

University Cultural Centers:
History, Identity, and Activism at the Nexus of
Museums and Academia

BY

Lena Guerrero Reynolds
B.S., University of Illinois, 2010

THESIS

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Museum and Exhibition Studies
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Chicago, 2016

Chicago, Illinois

Defense Committee:

Rosa Cabrera, Director, UIC Rafael Cintrón Ortiz Latino Cultural Center (Advisor)
Lori Baptista, Director, UIC African-American Cultural Center
Therese Quinn, Director, Museum and Exhibition Studies Program (Committee Chair)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis committee for their support and assistance both in the field of cultural center work and study. They inspired me to be a constant advocate for social justice, cultural diversity, and intellectual rigor. I would also like to thank the MUSE program at UIC, a motley crew of scholars, activists, and cultural advocates who helped to hone my perspectives and broaden my mind for the past two years. I would never have made it this far without the staff at the UIC Latino Cultural Center, who served as inspiration for the importance of this study, and were always there to question my assumptions and support my struggles.

On a personal note, I would like to thank my fiancée Victoria Swain for her wonderful support, critical mind, and helpful reminders about the need to step back and take a break sometimes. My parents have also been so supportive, helping to question my ideas and helping me push through to the end. Finally, I would like to thank the museums and cultural institutions of Chicago, who were my earliest inspirations, and who I hope to see continually reach for their fullest potential as institutions of positive social change.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 – Introduction.....	1
- Problem Statement.....	1
- Research Goals.....	4
- Guiding Framework.....	5
Chapter 2 – <i>History</i> : Museums, academia & campus cultural centers.....	9
- 19 th & early 20 th century.....	9
- 1960s & 1970s.....	15
- 1980s & 1990s.....	25
- 2000s to today.....	32
Chapter 3 – <i>Identity</i> : Research on cultural centers today.....	35
- Research methodology.....	35
o Defining Cultural Centers.....	36
o Taxonomy.....	39
o Limitations.....	40
- Results.....	41
o Public vs. Private.....	41
o ABCC Affiliation.....	45
o Region & Size.....	48
o Other findings.....	53
Chapter 4 – <i>Activism</i> : Takeaways for the future.....	57
Appendix.....	I
Cited Literature.....	IX
Bibliography.....	XVII
Vita.....	XVIII

LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES

Table I – Percentage of schools with either type of center.....	41
Table II – Percentage of schools with ethnic centers.....	42
Table III – Percentage of schools with gender centers.....	43
Table IV – Taxonomy of campus cultural centers.....	44
Table V – Percentage of schools with centers, by ABCC affiliation.....	46
Table VI – Ethnic center breakdown, by ABCC affiliation.....	47
Table VII – Gender center breakdown, by ABCC affiliation.....	48
Table VIII – Percentage of schools with centers, by region.....	50
Table IX – Percentage of schools with both centers, by population & region..	45
Figure I – Affiliation with the Association for Black Culture Centers.....	45
Figure II – Percentage of all schools, by region.....	49
Figure III – Percentage of schools with both centers, by region.....	50
Figure IV – Percentage of all schools with both centers by size.....	52

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PWI – Predominantly White Institution

ABCC – Association of Black Cultural Centers

HBCU – Historically Black College or University

ADA – Americans with Disabilities Act

LGBTQ – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, & Queer

SUMMARY

This research study examined Campus Cultural Centers from a historical and museological perspective. The historical survey in Chapter 2 began with the roots of these centers in the history of museums and academia in America, from the 19th and early 20th centuries. Then center history was tracked from the 1960s to the early 21st century, by decade, showing that cultural centers have emerged from social movements in each time period. Chapter 3 explored the current field of cultural centers. Internet research was utilized to ascertain where cultural centers could be found across the country, among research institutions. This data was then categorized according to an adapted version of Shek's *Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers*. Although some history of Disability centers was included in Chapter 2, these centers proved challenging to quantify in Chapter 3. The taxonomy ultimately broke down centers into two categories: ethnic centers included multicultural, African American, Latino, Asian, and Native American centers; gender centers included Women's centers and LGBTQ centers.

Centers were discovered in all 50 states and Washington, D.C. A majority of research institutions were found to have both types of centers, and schools of all sizes were found to have centers as well. Although a minority of institutions were members of the Association for Black Culture Centers, there is certainly broad awareness of these spaces nation-wide, as student protests in 2015 continue to show, advocating for centers across the country. The additional details produced in this study can help cultural center staff, university administrators, student activists, and museum professionals to improve their work and better understand the field as a whole, although future research is certainly needed to continue this growing field of study.

Chapter 1: Introduction

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Higher education has become increasingly important in the global economy, yet many people in the United States struggle to access this level of education (Eberly, 2012). People of color will soon be a majority, yet their numbers on campus remain below their percentage of the population (Kayne, 2014). Although a Black president has led the country for the past eight years, race relations continue to tear at the fabric of our society. Gay marriage has become legal, but LGBTQ hate crimes and discrimination continue.¹ The Americans with Disabilities Act has been law for 20 years, but people struggle to find work, get around, and access basic necessities even as the largest minority group in the country. And women now outnumber men on many college campuses, but sexual assault remains shockingly common, showing representation is not enough to creating a safe and supportive environment for students on campus (Sutherland, 2015; Gray, 2015). National trends manifest on campus in a myriad of ways, from low enrollment to racist attacks, but there are spaces working to address these challenges and more. Campus cultural centers exist to help university communities understand and work through complications of identity and hierarchy in America, and student protests over the past fifty years have consistently proven strong support for such spaces on campus.

Student protest again swept the country in 2015, with students reeling from issues like police brutality and gendered violence (Hartocollis et al. 2015). Joining the ranks of generations of students before them, these young people sought to transform their most

¹ LGBTQ stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer

immediate environment: the university. They also urged their schools to truly fulfill their educational missions and the ideals of equality enshrined in the nation's constitution. Across 51 schools marked by protest in recent months the students' third most common demand, behind more diverse faculty and training, was the request for more campus cultural center support (Libresco, 2015). Centers serve as "home away from home" for underrepresented students, helping them form positive identities for lifelong success (Richmond, 2012, unpublished dissertation, p. 2). Centers also serve as spaces of understanding, bringing racial and ethnic groups together to help the university engage with diversity as an asset, rather than feigning "blindness" (Yosso et al., 2010; Crenshaw, 1995, p. xv). Featuring exhibits, public programming, and other direct services, these centers are also like mini-museums embedded within academia.

In a time when museums are searching for ways to stay relevant and to connect with diverse communities, campus cultural centers can serve as inspiration (Farrell et al. 2010). They are cultural institutions rooted in community needs and critically engaged with contemporary struggles. Museums could engage more with campus cultural centers to bridge the gap with young people, since centers can serve as an introduction to a lifetime of museum participation. Campus cultural centers exist in every state in the country, yet interaction among them is limited, and there is little understanding of the field as a whole, especially among museum and academic professionals.

In the few studies that have explored campus cultural centers, they are shown to be effective spaces for building multicultural skills and educational success. Edwina Welch noted that centers in her study were effective at "addressing and validating multilayered identities," which "helped students not only connect within and across each site but also

supported and enhanced their day-to-day institutional experiences” (Welch, 2009, unpublished dissertation, p. 153). Demetrius D. Richmond highlighted the way certain centers have changed over time, sometimes taking on new roles, unique to each university context (Richmond, 2012, unpublished dissertation, p. 14). Adele Lozano identified ways that cultural centers increase retention through building a sense of belonging (Lozano, 2010, p. 20).

Every new student has an adjustment period as they transition to campus life, as Tinto has demonstrated, and social integration is critical to the academic integration and success of new students (Tinto, 2000). However, this struggle is more complicated for students from underrepresented groups. Yang, Byers, Salazar, & Salas note that “for some students, adjustment to the university campus is an acculturative process, comparable with an emigrant arriving in a host country. The university is not simply a campus; it is a culture” (Yang et al. 2009, p. 116). Like a new immigrant, Otting and Beauvais have deconstructed the acculturation process to point out that students might do one of four things: A) identify with a new culture and abandon their old; B) approach a new culture and find a “bicultural” identity that embraces both new and old; C) confront this new culture and reject it in favor of the old; or D) identify with neither and become “marginalized” (Yang et al. 2009, p. 118). Centers strive to help students toward the second option, helping affirm their cultural identities, their sense of belonging to the institution, and their comfort in multiple contexts (Yang et al. 2009, p. 116). LGBTQ centers can provide positive example and support for young people who “are at a higher risk of depression, alcohol abuse, and suicide” (Sandoval, 2016). Women’s centers provide direct support for victims of sexual assault and indirect support for other issues of gendered

inequality on campus, like fighting pay discrepancies and navigating various concepts of gender roles.

Centers host historical exhibits, musical performances, arts-based civic dialogues, speeches from prominent activists and social figures, and so much more. Considering the many activities offered outside the classroom, centers have sometimes been referred to as a form of “third place,” as Ray Oldenburg described social spaces beyond home (first place) and work or school (second place). Like parks, cafes, and sometimes museums, these “third” places serve an important role in our society. As Oldenburg describes, “though a radically different kind of setting for a home, the third place is remarkably similar to a good home in the psychological comfort and support that it extends... they are the heart of a community’s social vitality, the grassroots of democracy, but sadly, they constitute a diminishing aspect of the American social landscape” (Project for Public Spaces, date unknown). The phrase “home away from home,” often used to describe cultural centers, also helps us position them within Oldenburg’s concept (Richmond, 2012, unpublished dissertation, p. 2). For spaces that serve so many roles, it is surprising that there is so little scholarship on the subject, since they hold such potential for the educational future of America.

RESEARCH GOALS

There have been very few academic studies about campus cultural centers, so my research would help to shine light in a dark area of study. Many explored the topic from a case study perspective, presenting a narrow, in-depth view, with little understanding of the big picture (Richmond, 2012, Roseboro, 2005, Welch, 2009). Others took a Student Services

perspective, although cultural center goals and methods are in many ways more similar to museums than other departments of the university (Young, L. 1986, Welch, 2009). In the absence of numerical data, many people rely on personal experience to assess centers nationwide, and project personal perspectives onto the whole of the field. In addition to this scholarship, there is a professional network in place for campus cultural centers, the Association for Black Culture Centers (ABCC). The ABCC actually serves all sorts of ethnic centers, like multicultural centers, Native American centers, Asian American centers, Latino centers, in addition to African American centers, but many schools are not affiliated with this potentially beneficial group. Given this context, I decided on three main goals for this project: 1) to provide a historical backdrop for campus cultural centers at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), framing the field within the histories of academia and museums; 2) to provide a data set about campus centers, classifying institutions by what types of centers they have and layering regional geography, ABCC affiliation, and public/private distinctions for further analysis; 3) to examine how the history of centers helps us better understand the current field and the potential future of campus cultural centers in the United States.

GUIDING FRAMEWORK

Like any researcher, I have personal experiences that have shaped my perspective on the topic. Having attended the University of Illinois in Urbana (UIUC) and Chicago (UIC), I was inspired by the cultural centers on those two campuses. Both have ethnic-specific cultural centers dedicated to African-Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. Both have Women's Centers and LGBTQ centers. Both also have support services for students with

disabilities, but UIC has a more explicit connection between the Disability Resource Center and the other culture centers in emphasizing disability culture. UIUC has a Native American cultural center, while UIC only has a support network that partners with the other centers. UIUC's ethnic centers are free-standing buildings situated together on one street right near the main campus, where they can host events together and bridge communities, but their women's and LGBTQ centers are situated elsewhere. UIC's centers are all spread out across campus, housed in buildings with other lecture halls and offices, but they have a strong network and a formal relationship for creating programming and initiatives together, known as the Centers for Cultural Understanding and Social Change. UIC's three ethnic centers are formally tied to the Disability Resource Center, the Women's Leadership & Resource Center, and the Gender & Sexuality Center through this relationship.

