The presence of women's studies across time maintained a highly significant upward trajectory, and the presence of ethnic studies had a positive but non-significant growth pattern. The non-significant finding may indicate that ethnic studies did not grow beyond the growth pattern of enrollment. As overall enrollment and enrollment of non-white students increased, it, too, increased. The first hypothesis is supported by data.

Hypothesis 2: The dominant paths of development are for women's and ethnic studies to start as programs and persist or to start as programs and become departments.

The distinction between programs and departments as a means to incorporate fields into colleges or universities is an important one. Establishment as programs can be viewed as a first stage to greater institutionalization or as an avenue to maintain flexibility in a highly structured environment. As programs, institutions can make minimal investments on new endeavors, a low risk option to satisfy a demand or directive. Programs can emerge, change, and be eliminated with fewer barriers compared to departments. As newly emerging fields become firmly established as a part of the canon, institutions may support the evolution of programs into departments.

The proponents of new fields may approach the distinction of programs and departments differently, not as an evolution but as a trade-off. Departmentalization may indicate institutionalization and bring stability to the unit in terms of a firmer line of resources and more rigid rules, but programmatic status confers greater decision making power and relaxation of institutional norms.

Past literature suggests that the trade-off between programmatic status and departmentalization has been a carefully-weighed decision for supporters of women's, ethnic, and African American studies. In addition, institutional detractors have been formidable, placing barriers to departmentalization. Growing and persisting as programs was an hypothesized possibility as was the change from programs to departments, and both forms of development support a thesis of institutionalization of these fields. De-institutionalization -- the elimination of programs or the change of departments into programs – was not proposed to be a part of their developmental pattern.

Data support the second hypothesis regarding these patterns of growth. Overwhelmingly, these fields utilize the organizational structure of programs and persist as programs. In women's studies, the second most common pattern is to start as programs and become departments. The third most common is to start as departments. In ethnic studies, the second most common pattern is to start as departments and the least common is to change from programs to departments. For these fields, assessment of institutionalization cannot be made on the basis of type of organizational structure but rather should be made on the basis of the spread of the field by means of both programmatic and departmental structures.

Since the selection between programmatic and departmental structures is confounded by institutional tensions toward social movement-related curricula and internal disagreement over goals, separating them for analysis becomes problematic. Departmentalization is not always a sought-after goal, and programmatic status is not necessarily a transitory position. These two structures are combined for all other analyses besides that which I have presented for the second hypothesis, to acknowledge that both forms are equally important to the development of social movement fields.

Hypothesis 3: African American studies have experienced a curvilinear developmental pattern from 1975 to 2000, initially increasing and then decreasing in the number of programs and departments.

Past literature suggested that African American studies programs and departments have been in decline in recent decades. Tracking African American studies among the college catalog institutions indicates this is not so. For these 293 colleges and universities, the presence of African American studies slowed considerably during the 1980s but then began increasing again after 1990. The growth pattern remained positive throughout this period, though it was nearly flat through the middle portion of it. Data do not support the third hypothesis.

Findings for the remaining hypotheses are based on multivariate statistics. Best-fit models primarily inform conclusions, however other models provide supporting material for discussion.

Hypothesis 4: The presence of women's, ethnic and African American studies programs and departments are associated with larger total enrollment on a campus and increased prominence of non-traditional students.

Larger colleges and universities are more likely to have women's, ethnic and African American studies programs and departments. Consistently across all models, size was a strong indicator for the presence of social movement fields. The simple capacity to maintain programs and departments improves the chances for the inclusion of women's, ethnic, or African American studies to be among them. The data support the fourth hypothesis on this point.

The proportion of enrollment that is non-traditional consistently predicts the presence of women's and ethnic studies but does not predict the presence of African American studies. As female students and non-black minority students become more prominent on campus by forming a larger proportion of the student body, the possibility increases that a sizable portion of them may demand, or at least support, curricula that reflect their gender or ethnic identity. However, a larger proportion of African American students are not associated with the presence of African American studies. African American studies is present regardless of how many African American students there are, relative to the overall student body. This finding suggests that the significance of African American studies goes beyond the needs of the targeted population. In an early model, the size of enrollment for African American students is associated with the presence of African American studies, but this effect disappears as other indicators are included in the model. The data supports the fourth hypothesis for women's and ethnic studies but not for African American studies.

Hypothesis 5: The presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments are not associated with change in college and university budget.

Institutional capacity as measured by size was hypothesized and found to be very important to the presence of programs and departments. Other forms of capacity, including funding and selectivity, were hypothesized to have no effect. Funding can be evaluated in two ways – change in budget and size of budget – and the fifth hypothesis concerns the former. Change in budget had no effect in any model so the fifth hypothesis is supported by data.

At institutions experiencing reduced funding, despite evidence that small and/or weak programs may be subject to dissolution (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997), women's, ethnic and African American studies programs and departments persisted. During times of rapid growth, programs and departments also continued to persist in an expected pattern without regard to funding. This finding supports an argument of stability and institutionalization in higher education despite their predominant structure as programs. As programs, they are technically vulnerable to closure, but this is something that rarely occurred.

Persistence through funding fluctuations combined with the dramatic expansion of programs and departments are signals that they are tied to broader societal processes. Developing new fields of knowledge within the traditional framework of the university (as programs and departments as opposed to infusing into existing curricula or starting peripheral entities) and witnessing these fields' substantial growth are an indication of the democratization of higher education. This developmental pattern coincides with and

reflects the massification in higher education that occurred during the second half of the 20th century and signals its connection to larger social processes. Higher education is an institution embedded within society, and major cultural change in society will have its outlet in higher education.

The sixth and seventh hypotheses are both associated with institutional reputation, and will be discussed together.

Hypothesis 6: The presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments are not associated with level of financial resources.

Hypothesis 7: The presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments are not associated with selectivity.

The data partially supports these hypotheses. Institutional reputation has little to no influence on whether social movement curricula are present. The sixth hypothesis is tested with a measure of university operating budget and the seventh hypothesis uses a measure of average SAT/ACT score. Those institutions that spend more money on their students and have higher average SAT/ACT scores for their incoming students are coupled with those with stronger reputations.