These two campus experiences informed my initial understanding of cultural centers, as spaces that could be free-standing or not, geographically positioned together or not, and formally allied or not. These schools also established my understanding of which identity-based centers could be considered cultural centers. My research therefore attempted to include ethnic centers (African-American, Latino, Asian American, Native American, Multicultural) gender centers (Women's centers, LGBTQ centers), and disability centers. I considered these particular identities, because they are social and intersectional, and all pose unique challenges for educational success that make them relevant to this study. These social groups also continue to face wider social struggles beyond academia, specifically influenced by their identity. Although I set out to include disability resource centers in this study, the task proved quite challenging given my limited scope, so this community was considered for my historical analysis, but left out of the statistical analysis

in Chapter 3. I also attempted to incorporate founding years for each center, but this proved to be a challenging task through my research method. I've included years when available in the historic text, but years did not ultimately become part of the statistical analysis.

I should also clarify my use of the term "ethnic." I do not mean to suggest that students of color have a monopoly on ethnicity, simply because I'm using the term to refer to spaces dedicated to those populations. European ethnicities have created a rich tapestry of influence across this country, and have created vibrant cultural centers in communities and campuses alike (Danilov, 2009). From the Ireland House at New York University to the Greek Culture Center at the University of Missouri in St. Louis, centers dedicated to European heritages emerged in this study. However, centers representing ethnic whites are rare on university campuses and they play a different role than ethnic cultural centers that represent historically underserved and unrepresented communities. Although many European populations, such as Italian, Irish, Greek, and Jewish people, were considered ethnic minorities before WWII and faced persecution and criminalization in past generations, they gained a greater status of power under the category "white," and younger generations have been able to enjoy greater social and economic mobility (Jones et al., 2008, p. 285). Scholars have pointed out that the assimilation process for minority groups such as Latinos, Asians, and other non-white groups has been quite different and informed by race (Cabrera, 2008, p. 29; Mariscal, 2005, p. 3). They retained significant legal and social barriers in advancement and inclusion, from educational segregation to racist housing codes, while their cultural distinctions, contributions, and traditions have been often excluded from our national history. It is this legacy of disfranchisement that cultural

centers exist to help negate. In addition to disability centers and gender centers (Women & LGBTQ), these ethnic centers form the field of identity-based student resource centers. They each draw on cultural identity as an important asset for dismantling racial and other oppression, encouraging academic and social success (Yosso et al. 2010, p. 95).

My academic background is in history, but my current work is within Museum Studies, so my research was heavily influenced by those two disciplines. In exploring race and ethnicity I looked to anthropology and critical race theory. In exploring gender and sexuality I looked to feminist theory and queer scholarship. And last but certainly not least, I was influenced by the amazing Student Services research that has thus-far dominated the scholarship on campus cultural centers and provided a strong foundation for my research.

Chapter 2: *History: Museums, Academia, and Campus Cultural Centers*

19TH & EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Museums and universities have a lot in common. They both have roots in 18th century Enlightenment Europe, but they proliferated in the United States in the second half of the 19th century (Mondello, 2008). They were both designed as spaces of education and power, shaped by private industrial capitalism and public collective interest. Both inherited a central theory from the Enlightenment, which emphasized Western man as a new epistemological entity, the universal neutral against which to compare all else (Ferguson, 2012, p. 30). This perspective would profoundly shape scholarship and access for both spaces, as those considered at the center or periphery of study received different social treatment as well. This assumption was challenged on several occasions in the 19th century, and would be shaken to the core in the 20th. Cultural centers are rooted in the legacies of these intertwined histories, and the continual struggle for equity in America.

Education was quickly defined as a core element of citizenship in the new American experiment in Democracy. In 1787, the Continental Congress wrote, “knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged” (Continental Congress, 1787). In translating the European form for this American circumstance, both museums and universities increasingly proclaimed goals of educating the nation. However, like many other rights discussed in our national documents, rhetoric did not necessarily mean reality for all. Race, gender, and class meant very real limitations on educational access of any level, but higher education was most restrictive. Despite Thomas Jefferson’s desire that university students

be drawn from all classes of society based on talent and desire, wealth has most often determined participation. Early universities were elite institutions, which perpetuated wealth and power within certain families (Katz, 1983).

Early U.S. museums were also centered on wealth, as colonial explorers and merchants displayed their exploits from distant lands. For example, the Peabody Essex Museum was founded out of the East India Marine Society in 1799, an organization of captains and voyagers who had sailed beyond the tip of Africa. Members brought back their treasures to put on display in this “cabinet of natural and artificial curiosities” (Peabody Essex Museum, 2015). It was named for one of the major donors (Peabody), and the county where it resides (Essex). In place of monarchs, economic patronage was reliant on the U.S. equivalent of royalty. The barons of industry established educational institutions in their own honor, from the Field Museum to Vanderbilt University. Or as another historian described this early museum explosion, “domination produced a desire to record – in museums of technology and history, for example – the inevitable progress associated with the developing West” (Harris, 1990, p. 136).

U.S. museums were also founded on the emerging capitalist marketplace. Museum exhibits were developed alongside department store window displays, and like shoppers, visitors were expected to consume information, but were not often considered participants or innovators themselves (Henry, 2010, p. 11). Museums projected an image of national unity and international exoticism, often reducing people to caricatures and classifying cultures like species in a zoo (Laurenson, 2011). Although diverse groups would later reject the patronizing way they were represented in mainstream museums, many 19th century museum workers considered themselves very progressive for their time (Trask, 2011).

Older private collections were for the first time made available to public visitors as scads of museums opened in the late 19th century, gathering the treasures of the world in one place. Museums theoretically made a world of wonder and knowledge available to the masses, even though most working-class people were struggling to find time to sleep, much less find leisure time to visit museums.

Early exhibits were also stacked high with artifacts and labels, inaccessible and uninteresting to many without prior education or the ability to read, and the artifacts stolen by imperial conquest continued to reinforce a global hierarchy, robbing others of their local treasures in the name of western enjoyment (Harris, 1990, p. 137). Both museums and universities were also engaged with research into racial hierarchy in fields like phrenology and eugenics². As historian Alice Conklin described French museum ethnologist George Montandon, his “racism was dressed up in the guise of the science of humanity” (Conklin, 2013). This work justified the inequality determined by society, thereby supporting global colonization and disfranchisement.

Around the time of the Civil War, the U.S. was really questioning certain fundamental assumptions about who should be included in the American project and who deserved basic rights. Brought to war over the question of slavery, there were also bubbling debates about immigrant’s rights, women’s rights, and labor rights (Jones et al. 2009, p. 325). The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 was a remarkable step towards democratizing access to the once privileged world of academia, by creating land-grant universities (Morrill Land Grant Act, 1862). Working-class farmers and laborers could dream of attending schools like Kansas State University (1863) and the University of

² Phrenology is the racialized study of the skull. Eugenics was a movement to improve the human gene pool through eradicating “undesirable” genes through sterilization, and increasing “desirable” procreation.

Illinois (1867) for the first time. Many ethnic communities that had struggled in a new land, like Irish and Dutch immigrants, found opportunities as this academic door was opened wider, but there were still critical limitations (Ferguson, 2012, p. 85).

African-Americans were not welcome at these new schools, attending Northern institutions in only exceedingly rare cases. Although the University of Illinois technically opened their doors to black men in 1887, only one had enrolled by 1894 (Materson, 2009, p. 25). Even after the Civil War, Southern states refused to build the schools to avoid having to enroll the newly-enfranchised citizens. A second Morrill Act of 1890 provided greater incentive for Southern states to build public universities by creating the option of building separate institutions for African-Americans (Tegler, 2015). Sixteen universities came out of this provision, today known as Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Scholar Roderick Ferguson has described this measure as “an attempt to resolve the tension between racial hierarchy and democracy in ways that were consistent with the state’s new racial project – segregation” (Ferguson, 2012, p. 86). Although HBCUs were part of the atrocious nation-wide system of Jim Crow, they nonetheless provided a pivotal opportunity for higher education, and as Lawrence Young described, “the precursor of the Black cultural centers on white college campuses were the historically Black colleges established after the Civil War” (Young, 1986, p. 16).

Like religious colleges and ethnic cultural centers established around the turn of the 20th century, HBCUs were among many types of community-specific educational institutions that helped to create political identities with far-reaching effects (Young, 1986, p. 16). Rhoads describes this process, “the emergence of a collective consciousness organized around a common aspect of one’s identity is necessary for a social movement to

gain strength” (Rhoads, 1998, p. 241). There were people reexamining museums and universities as alternative tools for empowerment and diversity, with minority communities critiquing the patronizing way they were previously portrayed in exhibits and scholarship. This is when museum and university histories really begin to converge together to point toward campus cultural centers. For example, women’s colleges helped to spark the suffrage movement and Progressive Era social reforms (Hayden, 1983, p. 277). The Hull-House Labor Museum (founded 1900) sought to reverse the traditional museum narrative of kings and businessmen, to feature working class people as leaders in national advancement (Addams, 1900, p. 7). German *turnvereins*, Slovakian *sokols*, and places like Decorah, Iowa’s Vesterheim Norwegian-American Museum (1877), New York’s Bohemian National Hall (1896) and the Jewish Yeshiva University (1886) all helped specific minority communities to battle discrimination, build political power, and retain cultural values (Danilov, 2009, p. 5). Some of the reasons these ethnic centers were created in communities would be mirrored generations later by the student movements for campus cultural centers.

The nation, as a whole, saw ups and downs in equality in the early 20th century. Racist legislation increased in the south as a backlash against reconstruction efforts, but women gained the national vote in 1920 after generations of suffrage activism (Foner, 2009, p. 533). Harlem came to epitomize a new flourishing in African American culture as people flocked north to big cities in the Great Migration, but immigration restrictions tightened up significantly in a particularly xenophobic chapter of interwar U.S. history, not unlike our own (Foner, 2009, p. 742). Communist witch hunts and Japanese internment camps mark some of the most ugly days of our country’s history, where fear of issues

abroad led people to restrict civil liberties at home (Schrecker, 2002, p. 2; Foner, 2009, p. 823). On the other hand, the social safety net grew stronger in the 1930s and 40s, women entered the work force in larger numbers to help the war effort, and the GI bill brought a large new generation of men into university life (Foner, 2009, p. 817). Mexican immigrant children were barred from attending schools with white students in the southwest, even though their parents were often recruited to come build the American economy through initiatives like the Bracero program (National Museum of American History, 2009). Shocked by the Jewish holocaust, many in the international community worked to remove racist rhetoric from cultural and educational organizations (Conklin, 2013, p. 1). The United Nations established the UNESCO heritage site program to preserve cultural diversity, and scientists discredited work in eugenics and phrenology, although international policy continued to benefit certain cultures and countries over others.

The Navajo language was critical for the success of U.S. intelligence in World War II, but Native Americans across the nation continued to struggle for basic rights (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). Under the Indian Termination Policy, which ended tribal status for many groups, the Indian Relocation Act of 1956 encouraged Native Americans to leave reservations for urban areas, and cultures were urged to assimilate (Walch, 1983). As the Cold War set in, many political organizations that had once used direct action to work toward racial or economic justice in the United States were shut down or disconnected from politics out of communist fears (Marable, 2007, p. 29). There was a shift to legal maneuvering and artistic initiatives as alternative forms of struggle, to retain support, build understanding, and practice indirect politics (Marable, 2007, p. 43). Two pivotal court cases, *Mendez v. Westminster* in 1946 and *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, broke

educational segregation and began the complicated business of integration (English, 2004). Like urban ethnic groups before them, people founded places like Chicago's South Side Community Arts Center (1941), the American Indian Center (1953), the African American Museum of Cleveland (1953), and the Dusable Museum of African American History (1957), along with numerous other poetry, art, and cultural organizations (Danilov, 2009, p. 12). These cultural institutions became spaces of resilience, culture, and political consciousness, and they would provide the ideological foundation for the campus movements of the following years (Hord, 2005, p. 4).

THE 1960s & 70s

The 1960s loom large in the collective memory of the campus cultural center community. International and local circumstances combined to propel the creation of numerous centers, and although many more were actually created in following decades, that initial spark was critical for establishing the field as we know it today. That old Enlightenment tendency to view western man as the ideological center of study would be boldly questioned in these decades, transforming museums, academia, and the nation as a whole.