Operating budget per student and average SAT/ACT had no influence on the presence of African American studies, even when only the early years were evaluated. Since 1975, African American studies has developed at all levels of institutions without regard to reputation. Univariate descriptive statistics show that institutions with African American studies have larger operating budgets per student and have slightly higher

average SAT/ACT scores, but after controlling for other variables and assessing across time using multivariate statistics, these differences are not significant.

For women's and ethnic studies, the conclusion is not as clear. Reputation may have a weak influence in these areas. For the presence of women's studies, selectivity has influence until the effects of other institutional characteristics are entered into the model. In univariate statistics, no more than a 90 point difference arises between those with women's studies and those without on a scale that reaches 1600, and this difference quickly becomes non-significant once other factors are taken into consideration. A similar pattern is apparent for the influence of average operating budget per student on women's studies. Univariate statistics and an early multivariate model show a positive relationship, that wealthier institutions tend to have women's studies. However, after controlling for institutional characteristics, the difference becomes non-significant. Institutional reputation has minimal to no effect on the presence of women's studies.

Selectivity has no influence on the presence of ethnic studies. Average operating budget per student, on the other hand, may have a weak effect. Opposite from women's studies, operating budget per student has no effect in an early model in which it appears by itself with control variables, but as institutional characteristics are added, it becomes significant. Thus, reputation may have a weak influence on the presence of ethnic studies.

The direction of impact of operating budget on the presence of ethnic studies is interesting. Univariate statistics show that institutions with ethnic studies have higher average operating budgets per students than other institutions, from about \$1,500 to

\$6,500 dollars more on a scale that ranges from \$4,000 to \$175,000. In contrast, multivariate statistics suggests that this relationship is negative, that schools without ethnic studies tend to be wealthier than schools with ethnic studies. The difference lies in the weighting procedure. When the univariate method is weighted to reflect the larger population of colleges and universities, as is GEE, then institutions without ethnic studies consistently have larger average budgets across the years. For my sample of colleges and universities (which has more high status institutions than the general population), ethnic studies is associated with wealthier institutions, but for the population of American colleges and universities, institutions with ethnic studies probably tend to be less wealthy than those without ethnic studies.

Hypothesis 8: The presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments are associated with student activism on campus.

Student Activism was expected to be strongly related to the presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments, but data mostly do not support this hypothesis. The presence of ethnic studies and African American studies is not associated with activism.

Women's studies, paradoxically, has a significant and negative relationship with student activism. According to univariate statistics, institutions with women's studies were more likely to have experienced at least one student protest event during the previous five years compared to other institutions in four of the six time periods. Yet, when institutional characteristics and the element of time are considered in multivariate

statistics, findings suggest that institutions with women's studies were less likely to have experienced student protest compared to other institutions across the years.

The difference between univariate statistics and multivariate statistics, again, is that the latter is based on weighted data. When univariate statistics for protest data is weighted, then the relationship between protest activity and the presence of women's studies becomes less obvious. The probability of an institution having had a protest event in the previous five years is greater for institutions with women's studies in 1975, 1985, and 1990 and is greater for institutions without women's studies in 1980 and 1995. No difference is apparent in 2000. Lacking clarity on this relationship, I am hesitant to make conclusions based on it⁴³.

Protest was a major tool used by activists in the Civil Rights era to gain notice for their causes. Supporters of African American and ethnic studies, especially, borrowed tactics from the activists of the Civil Rights era, including protest, to call attention to the need for new curricula, as documented in literature. Though theoretically, the ties are plausible, ties to the Civil Rights do not show itself in this sample of institutions. Rojas (2006) noted that disruptive protest activity did not play a role in the development of African American studies, and Brint (2005) indicated that administrators rarely cited student demand as an important consideration in staffing decisions for programs and departments. My data supports these assertions and not the hypothesis.

⁴³ Another explanation for the unexpected association between women's studies and protest activity is that it may be implicated in a spurious relationship. "Protest" becomes a significant influence when "% arts and science degrees" is present in the model. The correlation between these two variables is low, less than .25, but there may be a third unmeasured factor that connects them.

Hypothesis 9: Early development of African American studies was most strongly influenced by student activism compared to other measures.

The ninth hypothesis centers on African American studies as the earlier riser. Of the three fields, it is most closely tied to the Civil Rights both temporally and substantively -- both have equality for African Americans as their primary motivation. During its early stages of development, anecdotal evidence suggests that those involved in demanding African American studies were sometimes also those involved in the Civil Rights Movement. These people could adapt their knowledge gained from the much larger movement to achieve success in their drive to incorporate new fields into higher education. However, the data do not support this hypothesis. Activism is not associated with the presence of African American studies, even during its early stage of development.

The remaining hypotheses rely, in part, on interaction terms in models to assess change over time in effects on women's, ethnic and African American studies. Those variables that were found significant in the best-fit models were tested for interaction effects. Table 7.2 offers a summary of findings for interaction terms that were included in models in the previous chapter.

Table 7.2: Summary of Findings for Interaction Terms for Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and African American Studies

Variables	Women's Studies	Ethnic Studies	African American Studies
Time*enrl	-	-	*
Time*% nontrad.	-	-	-
Time*protest	-	*	-
Time*opbud/st	-	-	-
Time*% arts&sci	-	-	-
Time*region	-	-	-

* p < .05; - lack of significance

Hypothesis 10: The early development of women's, ethnic and African American studies are positively associated with arts and sciences institutions, research-oriented institutions, institutions in coastal regions, and non-religious institutions; not associated with public/private control; and negatively associated with historically black/women's institutions.

The tenth hypothesis combines the effects of institutional characteristics on the presence of women's, ethnic and African American studies programs and departments, including curricular, location and control identifiers. The qualifier to this hypothesis is that these differences will be apparent during the early developmental stages, and the twelfth hypothesis argues that these differences will disappear over time as programs and departments disseminate. Because likelihood of differences in characteristics is based on the developmental stage, time interaction effects in multivariate models offer the best evidence for this hypothesis.

For all three fields, no interaction effects between time and organizational characteristics were significant. Characteristics did not have a stronger influence in 1975 or 1980 compared to later, thus this hypothesis is not supported by the data regarding the effect of arts and sciences institutions, research-oriented institutions, institutions in coastal regions, and non-religious institutions. The presence of programs is not associated with public/private control at any time, so only this point in the tenth hypothesis is supported by the data.