International affairs hit closer to home in the 1960s through new communications technology and increased global travel (Ivaska, 2011, p. 37). Decolonization, independence, and nationalist movements rocked the world, while Cold War leaders competed for global dominance, and divided the world by their affiliations (Foner, 2009, p. 919). The term "third world" was coined by demographer Alfred Sauvy in 1952, to reference all the countries that did not fall into the first world (capitalist countries allied with the United

States) or the second world (communist countries allied with the Soviet Union) (Young, C. 2006, p. 1). Although many assume the numerical term qualifies these countries as unimportant, like a third place prize, there was actually a more complicated legacy. Sauvy was referencing a French Revolutionary quote by Abbé Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, where he famously said, “What is the third estate? Everything. What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing. What does it ask? To become something” (Sieyès, 1789). Although originally a denomination of inferiority under the monarchy (first estate) and the clergy (second estate), the third estate became a rallying cry for the vast majority of people in a French nation on the road to Democracy, and was reclaimed by agents of change as a source of pride in the struggle for justice (Westad, 2009, p. 2).

By the late 1950s and 60s, people in some of these third world countries also recognized common struggles across borders, although their terms differed from Sauvy’s (Westad, 2007, p. 97). They capitalized on their distinction from the polarized Cold War categories, their shared history of recent independence from colonial powers, and their modernizing initiatives, as empowering commonalities that could forge a new path. Leaders like Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia, and Nehru of India established the “non-alignment movement” in 1961, out of the Bandung Conference in 1955, as a new way forward (Westad, 2007). This step was also informed by earlier movements: the Pan African conferences held in the early 20th century envisioned liberation from colonial powers, while Marxist visions of transnational solidarity building up from the globally oppressed had been disseminated through the Communist International organization for years (Ture, 1992, p. 196).

Even in the United States, a country squarely within the first world, activists and students identified themselves with third world histories of oppression. From African-American and Native American histories of U.S. atrocities, to the absorption of Mexican border territories and Puerto Rico, various groups felt their stories represented America's own colonial history, and their position in the United States therefore did not yet grant them full citizenship. Historian Cynthia A. Young has highlighted the way many identified with the Communist International category of "internal colonies," and felt a kinship with people around the world facing anti-colonial struggles (Young, C. 2006, p. 3). These groups actively used the term "Third World" not just to reach around the world, but also to tie one another together through a shared experience at home (Young, C., 2006, p. 2). Several movements in U.S. academia would utilize the term Third World in honor of this transnational sensibility and cross-cultural bond, for example, the Third World Strikes for ethnic studies at California State, the Third World Center at Brown University (1975) and the Third World Center at Princeton University (1971). At the same time, international critics highlighted American racial segregation as the thorn in the side of a nation trying to project itself as the ideal Cold War world leader, so internal U.S. critics were able to use this argument to bolster civil rights cases (Dudziak, 2000).

Around the world, new nations were busy establishing museums and universities to educate the liberated populace and project national unity, while even countries with long traditions of academia were rapidly expanding university access as well (Suri, 2003, p. 89). The international youth community found themselves more alike than ever, through the unifying experience of educational affiliation and the explosion of new music, media, and communications technology (Ivaska, 2011, p. 126). In the midst of all this, the United States

encouraged young people to travel in both directions. As Odd Arne Westad noted in *The Global Cold War*, “the numbers of Third World students who came to the United States for part of their education continued to increase. Successive administrations were very aware that these students, on going home, constituted a massive resource for the United States to draw on in its quest to influence and reform Third World countries” (Westad, 2007, p. 37). International students were invited to study at American universities as a Cold War propaganda tool, while U.S. students studied abroad and joined the military or the new Peace Corps, building an international sensibility with other young people around the world (Foner, 2009, p. 919).

Student protest also exploded on the international scene in the 1960s, as young people worked to influence the world they would inherit, from Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania to Paris, France, from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil to Berkeley, California (Ivaska, 2011; Langland, 2013). The world felt like it was on the precipice of change, and young people in America felt the urge and the inspiration from abroad as their own activism increased at home. As Leonard Ramirez noted of his activism at the University of Illinois at Chicago, “there was a lot of things that were happening in Latin America. The political and social movements especially students from Latin America sort of encouraged the organization of the students here at UIC... With the student movements of the 70s and Latin America... there was a refocus on the importance of culture. And so, I think that the idea really caught on with students who felt really alienated on this campus. They needed to have a place to sort of explore their cultural roots and that was really a critical part of what education should be” (Ramirez, 1997, unpublished interview). Cultural centers were certainly influenced by

international momentum, but their trajectory can be more directly connected to the local movements for change that rocked the United States in the 1960s and 70s.

The Civil Rights movement was one of the most defining struggles of the century, and opened the door to many other social movements that flourished in the following years. African Americans and allies engaged in sit-ins, protests, marches, and legal battles in the struggle for basic rights. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, & 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 were some of the critical policies that came as a result of this action, in addition to the Supreme Court ruling *Loving v. Virginia* which made interracial marriage legal in 1967 (Isserman et al. 2004, p. 311). Prominent figures like Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X became household names, as the nation was urged to reconsider the contradictions between national values and practices. The Black Power movement emerged as a more urgent expression of the desire for change, and inspired a spectrum like Yellow Power and Red Power activists (Hamilton, 1992, p. 205). As Cesar Chavez helped launch the National Farm Workers Association of 1962, Latino struggles also rose to new political potency. From Puerto Rican nationalists to Chicano activists, Southwestern states and urban centers across the country saw many diverse Latino nationalities coming together for civil rights as well (Lee, 2014). Activists in the American Indian Movement occupied abandoned federal lands to make their needs known in a nation with a long history of oppression (Davey, 2016). Also affecting the ethnic makeup of the nation, the immigration quota system was overhauled in 1965, so people long barred entry from regions like Asia and Africa could immigrate to the United States (Cohn, 2016).

The Disability Rights movement emerged in response to the other civil rights movements, and also because of research underway for two decades about barriers to access, leading to the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (Disability.gov, 2016). The Gay Liberation Movement launched out of the 1969 Stonewall riot in New York, as Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer people rallied together for greater visibility and support (Isserman et al, 2004, p. 311). The second-wave feminist movement is sometimes considered to have started in the 1950s with Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* translation to English, but it really flowered in the United States with Betty Freidan's *Feminine Mystique* in 1963 (Isserman et al, 2004, p. 311). Each of these ethnic and gender movements is known for their connection to the 1960s, although many had their greatest successes and largest participation rates in the 1970s. And although these identity movements are often remembered as separate struggles, the truth is there was an important emphasis on solidarity across lines of difference and even international borders, as the Third World movement implies.

All of these international and national trends had deep impacts on universities and museums. As newer immigrant groups reached larger numbers in ethnic urban enclaves and faced struggles in a new land, many utilized a tool with a rich legacy in American history, creating ethnic cultural centers (Danilov, 2009). Like the Bohemian, Slovakian, and German cultural centers mentioned earlier from the 1890s, many ethnic groups continued to create cultural centers and museums that doubled as community centers and service agencies. The museum field grew significantly in the 1960s as many new museums opened, including many ethnic and cultural museums, which celebrated and unified newcomers and long-time residents alike. Then by the 1970s, the museum field was rocked by New

Museology, which called into question many common assumptions and practices, and urged museums to be responsive to social issues and responsive to diverse community needs. As Andrea Hauenschild, explains, “New museology is an idea of the museum as an educational tool in the service of societal development... At the center of this idea of a museum lie not things, but people” (Hauenschild, 1988). Social history also emerged in the 1960s and 70s as an academic and museological discipline to represent the voices of marginalized communities and the general public instead of the myopic focus on wealthy leaders and politicians (Evans, 2008). The community museum or cultural center likely served as inspiration for students exploring alternative spaces for empowerment and education on campus.

President Johnson’s *Great Society* initiative of the 1960s sought the elimination of poverty and racial injustice, and urged many institutions to reexamine their practices and structural barriers (Isserman, 2004, p. 112). Traditionally-white universities began to admit more women and people of color, the Higher Education Act of 1965 made college education more affordable for low-income students through federal grants and scholarships, affirmative action policies sought to counter the effects of historic racism, and community college expansion helped make four-year institutions more accessible for transfer students (Palmer, 2001, p. 50). However, new students arrived on campus to discover they were nearly alone and unwanted. As Patton has described it, “although combined numbers of Black students increased, small clusters of these students were the reality on most campuses... Their experiences on campus were marked with an increasingly prominent feeling of isolation and marginalization.” (Patton, 2005, p. 153) International and national influences came into play on campus, and in addition to protests

critiquing the Vietnam War and national politics, students sought to transform their immediate environment: the university itself. Students fought for three key pillars of support: more diverse recruitment to help make college accessible to all, ethnic studies programs to complicate the dominant ethnocentric narrative of academia, and cultural centers to provide social, artistic, and informal educational space for student support (Asante, 2005). Although the first sought to get diverse kids in the door, the other two were designed to keep them there and ensure their success. As Leonard Ramirez describes the 1970s struggle at UIC, “The cultural center had community support, but it was probably less community focused because I think the community’s major concern was getting students here... so LARES (*recruitment service*) was a very important thing for the community. Whereas, I think that the students who were getting here were saying we need something once we are here... the need to express their culture and discover it and those things were very important” (Ramirez, 1997). All three of these components (recruitment, academics, and culture) were sometimes wrapped into the same struggle for a cultural center to serve multiple roles, while sometimes the result was independent departments or advising units (Patton, 2010). Centers were most often created out of student activism, in solidarity with community groups, faculty, staff, and administrators, often in response to particular atrocities or to attributed to a general sense of injustice and feeling unwelcome in a Predominantly White Institution (PWI).

The first cultural centers to emerge in PWIs in the 1960s were African-American cultural centers, like the Paul Robeson Cultural Center at Rutgers University in New Jersey

(1967) and the Afro-American Cultural Center at the University of Iowa (1968)³. These were quickly followed by other ethnic centers, like the Centro Cultural De La Raza at the University of California, Berkeley (1970), the Asian American Activities Center at Stanford University in California (1972), and the American Indian Center of the University of North Dakota (1972). Often an African-American center might be the first one established at a particular school, but sometimes other centers preceded, depending on the circumstances on that campus, such as the Rafael Cintrón Ortiz Latino Cultural Center, the first of six established at the University of Illinois at Chicago (1976). Although established to serve race-specific communities, they also came to be seen as resource centers for the wider campus community as well.

LGBT centers started to emerge around the same time, with places like the University of Minnesota's Queer Student Cultural Center (1969 under another name), the Kent State Gay Liberation Front Offices (1972), and Michigan State's Human Sexuality Office (1971). This intersectional identity group helped to cross the other lines of activism and difference, as one gay activist wrote in 1969, "queer life... can be profoundly democratizing, throwing together every class and group more than heterosexuality does... I myself have cruised rich, poor, middle class, and petit bourgeoisie; black, white, yellow, and brown... There is a kind of political meaning, I guess, in the fact that there are so many types of attractive human beings" (Isserman, 2004, p. 157). In these early years of the movement, psychologists still classified homosexuality as a disorder or "perversion," so there was a great need to affirm identity (Foner, 2009, p. 946). Also, cross-dressing,

³ Note that I've tried to state the original name of the center when available to represent the type of space founded in that year, but sometimes it was unavailable or unclear whether the name had been changed over time.

sodomy, and attending gay bars remained illegal in nearly every state, so forging a political consciousness around that identity was critical to improving gay life, on campus and beyond (Isserman, 2004, p. 283). However, prior to 1990, only five such centers had paid staff (Beeyman, 2002, p. 25). Like other ethnic and women's centers across the country, student initiative often had to prove the necessity of institutional support for such spaces before more significant university investment could be gained.

Disability Resource Centers start to emerge in the 1960s and 70s as a response to the Disability Rights Movement. Some examples include the Center for Students with Disabilities at the University of Connecticut (1967) and the Resource Center for Persons with Disabilities (1971). Although there was certainly an activist movement that preceded the emergence of these centers, the activist sense may not have always made it into the work of the centers themselves. Many center websites continue to emphasize how well they help the university comply with the law, without mentioning how well they help their students understand the complications of Disability culture identity as it intersects with power and privilege on campus.