The last part of the hypothesis was handled descriptively because of the low counts of HBCUs and women's colleges in the sample. The data do not support this part of the hypothesis. Historically black colleges and universities had about the same number of African American studies programs and departments as other institutions, and women's colleges had more women's studies programs and departments compared to other institutions. Anecdotal evidence suggested that these type of institutions have fewer African American and women's studies units, arguing that the institutions are already innately attuned to the fields' concerns and theoretical underpinnings, but evidence based on data does not support this.

Hypotheses 11 and 12 highlight overall effects on women's, ethnic, and African American studies and argue that effects will become less or non-significant over time as programs and departments disseminate across higher education.

Hypothesis 11: Student demographic characteristics and student activism become weaker influences on the presence of women's, ethnic and African American studies programs and departments over time.

Already known from the fourth and eighth hypotheses, overall size has a very strong influence on the presence of programs and departments, the proportion of the non-traditional student population influences women's and ethnic studies, and student activism may influence women's studies. The eleventh hypothesis introduces the proposition that these influences will become weaker over time as time passes from the initial introduction of social movement curricula into higher education, the point at which ties to external social movements would be strongest. This hypothesis is partially supported by data.

Larger institutions are more likely to have these programs and departments throughout this 25 year period, but for African American studies, this influence becomes weaker over time. Univariate statistics show that all three fields are disseminating into smaller institutions, but this change is significant only for African American studies. The proportion of enrollment that is non-traditional generally influences the presence of women's and ethnic studies and influences African American studies in 1975 and 1980. For women's and ethnic studies, this remains a constant influence over time, but for African American studies, the proportion of enrollment that is African American becomes unimportant over time. African American studies programs and departments are in institutions with high and low proportions of African American students.

Institutions that have had student protest are less likely to have women's studies, which remains unchanged over time. For ethnic studies, there is no overall connection with student activism, but a significant negative interaction term suggests that student protest had some influence early during this period which disappears over time. For

African American studies, protest does not influence the presence of programs and departments at any time.

Hypothesis 12: Over time, there will be no significant difference in organizational characteristics in the presence of women's, ethnic, and African American studies on campuses.

The twelfth hypothesis highlights dissemination and institutionalization processes. As women's, ethnic, and African American studies programs and departments spread across higher education, differences in the types of institutions that have them will disappear, supporting the proposition that these fields have become institutionalized in higher education. They are not fields occupying a niche position in high education but rather have become wide-spread, accompanying the broad shift toward models of democracy. Data mostly support this hypothesis.

For all three fields, programs and departments are in non-selective and selective colleges and universities, research-oriented and teaching-oriented institutions, and in public and private institutions. They are also spread across religious and non-religious-affiliated colleges, although African American studies may more often be found in non-religious schools (weak, unstable effect across models). In addition, they are represented in institutions of different wealth, with the exception of ethnic studies which may be found more often at less wealthy schools (weak, unstable effect across models).

Ethnic studies are more often found in non-coastal regions, and women's studies may be found more often found in the west, Mid-Atlantic, and northeast (weak, unstable effect across models). Univariate statistics show that dissemination is occurring across

regions of the United States, but a significant difference suggests that dissemination is not complete.

The relationship between ethnic studies and location of an institution is another point of difference between univariate and multivariate statistics due to weighted data. In my sample using unweighted data, institutions with ethnic studies are more likely to be located in the west, northeast, or mid-Atlantic states. With weighted data, institutions with ethnic studies are more likely to be located in coastal regions during the early part of the period and in non-coastal regions later⁴⁴. In multivariate statistics, the net effect is negative, suggesting that institutions with ethnic studies tend to be in non-coastal regions for the overall general population of colleges and universities.

The percent of arts and science degrees that are awarded by institutions is the main point of difference among organizational characteristics between those institutions that have social movement fields and those that do not. Those colleges and universities that emphasize the arts and sciences are more likely to have women's, ethnic, and African American studies (African American studies has a weak, unstable relationship with percent arts and sciences). As discussed in chapter four, this variable is both an organizational characteristic and also a control for curricular orientation. These fields are tied to the arts and sciences through their curricula, so it is unsurprising that they predominate at institutions that focus in this area. Univariate statistics show very little variability over time in the percentage of arts and science degrees awarded within the institutions that have social movement fields. Multivariate statistics support this finding

⁴⁴ The interaction term between time and region was non-significant indicating that the change in direction of the relationship is not meaningful.

with non-significant interaction terms between this variable and time. Women's, ethnic, and African American studies have not disseminated into institutions that emphasize professional studies.

By most measures of organizational characteristics, women's, ethnic, and African American studies has spread widely across higher education. For those variables not intrinsically tied to these fields (such as the arts and science focus of institutions), they have either a weak or no effect. Based on this sample of colleges and universities, data supports an argument of a trend towards wide dissemination and institutionalization of social movement fields in higher education.

Implications of Findings

The location of women's and ethnic studies in the higher education hierarchy is a telling feature of their development. For most institutional characteristics, univariate statistics show declining difference over time between those that do have identity programs and departments and those that do not, and multivariate statistics often show that this difference is not significant. They do not appear to heavily concentrate in certain types of schools such as the very rich institutions or the highly diverse institutions. They do appear to be most influenced by the mundane ability for an institution to incorporate new programs and departments. An implication of this diffusion of programs and departments is its meaning for higher education as a socially embedded institution.

Four perspectives were introduced to frame the discussion of curricular change. The concept of institutional shifts suggests that broad ideological changes at the global

and societal levels influence curricular change (Frank, Schofer, and Torres, 1994; Gabler and Frank, 2005). An economic perspective proposes that universities are subject to academic capitalism and market forces (Geiger, 2004; Kirp, 2004; Slaughter, 2001; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). Social embeddedness conceptually places higher education as an interconnected institution in society, and emphasizes this placement as a source of change (Ramirez, 2006). Because of it, both economic and social change may produce curricular transformation in higher education (Brint, 2005). Last, the institutional pursuit of legitimacy may be a force for change (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1978). As more institutions integrate social movement curricula into their academic structure, these programs and departments become a normative part of academic offerings.

Though global and societal institutional shifts may be an influence in academic change, this influence is intangible and unmeasurable. Academic capitalism and market forces were proposed to be negligible influences on the presence of social movement programs and departments. In statistical models, findings based on two measures, operating budget per student and change in operating budget, suggest that the level of financial resources and the constriction and expansion of resources are not influences on their development. These measures offer an indication that the development of women's and ethnic studies are not subject to economic conditions.