Women's centers have a slightly longer history, because women were sometimes first allowed women to enter mainstream universities by being segregated within the institution, academically, residentially, or socially (Graham, 1978, p. 764). A few of the many women's clubs and buildings created in the late 19th and early 20th century remained resources for students into the 1960s and 70s, but many were shut over the years as female students were theoretically integrated into the rest of the university. The new feminist movement of the 1960s and 70s brought a decidedly different quality to these spaces and sparked the emergence of many more. Many universities were still not effectively

coeducational until lawsuits of the 1970s and 80s, so academia in general became much more open to women in these years. The first women's center still running was established in 1948 at the University of Minnesota, but most flourished out of the 1970s, like the Wayne State University Women's Center (1978) and the Women's Resource & Action Center of Ball State University in Indiana (1971) (Willinger, 2002, p. 47). Charlotte Kunkel explains the need for such a space: "Women's needs on the university and college campus are... different from men's needs because of this country's historical tradition of ignoring, excluding, and trivializing women and treating them as less important, less productive, less rational, and less serious than men" (Willinger, 2002, p. 47). Key women's center goals often include safety, education, support, equity, and community, and I would say many of those principles hold true for the field of campus cultural centers as a whole (Willinger, 2002, p. 48).

Although the identity-based movements of the 1960s and 70s are usually studied as singular paths, these groups actually often intersected. This history formed the milieu into which campus cultural centers emerged, in response to trends within academia and museums, but most importantly, in response to wider social movements.

THE 1980s & 1990s

Nearly every history about cultural centers emphasizes the importance of the 1960s and 1970s, with little regard for the 1980s or 1990s as decades of political activism (Patton, 2010, p. xiii). Although the 1980s were relatively quieter than the previous decades, political activism never ceased completely on college campuses. Campus cultural centers continued to open in these decades in large numbers, and students continued to

advocate for greater educational equality and support. Some goals shifted, as Lawrence Young described in 1986, “while pride and identity and preparation for the ‘mainstream’ are still important, the centers of the ‘80’s and ‘90’s are attempting to do more. They are attempting to fill vital gaps in knowledge and understanding and to provide young Black people with the weapons to combat rampant resurgent racism in our society” (Young, 1986, p. 19). The 1990s saw more centers open than in the previous three decades, and a new turn towards multicultural centers would shape the field tremendously in coming years.

Although many of President Johnson’s programs were cut by Nixon and Ford in the recession years of the 1970s, President Reagan cut even further with his first budget in 1981. Introducing the concept of “trickle-down” economics, tax cuts and business incentives for wealthy investors were expected to benefit the populace indirectly through new jobs and development (Keller, 2015). As Devin Fergus describes, “no federal program suffered deeper cuts than student aid. Spending on higher education was slashed by some 25 percent between 1980 and 1985” (Fergus, 2014). After cuts to educational funding and other social programs, minority populations in college would decline dramatically.

Although African-Americans made up nearly 12% of the U.S. population in the 1980s, Lawrence Young noted in 1986, “the decline in the enrollment of Black and other minority students from a high of 9.4% in 1976-77 to the 8.5% of 1984-85” (CensusScope, 1980; 1980; Young, 1986, p. 16). He added, “it is not unusual to find college campuses with under 5% Black enrollment.” These declining numbers undoubtedly made political activism more challenging with a smaller student population and less funding.

However, student activism did continue into the 1980s, and the struggle for cultural centers was once again intertwined with the struggles for national and international political issues. Many students advocated for universities to divest funding from South Africa, in response to the continued policy of racial apartheid (MacAskill, 2015). Others responded to funding cuts with direct action and eloquent literature. As AIDS cut deep into the gay community in the mid to late 1980s, ACT UP activist organizations became visible on many college campuses (Almendrala, 2015). As student advocacy continued, more centers continued to open, like the Asian American Cultural Center at Yale University (1981), the African American History and Culture House at the University of Missouri (1988), and the Stonewall Center at the University of Massachusetts (1984).

By the late 1980s and 1990s, there was a resurgence in student organizing, as Stennis-Williams, Terrell, & Haynes describe it, “today a sense of déjà vu exists on many campuses. Once more, minority students are demanding that predominantly white institutions create minority ethnic centers for students. Not since the turbulent 1960s has there been such a groundswell of minority support for a ‘place of their own’ on predominantly white campuses.” (Stennis-Williams et al, 1988, p. 73). Under President Clinton and a conservative congress under Newt Gingrich, rhetoric on diversity was not always made visible through policy. Protests against skyrocketing incarceration rates for people of color, attacks on affirmative action, and legal action against immigrants like California’s Proposition 209 propelled students into the streets and quads, while the internet and electronic mail became critical new tools for campus organizing. As Rhoads describes the era, “across the country the 1990s evidenced a renewed commitment by students to social justice and educational equity, at the same time that conservative forces

won battles to eliminate programs such as affirmative action. Arguably, it has been the force of conservatism throughout recent decades that created an environment in which progressive-minded students saw little choice but to join arms to launch a countermovement” (Rhoads, 1998, p. 221).

The 1990s also stand out in the cultural center scene because of the vocal coalition of students across diverse identities, known as the Multicultural Student Movement, which would continue earlier efforts for solidarity and further crumble the old Enlightenment emphasis on western man as the epistemological center of study. As Rhoads describes the movement, “multiculturalism is rooted in a vision in which equal participation is seen as part of a much deeper concern over the adequate inclusion and representation of diverse cultures within the social institutions which give shape to the larger society. Equal participation by minorities and women is part of a multicultural vision, but including important aspects of one’s culture throughout organizational life is also part of the vision” (Rhoads, 1998, p. 228). The multicultural movement took the nascent collaboration of the Third World movement and made it front and center in the campus diversity conversation. However, the multicultural movement also came with its own challenges, as a perception grew on some campuses that by attempting to help all cultures, centers would end up helping none (Princes, 2005). The urgent issues that inspired the early Black centers might be washed out in a bland celebration of everything, with a critical eye toward nothing. Although that perception may have become reality for some, most cultural centers today emphasize social justice work as a crucial element, recognizing the unique challenges of underrepresented communities while embracing all cultures (Shek, 2013, p. 94). Some centers made this desire explicit through their titles, like the Thea Bowman AHANA

Intercultural Center at Boston College or the ALANA student center at the University of Vermont. The acronyms AHANA/ALANA stand for African, Latino/Hispanic, Asian American, and Native American, putting these identities visibly at the forefront (Shek, 2013, p. 65).

LGBTQ centers and women's centers continued to open through the 1990s, like the Georgetown University Women's Center (1990) and the Gender Identity/Expression Sexual Orientation Resource Center at Washington State (1995). After student activists propelled the creation of these early spaces, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force created the Campus Organizing Project in the early 1990s, because there was little information out there for people starting such spaces (Sanlo, 2002, p. 8). "Due to the rapid increase in the number of LGBT centers and offices springing up around the country, the group initiated the idea of creating a national organization of campus center directors. Building coalitions across colleges and universities would provide a means of sharing information and ideas, obtaining encouragement and support, and organizing." (Sanlo, 2002, p. 8). The National Consortium of Directors of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Resources in Higher Education continues to help directors to share resources and help students across the country.

Much like the Consortium, another organization was founded in these years, which has become a major component in my study, the Association of Black Culture Centers. Founded in 1988, the ABCC soon came to encompass Latino, Native American, Asian, and Multicultural Centers as well as Black centers (Association for Black Culture Centers, 2016). While many ethnic-specific centers or black centers have been closed or consolidated, the ABCC serves as an alternative example of how separate ethnic centers can bridge

multicultural solidarity through network and affiliation. Perhaps in coming years the Consortium and the ABCC might intertwine, helping to build collaboration across lines of difference into the 21st century. However, the two networks did not yet intertwine, a new goal that perhaps might emerge as gender and ethnic centers themselves continue to collaborate more in the 21st century.

This multicultural momentum had effects on the museum world as well. While museums had begun to transform their work to embrace more socially-conscious and popular culture in the 1960s and 70s, the 1980s and 90s would be a vibrant time for this work. One example of diverse cooperation in the museum field stands out in Chicago. The Field Museum of Natural History was founded out of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, a fair which put ethnic communities on demeaning display under atrocious conditions (Rose, 1996). By the 1930s, a "hall of man" put bronze figures on display in the museum, supposedly representing the hierarchy of human racial categories, so this museum was steeped in the racial legacy of museology, yet staff were working to turn the page by the 1990s (Field Museum, no date). The Center for Cultural Understanding and Change was founded at the Field in the 1998 (Field Museum, 2008). Anthropologists sought to talk to the diverse communities of Chicago through the Cultural Connections series, bringing real people together for programming and exhibits, replacing the demeaning top-down exhibits of the past. The many diverse ethnic museums and cultural centers of the city found common bonds and began to work together independent from The Field Museum. They created the Chicago Cultural Alliance in 2008, as an independent organization, representing 35 cultural institutions across the city in 24 neighborhoods and 7 suburbs, highlighting cultures like Haitian, Cambodian, African-American, and Swedish,

among many more. Unified in a network, the museums are able to share resources, advice, and audiences, and they can create programming and exhibits in collaboration, bridging the boundaries of a hyper-segregated city like Chicago (Chicago Cultural Alliance, 2010). This concept was born in the multicultural 1990s, and in many ways, cultural centers on campus complement the mission of community-based museums to embrace cultural pride and affirm cultural identity (Cabrera, 2008, p. 35).

Specific campus ethnic centers continued to open in the 1990s, sometimes continuing activism from decades earlier, like the Black Culture Center at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute (1991) and La Casa Latina at the University of Pennsylvania (1999), while multicultural centers became a new norm on many campuses. Some Black centers were turned into multicultural centers, such as the Harvey & Lucinda Gantt Multicultural Center at Clemson University in South Carolina, while sometimes multiple specific centers were consolidated into a single multicultural center, like at Ohio State University. Although some campus communities readily embraced this change, some saw tension as beloved spaces were transformed or converted (Princes, 2005, p. 135). On some campuses, multicultural or intercultural centers were instead added to the mix, such as the Multicultural & Intercultural Engagement Center at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute (year unknown), which coexists with the Black Culture Center (1991). Although various trends were evident in my research, I was not able to effectively assess which type of center was preferred or most beneficial, so that is a question for future research. It seemed like centers of either kind could be successful or unsuccessful given various circumstances.

The 1990s also saw a key shift in the perception of people with disabilities. After the legal gains of the 1970s and 80s, the Americans with Disabilities Act was passed in 1990 to

“ensure equal opportunity for persons with disabilities in employment, State and local government services, public accommodations, commercial facilities, and transportation” (ADA website, 2010). This would open the door to many disability resource centers, like the Resource Office of Disabilities at Yale University (1996) as universities sought advice and support in making their campuses and classes more accessible. As a vibrant continuation of the student activism from the previous generation, the 1980s and 90s were pivotal to the shaping the history of campus cultural centers. Students and university communities continued to struggle for change, and centers continued to emerge out of social movements and activism.

THE 2000s TO TODAY

Once the world looked up from Y2K and realized they had survived the anticipated explosion of all things electronic, a more defining moment of the early 2000s became September 11, 2001 (Trevor, 2014). When Al Qaida sent planes to hit the World Trade Center in New York City, President George W. Bush responded by launching the War on Terror (Reif, 2016). Troops were soon sent into Iraq and Afghanistan, and fears against Muslims rose across the country (Kahn, 2012). A rising bubble in housing prices led to a burst in 2008, launching a nationwide recession just as President Barack Obama was soaring into the oval office on high promises of hope and change (Rich, 2013). As the first Black president of the United States, and a fairly liberal one at that, Obama’s presidency launched a political backlash that has created continuing political reverberations into today’s diversity politics. The Tea Party emerged on the scene in 2010, pushing for a balanced budget by cutting public services, and advocating against LGBTQ rights and

women's reproductive rights (Pilkington, 2010). Nonetheless, the LGBTQ community made significant gains in this time period, with the 2003 *Lawrence v. Texas* supreme court decision confirming state anti-sodomy laws were unconstitutional, the 2010 repeal of the military's *Don't Ask, Don't Tell* policy, the 2013 repeal of the *Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)*, and the 2015 *Obergefell v. Hodges* supreme court decision ruling that same-sex couples have the fundamental right to marry (CNN library, 2016).