Social change was proposed to be the most important influence on the development of women's and ethnic studies. Three major manifestations of social change that can directly influence curricular change are student enrollment growth,

diversification of the student population, and student activism. Finding based on statistical models suggest that the measures related to massification are strong influences but the measure related to social movements is not.

This unexpected finding regarding activism may be a result of measurement error or using a measure that is inadequate for the concept. In addition, protest may have played a role before 1975, thus its influence does not appear in my study. On the other hand, student activism may not influence the development of women's and ethnic studies. These fields may have progressed regardless of agitation from students. Larger social trends, and the direct influence that they had in higher education in the form of a changing student body, appear to dominate in the development of women's and ethnic studies. This finding weakens the argument that social movement theory contributes to the developmental pattern of identity fields.

In contrast, the concepts of social embeddedness and legitimacy have much to contribute to the development of women's and ethnic studies. As products of a socially embedded institution, the presence of women's and ethnic studies has a legitimating force, symbolizing a campus' integration with an institutional logic as an inclusive and socially useful member of the higher education community. This force, in turn, further promotes the expansion of women's and ethnic studies. This phenomenon is evidenced by the widespread presence of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments across different types of campuses.

Higher education institutions aim to be diverse and flexible, serving the needs of society (Ramirez, 2006). Women's and ethnic studies programs and departments

represent the interests of the non-traditional student population, they educate the student population about the struggle for gender and ethnic equality, and they introduce new viewpoints and theoretical perspectives that center the concept of equality and identity. In addition, they require a large institutional commitment of resources compared to other signs of the institutional logic such as revisions of mission statements or supporting special topic seminars. As a result, the presence of identity programs is a strong representation of the substantial changes that higher education has experienced during the second half of the 20th century, including massification and growing interrelationships with other institutions of society, as it evolves into a new logic.

The presence of identity fields may also imply a changed atmosphere for non-traditional students. An “institutional commitment to diversity” assures excellence in education and promotes the success of all groups of students (Moses, 2000: 324). An institution may have effective outreach and recruitment strategies for enrolling nontraditional students and may proclaim a mission statement of embracing diversity, but the university culture may remain focused on the traditional student for retention while ignoring or devaluing the needs of nontraditional students (Moses, 1990; Moses, 1994a; Moses, 1994b). Nontraditional students who leave their university often perceive the culture as cold and indifferent to their success (Moses, 2000), but the spread of identity programs and departments may indicate a change in culture.

University culture can be thought of as “the collective, mutually shaping patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs, and assumptions that guide the behavior of individuals and groups...and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the

meaning of events and actions on and off campus" (Kuh and Love, 2000: 198). Student ability to adjust to university culture both academically and socially are important components of student satisfaction, achievement and degree attainment (Baird, 2000; Tinto, 1993). However, university culture evolved during a time when white, male students were the dominant and primary student population. The cultural background of female and non-white students may be at odds with the traditional university culture.

"For some students the cultural distance is negligible because college-going was stitched into the fabric of their cultures of origin. That is, their cultures of origin effectively prepared them to expect and deal with the institutions' values, attitudes, beliefs, assumptions, and expectations. Other students must travel a great distance, an experience that can be arduous, threatening and intimidating" (Kuh and Love, 2000: 204).

Adopting women's and ethnic studies departments as a significant organizational change on a campus may signify that a university is re-shaping their culture into a culture of diversity, demonstrating an institutional commitment to diversity.

Theoretically, there may be an inflection point in the growth of women's and ethnic studies at which their adoption becomes less of a sign of cultural change and more of an indication of an isomorphic process. As female and minority student inclusiveness moves from being a political and radical movement to being a societal expectation, adoption of programs may be better interpreted as a university's attempt to align with the institutional expectation of inclusiveness. Through isomorphism, universities adopt women's and ethnic programs because they will appear more legitimate (Meyer and Rowan, 1992). "By designing a formal structure that adheres to the prescriptions of myths in the institutional environment, an organization demonstrates that it is acting on

collectively valued purposes in a proper and adequate manner” (Meyer and Rowan, 1992: 30).

Findings from statistical analysis cannot suggest a point at which the influence on the presence of programs and departments changed. For example, the size of the university remained a constant influence on the presence of programs and departments, but public/private control and average SAT scores were never an influence. Though a proposition of identity fields’ influence changing from a cultural to an isomorphic phenomenon is plausible, this data set is not designed to address this question.

Conflict theory has much to contribute to address the competing factions and discord that was present as identity fields grew in higher education. Drawing from conflict theory, an alternative argument to the assertion that their growth supports a more positive cultural environment for non-traditional students is that their presence represents continued widespread tension in higher education. Literature documents highly contentious program initiations in the last decade and suggests that doubts remain about their academic integrity. Their presence may be a sign of the democratization of higher education and inclusiveness of non-traditional students, but it may also represent a persisting tension over the continued evolution of the higher education identity.

Whether viewed as a positive or negative reflection of change, the presence of identity fields is deeply tied to the social and curricular landscape of higher education. “The role and contributions of ethnic studies are closely aligned with current calls for improving the civic and social relevance of undergraduate education” (Chang and Kiang, 2002: 149-150). The current trend in curricular change is towards socially incorporative

social science and socially relevant science – with large growth patterns in non-western area studies, international relations, global studies, environmental science, and biomedical science (Brint et al., under review). Women's and ethnic studies lead this list for substantial growth (Brint et al., under review), and epitomizes the deeply embedded social context of newly expanding curricula.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Women's studies and ethnic studies are strong companions in the analysis of curricular development, but they are separate entities. They both are influenced by changes in the institution of higher education, notably massification, and broad societal trends and events, especially the Civil Rights Movement. They promote socially and politically centered curricula that challenge the status quo, a unique feature that sets them apart from other curricula. In addition, they have faced both strong support and formidable opposition throughout their histories over their inclusion as a legitimate field of study in higher education canon. These similarities bind them together as prominent examples of social movement curricula. They form a distinctive set in the study of curricular development and change in higher education.

Despite these commonalities, the histories of women's studies and ethnic studies are different. African American studies emerged earlier than women's and ethnic studies, and the three have been curricularly distinct, only recently blending a gender with non-white perspective. Also, women's studies had a ready student population to draw on since the proportion of female students was nearly half during its development, whereas the non-white population grew while ethnic studies grew. Because of these similarities and differences, women's studies and ethnic studies were treated as companions in the discussion of the theoretical perspective but were tested separately in empirical analysis.

Identity fields have grown considerably since their inception in the late 1960s. Once established, they are enduring and promote the initiation of other identity fields. About two-thirds of sample institutions have identity programs, and about two-thirds of

those have more than one type of identity program. If an institution has only one identity field, it is most likely to be women's studies; if they have two identity fields, they are least likely to be African American studies and ethnic studies (see table 8.1). Few institutions have identity programs or departments without the presence of women's studies. This pattern suggests that women's studies, although developed slightly later, is at the forefront of pushing identity curricula throughout higher education. African American studies began the trend, but women's studies became more prominent later.

Table 8.1: Number of Identity Programs and Departments that were Present Simultaneously at Institutions (pooled 1975-2000)

<u>Combinations of units</u>	<u>Number of institutions with these combinations</u>
None	100
Women's studies	51
Ethnic studies	7
African American studies	11
Women's studies-Ethnic studies	36
Women's studies-African American studies	48
Ethnic studies-African American studies	1
Women's studies-Ethnic studies-African American studies	39

The significant growth in women's and ethnic studies among colleges and universities signals an underlying trend in higher education away from exclusivity and disinterested research and toward equal participation and research for a cause. An implication is that it may reflect the development of a "culture of diversity" across colleges and universities. A culture of diversity integrates a sense of inclusiveness and an expectation of success for all students regardless of race or sex as a part of the institutional logic. Establishment of women's and ethnic studies is a sign that these

universities are recognizing the inclusion of non-traditional students as important members of the higher education community by providing financial resources, dedicated faculty, and a voice in university governance.

The emergence of identity fields occurred during a period of complexity in higher education. Higher education experienced many changes during the mid- to late 20th century including increased emphasis on research in the missions of institutions (Geiger, 1993; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997), curricular change such as a shift away from the arts and sciences (Astin, 2000; Brint et al., 2005), increased ties with the military/industrial complex (Geiger, 1993; Kezar, 2001; Slaughter, 1993; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997), and financial instability (Geiger, 1993; Gumpert, 1993). Some researchers identify academic capitalism as a dominant force for change (Slaughter, 1995) while others offer a more balanced perspective between economic and social aims (Brint, 2005). Though broad changes in higher education influence and are influenced by the development of identity curricula, social dynamics are most important to the growth of identity curricula.

The neo-institutional perspective of social embeddedness combined with conflict and social movement perspectives identify the key social dynamics involved in the rise of identity fields: the increasing interconnectedness of higher education with other institutions and group conflict. One product of social embeddedness was demographic change in student enrollments, which increased both the demand and the capability of colleges and universities to introduce women's and ethnic studies. This influence on programs and departments was important, but the basic ability for an institution to be

sizable enough to initiate and maintain them and to be already oriented toward the arts and sciences offering a curricular match was also important.

These fields' relationship with widespread processes is one aspect of its development. Another is its placement in academic canon. Women's and ethnic studies emerged in tandem with other changes in curricular development; identity fields have expanded while interdisciplinarity has gained prominence yet arts and science disciplines have contracted. An institution embarking on a course of interdisciplinarity delivers a sense of "creating the future" through economic and social innovation (Brint, 2005). Especially in the arts, humanities and social sciences, "these fields point the way toward new forms of cultural expression and social relations...Organizationally, they have taken the form of 'communities or sentiment' and parties of change' rather than the joint investment projects characteristic of the sciences" (Brint, 2005: 33). The establishment of women's and ethnic studies contributes to a sense of social innovation as they promote identity-based theory and action-oriented research, and disentangle social complexities as they relate to race/ethnicity and gender.

In contrast, a shift has been occurring in disciplines since the early 1970s resulting in a steady dominance of occupational over arts and sciences degrees (Brint and Karabel, 1991; Brint et al. 2005; Kraatz and Zajac, 1996; Kraatz and Zajac, 2001). An anomaly to this overall pattern of decline of the arts and sciences is growth in women's and ethnic studies even though their basis is in the humanities and social sciences. Regardless of this decline, their association with larger social forces (Gabler and Frank, 2005), other social institutions (Ramirez, 2006), and 'interdisciplinary creativity' (Brint, 2005)

contribute to their success in integrating into higher education. Initially dismissed as an academic fad by some, it has become firmly established and formed a new category of curricula.

My study introduces several questions for future research. The theoretical framework concerns overall developmental patterns, and fitting within that, statistical analysis concentrates on the persistence of identity fields in order to focus on the diffusion of identity fields across higher education. An alternative analysis could be on the initiation of programs and departments. This analysis would isolate factors that specifically influence new programs and departments and may suggest additional information about the development of identity fields.

Other questions emerge from the theoretical framework: What are other demonstrated signs that universities advertise to show alignment with the idealized 21st century university, and do they represent face-work or core changes? How does the inclusion of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments compare to other core changes that represent social embeddedness? What is the main impetus leading to the inclusion of women's and ethnic studies programs and departments on individual campuses (student protest, administrative action, faculty drive, etc.)? How have network ties with student clubs and other groups supported the growth of women's and ethnic studies?

Another view of identity curricula firmly places it in the context of curricular change. Several science and engineering fields have also arisen or grown substantially during the same time period such as environmental studies, computer science, and bio-

engineering, while other fields have shrunk. A comparison with these fields may offer an interesting contrast in developmental stories: How does the development of identity fields compare with the development of new science or engineering fields? What are the growth patterns of programs and departments for identity curricula compared to new science and engineering programs and departments? What are the persistence rates of other fields known to have been adversely affected by retrenchment such as history compared to persistence rates of identity fields? Why have programs centered on issues of class not emerged even though they, also, would be a form of social movement curricula? Brint et al. (under review), offer a comparative analysis of broad categories of interdisciplinary fields, including identity curricula, but additional information may be gained by comparing identity curricula to other specific fields that have emerged during the last quarter of the 20th century.

Forty years of field development is not long in the history of higher education. Over 800 years have passed since universities evolved as secular institutions, and 400 years have passed since universities achieved its general structure to accommodate teaching and an expanding body of knowledge (Perkins, 1973). Forty years is not long, but it is significant in the changes that have elapsed during that time. The emergence of identity fields is but one small change in higher education, but it is one product and symbol of the essence of the university.