In the mid-2010s, after the deaths of African Americans Trayvon Martin in Florida, Michael Brown in Missouri, and Eric Garner in New York City, the Black Lives Matter movement rose to protest police brutality and continued racism in the United States. After 49 people were killed in the largest mass shooting in American history at a gay nightclub in Orlando, FL, renewed debates over gun reform have surfaced in national media. Terrorist attacks increase around the world under ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), also known as Daesh, and Syrian refugees flee to other countries to avoid the violence, sparking xenophobic concerns in the United States and Europe in particular (Ignatius, 2015). Heading into the 2016 political season, the country has been thrown into turmoil over the political primaries, which distilled the presidential race down to Donald Trump against Hillary Clinton. As Trump has called for a "shut down on Muslims entering the country," in addition to a database system for Muslim-Americans, many look back to the xenophobic 1940s and wonder if we've really come that far since then. Cultural centers have emerged once again as the goal of student protest, as the third most popular demand among 51 campus movements in 2015 (Libresco, 2015). Places like the Center for Multicultural Excellence at the University of Denver (2002), the Multicultural Center at the University of Texas, Dallas, and the Asian American and Asian Resource Center at Northern Illinois

University (2015) continue to emerge to support students, campus communities, and the world they influence beyond the halls of academia as well.

When campus cultural centers first emerged in the 1960s, some assumed that they would be a temporary necessity until racism disappeared. Eventually, they might become unnecessary as diverse populations assimilated into mainstream American culture, and race-based hierarchies disappeared. That has not proven to be the case, as racism is deeply rooted in our society. Furthermore, diverse cultural groups in America have actually rejected assimilation in favor of retaining their cultural identities, so the need and the desire for centers has continued unabated in each decade of the past half-century. Centers have changed over time, working together to form multicultural solidarity, establishing various forms that fit unique campus environments, and collaborating across various lines of identity like race, gender, and class. Cultural centers are intertwined with the histories of academia and museums in the United States, but they also serve as evidence of the strength of a social movement at any given place and time in American history. This history points us to explore where the field of campus cultural centers is now, and perhaps understand where we might be headed in the future.

Chapter 3: *Identity*: Research on Campus Cultural Centers today

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I had three major goals for this study. In addition to the historical overview provided above, I also hoped to create a data set about cultural centers now, from which to glean some sense of the effect that history has had on the field today, and a glimpse of the future. This data is designed to provide a big picture of the field, to assess how many universities have centers, and what types can be found on campus. I have also examined the relationship of the Association for Black Cultural Centers (ABCC) to these many centers, to assess percentage of affiliation, and understand what types of centers lie behind those institutional affiliations. I have also explored where trends lie regionally across the United States and along lines of institutional size. I originally had an additional goal to discover what years the centers were founded, to gain a more complete sense of center history and the circumstances behind their creation. However, this proved difficult as many centers do not have their founding years posted online, and few centers have been discussed in other publications. Cultural center staff are often stretched thin in their daily work with limited finances, so I took this as an indication that archival records are commonly neglected and institutional memory is difficult to maintain with such consistent student turnover. I recorded dates I did find and included many for the historical overview, but ultimately I did not include this element in the analysis for this chapter.

DEFINING CAMPUS CULTURAL CENTERS

I limited this study to research universities in the United States, and categorized according to public or private institutions, followed by student population size and geographical region. Although I initially looked into historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), they were ultimately excluded from my study due to the unique nature of their ethnic makeup. I relied primarily on internet research, through search engines like Google, and continued internet trails to ascertain if centers existed on each campus, and in what form. For private/public universities, I simplified by classifying them as private. This online emphasis was a conscious decision, to ascertain how well these centers were up to date with 21st century communication forms. New students of my generation are likely to search for centers via the internet, so in the unlikely event that I was unable to find a center, it would not bode well for that center attracting other new students either. I assumed it would be a reliable source of information, but unfortunately many center websites proved difficult to navigate and it became a long process as my “googling” skills were certainly put to the test.⁴ This observation supports my earlier observation that archival and digital records maintenance must be a struggle for staff at many centers.

After beginning to research, I expanded my categorization to include spaces with terms like “office” or “house” in addition to “center,” since many schools used these terms interchangeably to achieve similar goals. Brett Beyman wrote about campus LGBT centers and offices in 2002, and explained his intentional inclusion of both, “because they are similar in many aspects of their development and operation, such as their constituencies,

⁴ Googling: transitive verb, to use the Google search engine to obtain information about (as a person) on the World Wide Web, Merriam Webster, 2001

funding sources, and how they were created” (Beemyn, 2002, p. 30). However, Beyman noted that distinctions certainly exist between these titles, “centers are more likely than offices to be freestanding units, to report to a higher-level administrator, and to consult with an advisory board” (Beemyn, 2002, p. 30). These distinctions are important for the staff and organizational structure behind the scenes, but for a student searching for a port in the storm an “office” can be embraced as readily as a “center,” so I concluded that all were worthy of inclusion in this study. Hopefully future researchers will explore deeper into these distinctions.

I focused on centers that had a dedicated space, frequent programming, and a supportive connection to student organizations. Although many campus cultural centers host formal academic coursework and have close relationships with academic staff, I did not count exclusively academic departments like ethnic studies or gender studies. Staffing at campus cultural centers was difficult to determine without contacting staff directly, so I included centers with all kinds of staffing structures, including paid staff (part-time, full-time), volunteers, and student-run facilities, although the latter were rare. I did not count art galleries or campus museums that didn’t target historically-underrepresented campus communities in order to define a frame for this study, although these spaces often work together with ethnic & gender centers to form the cultural milieu on campus.

I had hoped to include disability cultural centers in this study, but the task proved more challenging than anticipated. Disability resource centers exist on every campus to help universities comply with the Americans with Disabilities Act. However, only a few centers stand out for their hearty embrace of disability culture, like the University of Illinois at Chicago Disability Resource Center (2005) and the Syracuse University Disability

Culture Center (2012). The vast majority had websites that mentioned little to nothing about disability culture as an intersectional identity or minority status on par with race or gender identity. Most websites mentioned little about programming, student organizations, or arts, which were all key elements I used to define cultural centers for this study. Although there might be programming or initiatives underway behind the scenes, it was extraordinarily difficult to tell from their websites, which usually emphasized the basics of access and legal compliance. I therefore determined that this question was ultimately beyond the scope of my study. Hopefully future researchers will take on disability centers in depth, since the field of campus cultural centers would undoubtedly benefit from greater awareness of disability culture.

Ethnic centers, like African-American, Latino, Native American, Asian American, and Multicultural centers are often studied together as a field, but gender centers, like Women's centers and LGBTQ centers, are usually examined separately. On many campuses they are geographically separated from ethnic centers and might report to different administrators within the hierarchy. However, many campuses have embraced gender centers as critical allies in diversity work, acknowledging the intersectional effects of these identities on the student population. I have incorporated ethnic centers and gender centers as overlapping categories in this study to explore how these types of centers shape the field. Sometimes at schools without gender centers, multicultural or specific ethnic centers might have absorbed Women's and LGBTQ concerns and initiatives into their work (Brookolo, 2016, p. 70). To study these centers as distinct categories is not to say that their concerns are not considered on campuses where centers do not exist, but an absence of centers might reflect a lower institutional financial commitment and lower visibility for these concerns.

TAXONOMY

Once I'd recorded the data for each campus, I went through it to categorize institutions based on what types of centers they had. I excluded the outliers and the disability centers, then considered the rest in two categories: ethnic or gender centers, which were given lettered and numerical categories, respectively. I based this model off of Yen Ling Shek's Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education, which was designed to classify ethnic centers (Shek, 2013, p. 112). Model A institutions refer to those with only a multicultural, intercultural, or cross-cultural center. Model B institutions refer to those with only separate ethnic centers, like African-American, Latino, Asian American, and Native American cultural centers. Model C refers to institutions with both a multicultural center and at least one specific center. To that taxonomy I have added Model D to refer to schools with no ethnic centers at all.

I have also added a numerical classification for gender centers: 1 refers to institutions with a women's center and without an LGBTQ center, 2 refers to institutions with an LGBTQ center and without a women's center, 3 refers to schools with both, and 4 refers to those with neither. For example, a Model C3 institution would have a multicultural center, at least one specific ethnic center, a women's center, and an LGBTQ center, while Model D4 institutions would have none. This study serves to support Shek's taxonomy, while adding a new layer of analysis for future researchers to utilize.

LIMITATIONS

There were limitations to this study in terms of scope, determination, and depth. By limiting myself to only research institutions, I left out a lot of centers at small liberal arts colleges, community colleges, and other important educational institutions. Their work is no less valuable, but the sample size was much more manageable when I considered the research institutions alone. I did not send surveys to institutions or interview practitioners, instead relying on internet research to determine if a center existed. It's possible that I missed or misclassified a center, but I believe my scope was broad enough to encompass a wide variety of centers and I think the overall sample size still provides a good idea of the field. I did not go into depth exploring organizational structure through staffing or reporting lines, since other studies have better addressed these factors (Shek, 2013).

I also did not go into depth by exploring the work of these centers, analyzing mission statements, nor attempting to determine how successful centers were in achieving their goals, since others have explored these factors as well (Welch, 2009; Shek, 2013; Willinger, 2002). I created a regional classification for the United States that might prompt disagreement, but I think it provides a valuable perspective of regional trends. I am not a mathematician by practice, so although I made every effort to check my math, there is always the chance I made errors in that terrain. Finally, I did not have the opportunity to dig further into the data at this time, regarding the individual types of separate centers, in order to track whether places like Latino or Asian centers are more likely, etc. Hopefully other researchers will explore this question further in the future. I have attempted to create a broad vision of the field as it stands, to add context to previous studies, and a starting point for future research, and hopefully it will be found useful.

RESULTS

PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

Out of the 208 research institutions I studied, 70% were public, while 30% were private, and vibrant cultural center scenes were found at both types of institutions. Most universities have both ethnic & gender centers (65%, see table I), with more public institutions in this category (69% vs. 57%). Campuses are least likely to have gender centers without ethnic centers, with only 3% of the total, but ethnic centers without gender centers were more common, with 25% of schools.

Percentage of schools with either type of center						
	Public		Private		Total	
Ethnic & Gender (ABC 123)	100	69%	36	57%	136	65%
Ethnic, no Gender (ABC 4)	36	25%	15	24%	51	25%
Gender, no Ethnic (D 123)	3	2%	4	6%	7	3%
Neither (D4)	6	4%	8	13%	14	7%

Table I

Examining ethnic centers specifically, 55% of schools had only a multicultural center of some sort, with the next highest percentage of schools having both a multicultural and at least one specific ethnic center (22%, see table II). I found this to be one of the most surprising discoveries of the study, since there is a legacy of tension between multicultural

and specific ethnic centers. While some campuses saw separate centers shuttered or consolidated into multicultural centers, 46 schools found a compromise by supporting both types on campus. Public schools were more likely to have both specific and multicultural centers (25% vs. 16%), while private schools were more likely to have neither (19% vs. 6%).

Percentage of schools with ethnic centers						
	Public		Private		Total	
Multicultural only (A)	82	57%	32	51%	114	55%
Specific only (B)	18	12%	9	14%	27	13%
Both (C)	36	25%	10	16%	46	22%
Neither (D)	9	6%	12	19%	21	10%

Table II

Among gender centers specifically, a large percentage of schools had both a women’s center and an LGBTQ center, with a total of 43% and a nearly even breakdown between public and private schools (41% to 44%, see table III). The second most likely scenario was a school with neither, at 31% of the total, while the remaining schools split evenly between those with only a women’s center and those with only an LGBTQ center (13% and 13%). It’s important to remember that many schools include LGBTQ and women’s issues into the work of ethnic centers, so these services aren’t necessarily lacking at schools with no gender centers. However, they don’t have the same visibility as at separate gender centers, and might not have the same institutional or financial support.