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APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX FOR EACH TIME PERIOD

1975

	ws past	eth past	afam past	ws oth sm	eth oth sm	afam oth sm	enrl	enrnnl	enraal	enrwp	enrnpl	enraap	opbud change	opbud per st	SAT/ ACT	protest	% A&S	res/doct	region	religion	control
ws past	1.00																				
eth past	0.23	1.00																			
afam past	0.09	0.19	1.00																		
ws oth sm	0.19	0.59	0.83	1.00																	
eth oth sm	0.44	0.26	0.90	0.81	1.00																
afam oth sm	0.59	0.86	0.20	0.55	0.40	1.00															
enrl	0.15	0.28	0.31	0.39	0.34	0.32	1.00														
enrnnl	0.18	0.35	0.32	0.42	0.36	0.38	0.86	1.00													
enraal	0.15	0.18	0.30	0.33	0.33	0.23	0.73	0.67	1.00												
enrwp	0.08	-0.03	-0.11	-0.08	-0.06	0.00	-0.31	-0.32	-0.18	1.00											
enrnpl	0.13	0.28	0.20	0.28	0.22	0.28	0.31	0.73	0.28	-0.17	1.00										
enraap	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.01	-0.10	-0.12	0.38	0.09	-0.12	1.00									
opbud change	0.04	0.16	0.06	0.10	0.06	0.16	0.21	0.20	0.12	-0.03	0.15	0.03	1.00								
opbud per st	-0.06	0.06	0.30	0.26	0.23	0.03	0.00	0.14	-0.03	-0.28	0.28	-0.05	-0.17	1.00							
SAT/ ACT	-0.01	0.01	0.30	0.22	0.26	0.01	0.13	0.28	0.00	-0.34	0.35	-0.25	-0.02	0.74	1.00						
protest	0.06	0.13	0.22	0.25	0.23	0.15	0.13	0.19	0.17	-0.16	0.19	0.09	0.02	0.37	0.36	1.00					
% A&S	0.06	0.05	0.24	0.19	0.24	0.06	-0.14	0.02	-0.10	-0.02	0.22	-0.10	-0.07	0.53	0.61	0.23	1.00				
res/doct	0.04	0.20	0.33	0.35	0.30	0.20	0.70	0.66	0.51	-0.35	0.30	-0.03	0.16	0.35	0.34	0.24	-0.01	1.00			
region	0.06	0.18	0.15	0.17	0.16	0.17	0.12	0.19	-0.02	0.04	0.24	-0.12	0.15	0.15	0.32	0.15	0.27	0.06	1.00		
religion	0.11	0.11	0.22	0.21	0.23	0.15	0.49	0.42	0.39	-0.16	0.15	-0.02	0.15	0.03	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.28	0.16	1.00	
control	0.10	0.16	0.06	0.11	0.10	0.18	0.60	0.41	0.41	-0.07	0.01	0.00	0.14	-0.38	-0.36	-0.11	-0.34	0.24	-0.11	0.57	1.00

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APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX FOR EACH TIME PERIOD (CONT.)

	1980																				
	ws past	eth past	afam past	ws oth sm	eth oth sm	afam oth sm	enrl	enrnnl	enraal	enrwpl	enrnpl	enrap	opbud change	opbud per st	SAT/ ACT	protest	% A&S	res/doct	region	religion	control
ws past	1.00																				
eth past	0.23	1.00																			
afam past	0.09	0.19	1.00																		
ws oth sm	0.27	0.50	0.71	1.00																	
eth oth sm	0.37	0.29	0.70	0.80	1.00																
afam oth sm	0.44	0.58	0.28	0.63	0.65	1.00															
enrl	0.15	0.26	0.30	0.43	0.40	0.35	1.00														
enrnnl	0.18	0.35	0.32	0.48	0.43	0.42	0.86	1.00													
enraal	0.15	0.18	0.30	0.38	0.35	0.28	0.74	0.67	1.00												
enrwpl	0.08	-0.03	-0.11	-0.11	-0.09	0.01	-0.31	-0.32	-0.18	1.00											
enrnpl	0.13	0.28	0.20	0.31	0.26	0.30	0.29	0.73	0.28	-0.17	1.00										
enraap	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	-0.06	-0.10	-0.12	0.38	0.09	-0.12	1.00									
opbud change	0.04	0.16	0.06	0.10	0.08	0.11	0.15	0.20	0.12	-0.03	0.15	0.03	1.00								
opbud per st	-0.04	0.11	0.32	0.23	0.27	0.13	0.05	0.22	0.00	-0.29	0.33	-0.05	0.11	1.00							
SAT/ ACT	-0.01	0.02	0.32	0.20	0.26	0.09	0.12	0.26	-0.01	-0.37	0.32	-0.23	-0.02	0.75	1.00						
protest	-0.01	-0.02	-0.03	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	0.03	0.06	0.05	-0.05	0.07	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.03	1.00					
% A&S	0.06	0.05	0.24	0.17	0.26	0.18	-0.16	0.02	-0.10	-0.02	0.22	-0.10	-0.07	0.52	0.60	-0.04	1.00				
res/doct	0.04	0.20	0.33	0.37	0.36	0.27	0.70	0.66	0.51	-0.35	0.30	-0.03	0.16	0.41	0.34	0.08	-0.01	1.00			
region	0.06	0.18	0.15	0.10	0.17	0.16	0.09	0.19	-0.02	0.04	0.24	-0.12	0.15	0.20	0.29	0.07	0.27	0.06	1.00		
religion	0.11	0.11	0.22	0.25	0.30	0.25	0.49	0.42	0.39	-0.16	0.15	-0.02	0.15	0.07	0.14	0.04	0.13	0.28	0.16	1.00	
control	0.10	0.16	0.06	0.18	0.16	0.23	0.59	0.41	0.41	-0.07	0.01	0.00	0.14	-0.34	-0.36	-0.05	-0.34	0.24	-0.11	0.57	1.00

APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX FOR EACH TIME PERIOD (CONT.)