Percentage of schools with gender centers						
	Public		Private		Total	
Women's only (1)	22	10%	6	15%	28	13%
LGBT only (2)	18	13%	8	12%	26	13%
Both (3)	63	41%	26	44%	89	43%
Neither (4)	42	36%	23	29%	65	31%

Table III

As we break down the numbers further into the full taxonomy, some of the same conclusions appear in greater detail. The largest percentage of schools from the total taxonomy were found to have a multicultural center and neither gender center (A4, 21%, see table IV). Perhaps issues of gender and sexual identity are well addressed at the multicultural center, or perhaps this is a sign of a university with a tight budget that allocated only enough for one diversity center of any kind. Future studies should explore this question further. The next largest percentage were schools with a multicultural center and both gender centers (A3, 17%), and the third largest percentage were schools with both types of ethnic centers and both gender centers (C3, 13%). These two categories certainly paint a rosy picture for cultural center staff, showing a large community of centers exists out there, which might be tapped into for resources or inspiration.

Looking at the smaller numbers on the chart, there were two categories that represented 0% of the schools, B1 and D2. In the B category, in which a school had only

specific ethnic centers without a multicultural center, there were no universities with a women’s center without an LGBTQ center, however there were 4 universities with an LGBTQ center without a women’s center (B2, 2%). In the D category, which referred to schools with neither type of ethnic center, no university had an LGBTQ center without a women’s center, but 2 private schools had a women’s center without an LGBTQ center (D1, 1%).

Taxonomy of campus cultural centers								
Public			Private			Total		
A1	16	11%	A1	3	5%	A1	19	9%
A2	10	7%	A2	6	10%	A2	16	6%
A3	26	18%	A3	10	16%	A3	36	17%
A4	30	21%	A4	13	21%	A4	43	21%
B1	0	0%	B1	0	0%	B1	0	0%
B2	2	1%	B2	2	3%	B2	4	2%
B3	15	10%	B3	6	10%	B3	21	10%
B4	1	1%	B4	1	2%	B4	2	1%
C1	6	4%	C1	1	2%	C1	7	3%
C2	6	4%	C2	0	0%	C2	6	3%
C3	19	13%	C3	8	13%	C3	27	13%
C4	5	3%	C4	1	2%	C4	6	3%
D1	0	0%	D1	2	3%	D1	2	1%
D2	0	0%	D2	0	0%	D2	0	0%
D3	3	2%	D3	2	3%	D3	5	2%
D4	6	4%	D4	8	13%	D4	14	7%
Total	145	100%	Total	63	100%	Total	208	99%

Table IV

ABCC AFFILIATION

The Association of Black Culture Centers (ABCC) serves as an umbrella organization for ethnic centers across the country, but when I first began to peruse the list it was quickly evident that it was by no means exhaustive. It turns out only 14% of universities are members and 33% are affiliated with the ABCC, despite the fact that 65% of universities have cultural centers (see figure 1). This organization hosts conferences, shares materials, produces a newsletter, and has even published a book. It seems like membership in this organization could be potentially beneficial for any university, so I sought to examine institutional relationships with this organization as another layer of analysis. This might provide incentive for outreach and renewed membership, or at the very least might give us some insight into perspectives on the ground, into whether the national scene is considered at local centers or not.

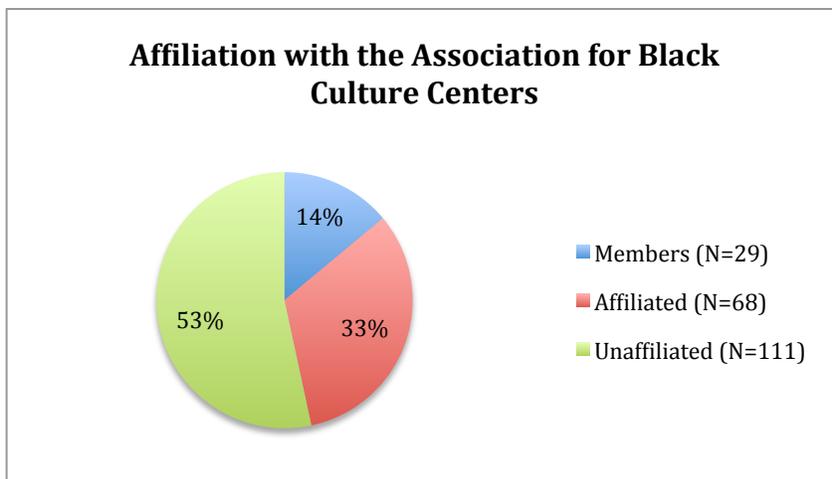


Figure 1

While an expected majority of ABCC members and affiliated institutions have both ethnic and gender centers (86% and 81% respectively), a majority of unaffiliated schools also have both types of centers (51%, see table V). This represents a large pool of untapped potential. Perhaps the most surprising number from this chart was the 6% of ABCC affiliates with no ethnic center. Out of the total 4, two schools had no gender center, but the other two had both LGBTQ & Women’s centers. Although 6% is a small number, I was surprised that any schools *without* ethnic centers would be part of an organization for schools *with* ethnic centers. Perhaps this shows an institutional desire to learn more before establishing a space or incorporating ethnic programming into other university departments.

Percentage of schools with centers, by ABCC affiliation						
	Members		Affiliates		Unaffiliated	
Ethnic & Gender (1)	25	86%	54	81%	57	51%
Ethnic no gender (2)	4	14%	10	13%	37	33%
Gender no ethnic (3)	0	0%	2	3%	5	5%
Neither (4)	0	0%	2	3%	12	11%

Table V

Looking into the ethnic breakdown, the largest percentage of members had separate ethnic centers, with 47% compared to the 13% of all universities, which makes sense

considering the roots of the organization in a race-specific community (see table VI). However, affiliates are more likely to have a multicultural center without separate centers (62%). It is possible that affiliation status, rather than membership, reflects a certain hesitance to identify with a race-specific organization, despite the seemingly diverse and welcoming community they have built in recent years. Among unaffiliated universities, a surprising 61% of schools had a multicultural center without separate centers, and 18% had both, indicating a large community of potential members.

Ethnic center breakdown, by ABCC affiliation						
	Members		Affiliates		Unaffiliated	
Multicultural only	4	14%	42	62%	68	61%
Separate only	14	48%	7	10%	6	6%
Both	11	38%	15	22%	20	18%
Neither	0	0%	4	6%	17	15%

Table VI

Although the gender breakdown might not seem as relevant to folks in the ethnic center or ABCC community, I felt it was an interesting layer of analysis. Perhaps it can help examine the nature of university priorities at schools that would remain unaffiliated with this nation-wide organization and unsupportive of gender centers. Member and affiliated institutions both had high rates of gender centers, with 62% and 57% respectively, hosting both Women’s centers and LGBTQ centers. On the other hand, the largest percentage of

unaffiliated schools had neither Women’s centers nor LGBTQ centers (44%, see table VII), suggesting a general overall disinterest in campus cultural centers on those institutions.

Gender center breakdown, by ABCC affiliation						
	Members		Affiliates		Unaffiliated	
Women only	2	7%	7	10%	19	17%
LGBTQ only	5	17%	10	15%	11	10%
Both	18	62%	39	57%	32	29%
Neither	4	14%	12	18%	49	44%

Table VII

UNIVERSITIES BY REGION AND SIZE

I defined eight regions of the United States: Midwest, East Coast, Mid-Atlantic, South, Southwest, Mountain, West Coast, and Non-Contiguous. The regions that ended up with the most research institutions were the Mid-Atlantic (24%), the Midwest (21%), and the South (18%). Non-Contiguous states/territories only made up 1% of the total number of schools, with Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico having only one research university each (see figure II). Each region and each state had at least one cultural center, including Washington D.C., although the University of Puerto Rico did not. This showed a remarkably expansive geographical region encompassed under the field of campus cultural centers. I also categorized schools by how large they were, I’ll start with some broad observations before breaking down the numbers by geographical and other distinctions.

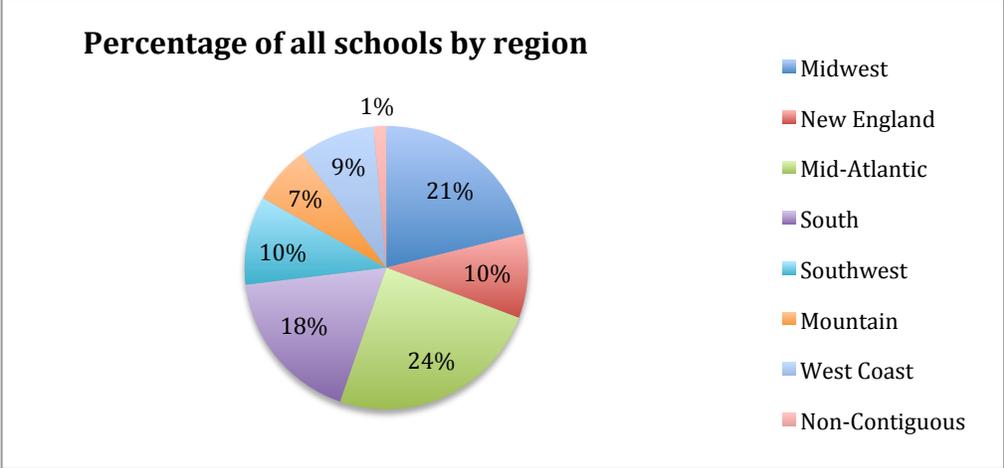


Figure II

Looking at the nation by region, there were a few trends that appeared, but not as many as I expected. Schools in every region were most likely to have both gender & ethnic centers, rather than just one. The west coast had the largest percentage, at 89%, but every region had over 60% except the non-contiguous schools in Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico (see table 8 and figure III). In the more detailed breakdown, the largest percentage of Midwestern universities had a multicultural center and both a women’s center and LGBTQ center (A3). New England and Mountain universities were most likely to have separate ethnic cultural centers, and both LGBTQ centers with women’s centers (B3). Mid-Atlantic and Southern universities were most likely to have a multicultural center with neither gender center (A4). West Coast universities were most likely to have multicultural centers with race-specific centers, as well as women’s centers with LGBTQ centers (C3). Non-

contiguous universities were rare, and only Alaska had centers: multicultural, race-specific, and a women’s center.

Percentage of schools with centers, by region ⁵								
	MW	NE	MA	S	SW	MT	WC	NC
Ethnic & gender	77%	75%	51%	62%	62%	72%	89%	33%
Ethnic, no gender	18%	15%	35%	30%	24%	21%	11%	0%
Gender, no ethnic	2%	5%	4%	0%	5%	7%	0%	33%
Neither	2%	5%	10%	8%	9%	0%	0%	33%

Table VIII

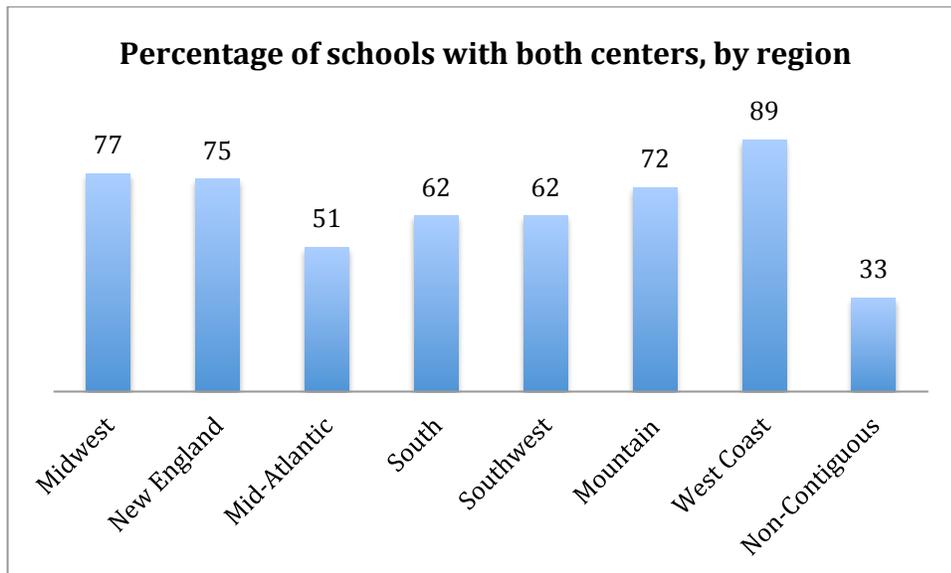


Figure III

⁵ MW: Midwest, NE: New England, MA: Mid-Atlantic, S: South, SW: Southwest, MT: Mountain, WC: West Coast, NC: Non-Contiguous

Among the schools that had both types of centers, the most likely population size was 20-30,000 students (31% of total, see Table IX). The next most likely population size was 10-20,000, following closely with 30% of the universities. Larger schools also had a sizable percentage of the population, so the data set was really rather evenly spread across the different school sizes. I expected to see larger institutions of 40,000+ with the most cultural centers, since they might have larger minority student populations to serve and larger budgets. Although very small research universities had a low percentage, schools only slightly larger made a strong showing with centers. Accounting for the different number of universities within each region, I established percentages of each region and percentages of the whole to create Table IX, showing the likelihood of a university with both types of centers falling into that size category. This did not account for the way each region varied in terms of their school sizes. More schools in the Northeast were small in general, so the 10,000-20,000 category got the highest percentage, while schools in the Midwest and on the west coast were more likely to be larger, so these regions have the larger percentages in the categories indicating larger student populations.

Percentage of schools with both centers in size categories, by region									
	MW	NE	MA	S	SW	MT	WC	NC	Total
Under 10,000	3%	20%	11%	4%	8%	0%	6%	0%	7%
10-20,000	26%	54%	19%	31%	23%	60%	12%	100%	30%
20-30,000	38%	13%	46%	30%	31%	10%	25%	0%	31%
30-40,000	15%	13%	12%	17%	23%	30%	38%	0%	19%
40-50,000	15%	0%	8%	9%	0%	0%	19%	0%	9%
50,000+	3%	0%	4%	9%	15%	0%	0%	0%	4%

Table IX

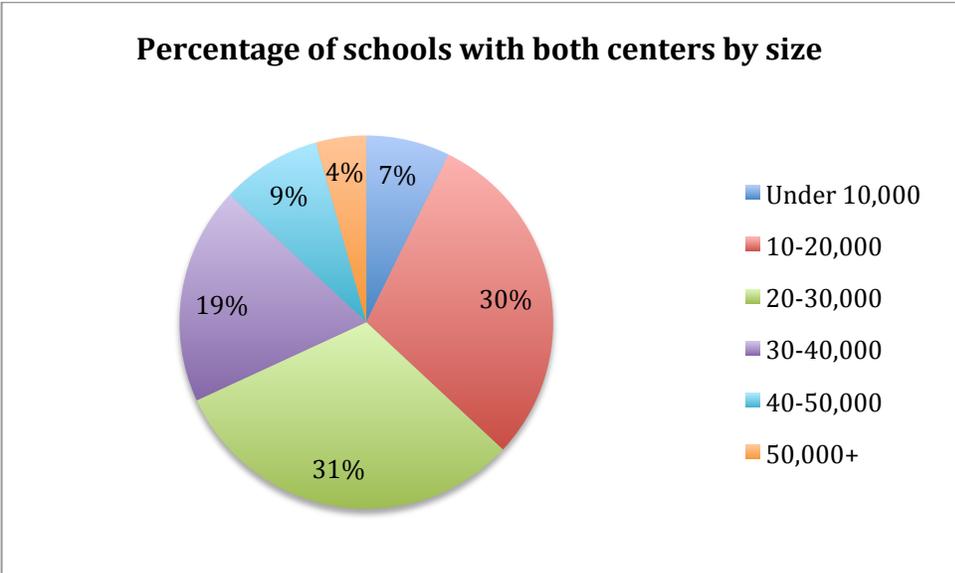


Figure IV

OTHER FINDINGS

I was surprised to discover how many cultural centers were residential in structure, like Dartmouth University's La Casa (1970s), Shabbaz Center (1960s), and Native American House (1970) or Cornell University's Multicultural Living Learning Center (1994), Latino Living Center (1994), and Ujamaa Residential College (1972). Although it was not a situation I specifically counted, they seemed to be predominantly at smaller universities. Much like living-learning communities at other campuses, these centers serve as student housing, and host programming and dialogue around particular cultural issues. Some emerged from the same 1960s/70s struggle for diverse student support, and like a fraternity or sorority house, the residential nature of the space undoubtedly provides a strong community bond to students within.

As referenced in the introduction, there were several white ethnic centers, like the Institute of Texan Cultures at the University of Texas – San Antonio, the Center for the Study of Southern Heritage at the University of Southern Mississippi, the Ireland house at New York University, the German Culture Center at the University of Cincinnati, and the South Dakota Oral History Center. Most of these fall closer to the line of academic departments and studies programs than cultural centers, due to their limited affiliation with student organizations and lack of evident social justice work, but they were nonetheless intriguing. Many cultural center staff have been asked the question, “so where’s the white cultural center?” to which they can perhaps point to some of these spaces across the country. Note that they are geared toward white ethnic minorities, and are not so general as to attempt to feature all of mainstream American culture, because the average university already successfully achieves that goal on a daily basis. Multicultural

centers are certainly geared towards European cultures in addition to other identities, but the majority is engaged with student organizations and anti-racist social justice work, as noted in Shek's analysis of center missions (Shek, 2013, p. 95). Also note that the rarity of these centers suggests they have not been found to be so necessary as to inspire broad political activism or protest for their creation.

Universities have had a strong tradition of international relations for many years, both with American students studying abroad, and international students coming to the States to study (Westad, 2007, p. 37). I discovered many schools with international cultural centers that offered services and hosted student communities, like the University of Tennessee's International House (year unknown) or the University of Michigan's International Center (1938). Some doubled as language centers, some were residential in nature, and some had connections with academic departments, but it was a surprisingly sizable trend. A few schools even had formal relationships between their international cultural centers and the other ethnic centers on campus, which was an interesting discovery, and perhaps a model other universities might follow in the future. While looking into international relations, I was also surprised to discover how many campus "cultural centers" are sponsored by national governments. American cultural centers exist in other countries, while German cultural centers called Goethe Institutes and Chinese cultural centers called Confucius Institutes are in U.S. universities across the country, like the Goethe Center at the University of Missouri, and the Confucius Center at the University of South Florida. I didn't include these centers with my analysis because of the unique nature of their inception and their funding, but they were a surprising discovery.

Nearly a quarter of all research universities had a Veteran's Resource Center of some sort, like the University of Georgia's Student Veteran Resource Center or the University of Utah Veteran Support Center. Some of these spaces also seemed to coordinate with other ethnic and gender cultural centers on campus, like the African American Cultural Center at the University of Illinois at Chicago, which hosted an exhibit titled *The Things We Carried* featuring campus veteran's belongings (African-American Cultural Center, 2013). Veteran students face unique challenges joining the campus community, so although these centers are not explicitly cultural, they still provide many of the same social and supportive benefits of other campus cultural centers. Some schools had Family Resource Centers, with services for parents, children, or adult students, like at Michigan State University. Many schools had Student Organization Resource Centers, which served as hubs for the various student groups, like at the University of Pittsburgh. Perhaps at a school like that with no ethnic centers, the Student Organization Resource Center can help to stand in for the role ethnic cultural centers serve supporting student organizations on other campuses. Some schools had centers for public service, community engagement, or social justice, which seemed to encourage students to get out in the neighboring community, and often included talk of cultural engagement. Some examples include the Center for Service and Community Engagement at Saint Louis University or the Center for Community & Civic Engagement at the University of Southern Mississippi. Many schools had centers for ethics, spirituality, and interfaith engagement, like the Center for Ethics and Culture at the University of Notre Dame and the Interfaith Center at Stony Brook University. Particularly among religious universities, this seemed like an important angle to

the question of diversity centers, and hopefully helped to create a safe and welcoming environment for Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, and other religious minority communities.

One type of center that really stood out was the emergence of Middle Eastern or Arab American cultural centers. Since the War on Terror began in 2001, anti-Muslim rhetoric and violence have increased significantly in the United States, and this trend has unfortunately only grown since Donald Trump entered the political arena this year (Lichtblau, 2015). The Al-Madinah Student Cultural Center at the University of Minnesota (1996), the Middle Eastern Student Center at the University of California – Riverside (2013), and the Ettihad Cultural Center at the University of Oregon (2014) are providing a welcoming and affirming space for these students, while helping to break stereotypes and build connections with the rest of the campus community. Students at the University of Illinois at Chicago have also been advocating for a new center of this sort in recent months, after death threats against Muslim students shocked the diverse campus community (Barrows-Friedman, 2015). Although the group has not yet achieved a space or decided on a name, the cultural center movement has helped to provide a positive outlet for frustration and alienation caused by such acts, bringing the Middle Eastern student population closer to administrative support and other allied student groups.

Chapter 4: *Activism: Takeaways for the future*

Campus cultural centers have been part of our academic fabric for fifty years. As shown in Chapter 2, new cultural centers have emerged out of each decade, as products of the strength of the social movements in those times and places. They have changed with shifting politics, from the first Black centers to the spectrum of identity-based centers, to multicultural centers, Women's centers, and LGBTQ centers. And now, brand new ethnic Arab American cultural centers have emerged from new political challenges of the 21st century. Centers have collaborated with other departments on campus, from academic and ethnic studies units, to fellow cultural spaces like museums and art galleries, in addition to other student services programs, advising services, and centers like those for veterans and families. Although centers dedicated to European ethnicities are part of this milieu, they are a small proportion, indicative of the different role they play on campus. The vast majority of centers that emerged from my study are dedicated to underrepresented and underserved student populations, because the need has continued to loom large for anti-racist and anti-oppression work to continue on campus. Chapter 3 has highlighted this complex community of identity-based centers that exist in every state, and nearly every type of institution.

I have mentioned how rare it is to find academic research on the topic of cultural centers, but I was unable to find a single study connecting these centers to the field of museum studies, despite their many overlapping characteristics. It is my expectation that museums and cultural centers could gain a great deal from increased collaboration.

According to a recent report from the American Alliance of Museums, their patronage and

workforce continues to represent primarily older white folks (Farrell, 2010). As the new, more diverse millennial generation rises into adulthood, museums are going to have to shift to stay relevant. On the other hand, campus cultural centers have predominantly young people of color, who are building close relationships every day with these museum-like spaces on campus. If mainstream and community museums could connect more with centers, they might also bridge this audience into their own doors, building a sense of welcome and ownership that is currently lacking. Campus cultural centers could benefit from this increased collaboration, through broader recognition and direct support. Cultural centers have a constantly changing populace, as students graduate and move on, so connections with the community can help to build institutional memory and a broad legacy that can help centers withstand budget cuts. Also, as I discovered through the research process, many centers seem to struggle to keep their social media pages and archival records updated, in the fast pace of day-to-day university life. Perhaps museum professionals could lend support or advice for assisting these needs, to ensure the legacy and influence of these centers is not lost.

Museums also struggle with relevance on other levels, but cultural centers are continually rooted in current events, responsive to the needs of their localized community. Many museums have already begun to shift in recent years to embrace more socially-conscious practices and exhibitions, such as the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, a network of museums around the world addressing issues of human rights across borders. Greater collaboration on exhibits and public programming, engaging with contemporary struggles and youth perspectives would certainly help to connect audiences and ideas between the two fields.

I examined institutional connections to the Association for Black Culture Centers, and I was surprised to discover that this organization was little utilized in the culture center community. Without further research it's hard to assess why that was the case, but perhaps future scholars might examine the benefits of such an organization for its members, and how they can shift perceptions to better benefit all. Museum networks like the American Alliance of Museums offer perks like free entrance to partner museums, wider recognition, networking, and education, while smaller networks like the Chicago Cultural Alliance offer opportunities for collaboration, shared resources, shared audiences, and direct support through collections assistance and websites. The ABCC undoubtedly has great perks as well, and has great potential for centers to collaborate and learn from one another. Perhaps future researchers might identify the organizational strengths of the ABCC, and help the group to better represent and support centers in their critical work.