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	ws past	eth past	afam past	ws oth sm	eth oth sm	afam oth sm	enrl	enrnnl	enraal	enrwpl	enrnnppl	enrap	opbud change	opbud per st	SAT/ ACT	protest	% A&S	res/doct	region	religion	control
ws past	1.00																				
eth past	0.43	1.00																			
afam past	0.34	0.19	1.00																		
ws oth sm	0.44	0.53	0.72	1.00																	
eth oth sm	0.60	0.31	0.65	0.73	1.00																
afam oth sm	0.66	0.53	0.35	0.61	0.72	1.00															
enrl	0.28	0.32	0.33	0.43	0.43	0.40	1.00														
enrnnl	0.32	0.42	0.36	0.49	0.44	0.45	0.86	1.00													
enraal	0.22	0.21	0.34	0.39	0.36	0.31	0.73	0.67	1.00												
enrwpl	0.01	-0.05	-0.13	-0.09	-0.06	0.02	-0.34	-0.36	-0.17	1.00											
enrnnppl	0.22	0.35	0.25	0.36	0.26	0.32	0.34	0.76	0.29	-0.23	1.00										
enraap	-0.05	-0.07	0.02	-0.02	-0.04	-0.09	-0.12	-0.15	0.37	0.10	-0.16	1.00									
opbud change	-0.01	-0.03	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.05	-0.09	-0.03	-0.02	0.00	0.02	0.03	1.00								
opbud per st	0.13	0.06	0.31	0.25	0.27	0.16	0.03	0.23	0.02	-0.25	0.36	-0.04	0.18	1.00							
SAT/ ACT	0.10	0.00	0.29	0.23	0.28	0.15	0.12	0.28	0.00	-0.31	0.36	-0.24	0.17	0.78	1.00						
protest	0.19	0.13	0.09	0.17	0.16	0.18	0.15	0.19	0.12	-0.11	0.17	-0.02	-0.01	0.23	0.15	1.00					
% A&S	0.18	0.05	0.22	0.20	0.26	0.20	-0.17	0.03	-0.10	0.06	0.24	-0.10	0.17	0.54	0.60	0.07	1.00				
res/doct	0.23	0.23	0.35	0.41	0.39	0.31	0.70	0.68	0.51	-0.35	0.37	-0.04	0.00	0.40	0.34	0.17	-0.01	1.00			
region	0.15	0.16	0.10	0.12	0.18	0.19	0.08	0.18	-0.01	0.05	0.23	-0.12	0.10	0.22	0.29	0.14	0.27	0.06	1.00		
religion	0.25	0.15	0.23	0.25	0.31	0.28	0.49	0.42	0.39	-0.17	0.17	-0.02	-0.09	0.04	0.14	0.07	0.13	0.28	0.16	1.00	
control	0.19	0.24	0.09	0.16	0.18	0.20	0.59	0.41	0.43	-0.10	0.01	0.01	-0.25	-0.39	-0.36	-0.05	-0.34	0.24	-0.11	0.57	1.00

APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX FOR EACH TIME PERIOD (CONT.)

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	ws past	eth past	afam past	ws oth sm	eth oth sm	afam oth sm	enrl	enrnml	enraal	enrwp	enrnpl	enraap	opbud change	opbud per st	SAT/ ACT	protest	% A&S	res/doct	region	religion	control
ws past	1.00																				
eth past	0.33	1.00																			
afam past	0.38	0.14	1.00																		
ws oth sm	0.49	0.52	0.72	1.00																	
eth oth sm	0.64	0.23	0.59	0.61	1.00																
afam oth sm	0.65	0.47	0.32	0.56	0.78	1.00															
enrl	0.36	0.30	0.34	0.45	0.41	0.41	1.00														
enrnml	0.39	0.41	0.37	0.52	0.47	0.52	0.86	1.00													
enraal	0.27	0.18	0.35	0.40	0.32	0.29	0.76	0.65	1.00												
enrwp	-0.02	-0.02	-0.14	-0.10	-0.07	-0.05	-0.32	-0.35	-0.18	1.00											
enrnpl	0.26	0.36	0.25	0.38	0.34	0.43	0.35	0.77	0.24	-0.24	1.00										
enraap	-0.08	-0.09	0.03	-0.02	-0.07	-0.14	-0.10	-0.19	0.38	0.12	-0.28	1.00									
opbud change	-0.04	-0.06	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.05	-0.02	0.06	-0.03	-0.08	0.14	-0.17	1.00								
opbud per st	0.13	0.05	0.30	0.23	0.30	0.25	0.01	0.24	0.01	-0.31	0.42	-0.06	0.37	1.00							
SAT/ ACT	0.15	0.02	0.30	0.25	0.35	0.27	0.10	0.32	0.02	-0.37	0.46	-0.21	0.31	0.81	1.00						
protest	0.18	0.10	0.24	0.20	0.17	0.15	0.14	0.23	0.14	-0.15	0.24	-0.03	0.05	0.30	0.30	1.00					
% A&S	0.17	0.07	0.23	0.21	0.34	0.31	-0.18	0.06	-0.10	0.02	0.33	-0.09	0.24	0.56	0.60	0.25	1.00				
res/doct	0.26	0.25	0.38	0.43	0.36	0.34	0.70	0.68	0.53	-0.37	0.38	-0.02	0.08	0.40	0.34	0.20	-0.01	1.00			
region	0.18	0.17	0.13	0.12	0.25	0.25	0.07	0.23	0.00	0.04	0.33	-0.11	0.13	0.24	0.29	0.20	0.27	0.06	1.00		
religion	0.28	0.14	0.22	0.28	0.29	0.24	0.49	0.44	0.40	-0.16	0.23	-0.03	-0.04	0.03	0.14	0.13	0.13	0.28	0.16	1.00	
control	0.18	0.20	0.08	0.18	0.13	0.14	0.61	0.40	0.43	-0.07	-0.01	0.00	-0.26	-0.43	-0.36	0.00	-0.34	0.24	-0.11	0.57	1.00

APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX FOR EACH TIME PERIOD (CONT.)

	ws past	eth past	afam past	ws oth sm	eth oth sm	afam oth sm	enrl	enrnml	enraal	enrwp	enrnpl	enrap	opbud change	opbud per st	SAT/ ACT	protest	% A&S	res/doct	region	religion	control
ws past	1.00																				
eth past	0.28	1.00																			
afam past	0.38	0.08	1.00																		
ws oth sm	0.46	0.50	0.66	1.00																	
eth oth sm	0.70	0.28	0.50	0.66	1.00																
afam oth sm	0.72	0.40	0.36	0.63	0.88	1.00															
enrl	0.36	0.30	0.35	0.46	0.39	0.37	1.00														
enrnml	0.44	0.39	0.36	0.50	0.45	0.48	0.86	1.00													
enraal	0.24	0.20	0.34	0.35	0.27	0.25	0.76	0.59	1.00												
enrwp	-0.08	-0.02	-0.11	-0.10	-0.03	-0.03	-0.34	-0.33	-0.12	1.00											
enrnpl	0.36	0.33	0.22	0.34	0.34	0.41	0.36	0.78	0.14	-0.20	1.00										
enraap	-0.13	-0.08	0.03	-0.07	-0.11	-0.18	-0.07	-0.27	0.40	0.16	-0.44	1.00									
opbud change	0.12	-0.04	0.04	0.01	0.13	0.10	0.07	0.08	0.02	-0.02	0.05	-0.09	1.00								
opbud per st	0.29	0.04	0.27	0.25	0.35	0.30	0.03	0.22	-0.01	-0.29	0.34	-0.09	0.11	1.00							
SAT/ ACT	0.28	0.02	0.28	0.26	0.35	0.31	0.10	0.28	-0.05	-0.36	0.38	-0.28	0.00	0.82	1.00						
protest	0.09	0.11	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.12	0.16	0.12	-0.08	0.13	-0.01	0.00	0.08	0.08	1.00					
% A&S	0.31	0.09	0.22	0.24	0.37	0.36	-0.20	0.03	-0.14	0.04	0.28	-0.10	0.00	0.56	0.59	0.03	1.00				
res/doct	0.31	0.25	0.36	0.42	0.39	0.33	0.71	0.66	0.54	-0.37	0.34	-0.01	0.07	0.42	0.33	0.11	-0.01	1.00			
region	0.26	0.16	0.11	0.13	0.22	0.21	0.05	0.25	-0.04	0.06	0.38	-0.13	0.09	0.26	0.21	0.14	0.27	0.06	1.00		
religion	0.24	0.14	0.25	0.29	0.26	0.26	0.46	0.43	0.36	-0.18	0.23	-0.04	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.01	0.13	0.28	0.16	1.00	
control	0.12	0.20	0.10	0.18	0.07	0.07	0.61	0.40	0.45	-0.13	0.01	0.02	-0.02	-0.42	-0.37	0.01	-0.34	0.24	-0.11	0.57	1.00

APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX FOR EACH TIME PERIOD (CONT.)

	2000																				
	ws past	eth past	afam past	ws oth sm	eth oth sm	afam oth sm	enrl	enrnnl	enraal	enrwp	enrnnpl	enrap	opbud change	opbud per st	SAT/ ACT	protest	% A&S	res/doct	region	religion	control
ws past	1.00																				
eth past	0.38	1.00																			
afam past	0.42	0.13	1.00																		
ws oth sm	0.54	0.54	0.68	1.00																	
eth oth sm	0.77	0.34	0.48	0.63	1.00																
afam oth sm	0.80	0.42	0.38	0.60	0.90	1.00															
enrl	0.34	0.36	0.34	0.43	0.40	0.37	1.00														
enrnnl	0.41	0.40	0.35	0.47	0.44	0.45	0.86	1.00													
enraal	0.19	0.18	0.31	0.31	0.23	0.19	0.74	0.56	1.00												
enrwp	-0.04	-0.07	-0.13	-0.12	0.00	0.00	-0.33	-0.31	-0.09	1.00											
enrnnpl	0.33	0.28	0.22	0.32	0.32	0.37	0.36	0.77	0.11	-0.17	1.00										
enrap	-0.19	-0.13	-0.01	-0.09	-0.16	-0.23	-0.09	-0.32	0.42	0.20	-0.53	1.00									
opbud change	0.03	0.10	0.10	0.12	0.00	0.01	0.23	0.17	0.23	0.01	-0.02	0.10	1.00								
opbud per st	0.35	0.08	0.35	0.28	0.33	0.30	0.12	0.27	0.06	-0.32	0.30	-0.09	0.07	1.00							
SAT/ ACT	0.34	0.04	0.31	0.26	0.30	0.29	0.10	0.27	-0.07	-0.38	0.35	-0.30	-0.07	0.82	1.00						
protest	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
% A&S	0.36	0.08	0.27	0.28	0.34	0.36	-0.18	0.02	-0.16	0.01	0.24	-0.12	-0.08	0.57	0.59*	1.00					
res/doct	0.32	0.26	0.36	0.35	0.36	0.28	0.71	0.64	0.53	-0.38	0.31	-0.02	0.07	0.45	0.33*	-0.01	1.00				
region	0.22	0.13	0.14	0.17	0.26	0.25	0.06	0.26	-0.06	0.05	0.38	-0.15	-0.08	0.25	0.21*	0.27	0.06	1.00			
religion	0.23	0.17	0.26	0.31	0.31	0.30	0.46	0.44	0.36	-0.19	0.26	-0.04	0.20	0.12	0.08*	0.13	0.28	0.16	1.00		
control	0.04	0.22	0.05	0.19	0.13	0.11	0.60	0.40	0.44	-0.10	0.02	0.02	0.38	-0.30	-0.37*	-0.34	0.24	-0.11	0.57	1.00	

* Cannot be computed because of zero protest activity in 2000

APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX FOR EACH TIME PERIOD (CONT.)

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Key for Variable Names:

ws past	Presence of a women's studies program or department in the previous period
eth past	Presence of an ethnic studies program or department in the previous period
afam past	Presence of an African American studies program or department in the previous period
ws oth sm	Presence of an ethnic studies or African American studies program or department
eth oth sm	Presence of a women's studies or African American studies program or department
afam oth sm	Presence of an ethnic studies or women's studies program or department
enrl	Total enrollment of students, logged
enrnsl	Total enrollment of non-white, non-black students, logged
enraal	Total enrollment of African American students, logged
enrwp	Proportion of women of total enrollment
enrnpl	Proportion of non-white, non-black students of total enrollment, logged
enraap	Proportion of African American students of total enrollment
opbud change	Change in operating budget
opbud per st	Operating budget per student, logged
SAT/ ACT	Average SAT/ACT score
protest	Presence of protest activity during the previous five years
% A&S	Percent of degrees that are in the arts and sciences
res/doct	Carnegie classification as a research or doctoral institution
region	Location in the west, mid-west, or mid-Atlantic states
religion	Religious affiliation
control	Public or private