As we look to the future it is always helpful to have a sense of our past. Cultural centers have not become obsolete as efforts for equality have continued, but have continually re-emerged in response to the new social challenges of each decade. They represent a desire to retain cultural diversity over bland assimilation as a real asset for addressing the issues of our future. They represent how far we still have to go, and the new challenges we never expected to encounter. From Black Lives Matter to the rise of Arab American Cultural Centers, centers continue to stand at the crossroads of museums, academia, and our most pressing social challenges as a nation. Perhaps with further research, we can gain a better understanding of these spaces, and glean benefits for other disciplines like museums, academia, and many other spaces in society. We cannot truly

predict what other types of centers might emerge in the future, but identity-based cultural centers will surely be part of it.

APPENDIX

List of research universities in the United States With institutional taxonomy, excluding HBCUs

Taxonomy Key:

A – Schools with a multicultural center and no specific ethnic centers

B – Schools with specific ethnic centers and no multicultural center

C – Schools with both multicultural and specific ethnic centers

D – Schools with neither multicultural nor specific ethnic centers

1 – Schools with a Women’s center but not LGBTQ center

2 – Schools with an LGBTQ center but no Women’s center

3 – Schools with both a Women’s center and a LGBTQ center

4 – Schools with neither a Women’s center nor an LGBTQ center

Midwest

Illinois

1. University of Illinois at Chicago (B3)
2. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (B3)
3. University of Chicago (A4)
4. Northwestern University (C3)
5. Loyola University (C1)
6. Northern Illinois University (B3)
7. Illinois Institute of Technology (A3)
8. Southern Illinois University Carbondale (B3)

Wisconsin

9. Marquette University (A3)
10. University of Wisconsin – Madison (A3)
11. University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee (B3)

Indiana

12. Purdue University (B2)
13. Indiana University – Bloomington (B2)
14. Indiana University – Indianapolis (A4)
15. University of Notre Dame (A3)
16. Ball State University (A2)

Michigan

17. Michigan State University (C3)
18. Wayne State University (D4)
19. University of Michigan – Ann Arbor (A3)
20. Michigan Technological University (A4)
21. Western Michigan University (A2)

Iowa

- 22. University of Iowa (C3)
- 23. Iowa State (C3)

Ohio

- 24. University of Cincinnati (C3)
- 25. Case Western Reserve University (A3)
- 26. Ohio State University (C4)
- 27. Bowling Green State University (A3)
- 28. Cleveland State University (C1)
- 29. Kent State University (C3)
- 30. Miami University (A3)
- 31. Ohio University (A3)
- 32. University of Akron (A3)
- 33. University of Dayton (A3)
- 34. University of Toledo (A3)
- 35. Wright State University (B3)

Minnesota

- 36. University of Minnesota – Twin Cities (B3)

North Dakota

- 37. North Dakota State University (A4)
- 38. University of North Dakota (C1)

South Dakota

- 39. South Dakota State University (C4)
- 40. University of South Dakota (C4)

Kansas

- 41. University of Kansas (A3)
- 42. Kansas State University (D3)
- 43. Wichita State University (A4)

Nebraska

- 44. University of Nebraska – Lincoln (A3)

New England

Massachusetts

- 45. Harvard University (D3)
- 46. Boston College (A1)
- 47. Boston University (A2)
- 48. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (B3)
- 49. Northeastern University (B2)
- 50. Tufts University (B3)
- 51. Brandeis University (A1)

- 52. University of Massachusetts – Boston (B3)
- 53. University of Massachusetts – Amherst (C3)
- 54. Clark University (D4)
- 55. University of Massachusetts – Lowell (A4)

Rhode Island

- 56. Brown University (A3)
- 57. University of Rhode Island (A3)

Delaware

- 58. University of Delaware (B4)

Connecticut

- 59. Yale University (B3)
- 60. University of Connecticut (B3)

New Hampshire

- 61. Dartmouth University (B3)
- 62. University of New Hampshire (A4)

Maine

- 63. University of Maine (A2)

Vermont

- 64. University of Vermont (A3)

New Jersey

- 65. Rutgers University – New Brunswick (B3)
- 66. Rutgers University – Newark (B4)
- 67. Princeton University (A3)
- 68. New Jersey Institute of Technology (A4)
- 69. Stevens Institute of Technology (D1)

Mid-Atlantic

New York

- 70. Columbia University (A4)
- 71. Cornell University (C3)
- 72. CUNY Graduate Center (City University of New York) (D4)
- 73. New York University (A2)
- 74. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (A4)
- 75. Rockefeller University (D4)
- 76. Stony Brook University (A1)
- 77. SUNY University at Albany (State University of New York) (A2)
- 78. SUNY University at Buffalo (State University of New York) (A4)
- 79. University of Rochester (A1)
- 80. Yeshiva University (D4)

- 81. Binghamton University (A4)
- 82. Clarkson University (A4)
- 83. Fordham University (A4)
- 84. New York University Tandon School of Engineering (A4)
- 85. Syracuse University (A2)
- 86. Teacher's College Columbia University (D4)

Pennsylvania

- 87. Carnegie Mellon University (D3)
- 88. Pennsylvania State University (A3)
- 89. University of Pennsylvania (C3)
- 90. University of Pittsburgh (A4)
- 91. Drexel University (A2)
- 92. Duquesne University (D4)
- 93. Lehigh University (A3)
- 94. Temple University (A4)

Washington, D.C.

- 95. George Washington University (A2)
- 96. Georgetown University (C3)
- 97. Catholic University of America (A4)

Maryland

- 98. University of Maryland – College Park (C2)
- 99. Johns Hopkins University (A2)
- 100. University of Maryland, Baltimore County (C1)

North Carolina

- 101. North Carolina State University (C3)
- 102. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (B3)
- 103. Duke University (C3)
- 104. University of North Carolina – Greensboro (A4)
- 105. Wake Forest University (A3)
- 106. East Carolina University (C2)

South Carolina

- 107. University of South Carolina (A4)
- 108. Clemson University (A4)

Virginia

- 109. University of Virginia (B3)
- 110. Virginia Polytechnic Institute (C1)
- 111. Virginia Commonwealth University (A4)
- 112. College of William & Mary (C4)
- 113. George Mason University (C2)
- 114. Old Dominion University (A1)

West Virginia

- 115. West Virginia University (C4)

South

Louisiana

- 116. Louisiana State University (C1)
- 117. Tulane University (A2)
- 118. Louisiana Tech University (A1)
- 119. University of Louisiana at Lafayette (A4)
- 120. University of New Orleans (A1)

Alabama

- 121. University of Alabama at Birmingham (D4)
- 122. Auburn University (A1)
- 123. University of Alabama at Huntsville (A4)
- 124. University of Alabama – Tuscaloosa (A1)
- 125. University of South Alabama (A4)

Kentucky

- 126. University of Kentucky (A2)
- 127. University of Louisville (A3)

Missouri

- 128. University of Missouri – Columbia (C3)
- 129. Washington University in St. Louis (D4)
- 130. Missouri University of Science and Technology (A4)
- 131. Saint Louis University (A4)
- 132. University of Missouri – Kansas City (C3)
- 133. University of Missouri – St. Louis (A1)

Mississippi

- 134. Mississippi State University (A1)
- 135. University of Mississippi (A1)
- 136. University of Southern Mississippi (A4)

Arkansas

- 137. University of Arkansas (A2)

Tennessee

- 138. Vanderbilt University (C3)
- 139. University of Tennessee (C3)
- 140. University of Memphis (A4)

Georgia

- 141. Emory University (C3)

- 142. Georgia Institute of Technology (A3)
- 143. Georgia State University (A4)
- 144. University of Georgia – Athens (A2)

Florida

- 145. Florida State University (C3)
- 146. University of Central Florida (A2)
- 147. University of Florida (C2)
- 148. University of Miami (A4)
- 149. University of South Florida (A4)
- 150. Florida Atlantic University (A4)
- 151. Florida International University (C3)
- 152. Nova Southeastern University (D4)

Southwest

Texas

- 153. Texas A&M University (A3)
- 154. Rice University (A1)
- 155. University of Texas – Austin (A3)
- 156. University of Houston (D3)
- 157. Baylor University (A4)
- 158. Southern Methodist University (A3)
- 159. Texas Tech University (A4)
- 160. University of North Texas (A3)
- 161. University of Texas at Arlington (A2)
- 162. University of Texas – Dallas (A1)
- 163. University of Texas – El Paso (D4)
- 164. University of Texas – San Antonio (A4)

Arizona

- 165. Arizona State University (D4)
- 166. University of Arizona (A4)
- 167. Northern Arizona University (C2)

New Mexico

- 168. University of New Mexico – Albuquerque (B3)
- 169. New Mexico State University (C2)

Nevada

- 170. University of Nevada – Las Vegas (A1)
- 171. University of Nevada – Reno (A4)

Oklahoma

- 172. University of Oklahoma (A3)
- 173. Oklahoma State University (A4)

Mountain

Colorado

- 174. Colorado State University (B3)
- 175. University of Colorado – Boulder (A3)
- 176. Colorado School of Mines (A4)
- 177. University of Colorado – Denver (A1)
- 178. University of Denver (A1)

Montana

- 179. Montana State University (A3)
- 180. University of Montana (A1)

Utah

- 181. University of Utah (A3)
- 182. Brigham Young University (A1)
- 183. Utah State University (A3)

Idaho

- 184. Boise State University (A3)
- 185. Idaho State University (A1)
- 186. University of Idaho (A3)

Wyoming

- 187. University of Wyoming (A3)

West Coast

California

- 188. University of California – San Diego (C3)
- 189. California Institute of Technology (A4)
- 190. Stanford University (C3)
- 191. University of California – Berkeley (A1)
- 192. University of California – Davis (C3)
- 193. University of California – Irvine (A2)
- 194. University of California – Los Angeles (B3)
- 195. University of California – Riverside (B3)
- 196. University of California – Santa Barbara (C3)
- 197. University of California – Santa Cruz (C3)
- 198. University of Southern California (B2)
- 199. Claremont Graduate University (B3)
- 200. San Diego State University (A3)

Washington

- 201. Washington State University (A3)
- 202. University of Washington (C3)

Oregon

- 203. Oregon State University (C3)
- 204. University of Oregon (C4)
- 205. Portland State University (C3)

Non-contiguous

Hawaii

- 206. University of Hawaii (D3)

Alaska

- 207. University of Alaska (C1)

Puerto Rico

- 208. University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras (D4)

CITED LITERATURE

- Addams, Jane "Social Education of the Industrial Democracy: Settlement Problems in Educational Work with Adults. Labor Museum at Hull House" Commons, 47, June 1900
- ADA.gov "Information and Technical Assistance on the Americans with Disabilities Act" 2010 https://www.ada.gov/2010_regs.htm
- African-American Cultural Center at UIC "The Things we Carried" exhibition website <https://aacc.uic.edu/aacc-exhibitions/the-things-we-carried/> 2013
- Almendrala, Anna "How Activists Changed The Federal Approach To Research Forever" Huffington Post Healthy Living December 1, 2015 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/on-world-aids-day-a-reminder-that-change-comes-from-the-outside_us_56537908e4b0879a5b0c0741
- Asante, Molefi Kete "Challenging Orthodoxies: The Case for the Black Cultural Center" Black Culture Centers" Politics of Survival and Identity Chicago, IL: Third World Press & Association of Black Culture Centers 2005 p. 37-40
- Association for Black Culture Centers "Who We Are," ABCC website, 2016 <http://www.abcc.net/who-we-are>
- Barrows-Friedman, Nora "Chicago Students Get Death Threat Over Palestine Protest" The Electronic Intifada, October 30, 2015 <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora-barrows-friedman/chicago-students-get-death-threat-over-palestine-protest> (last accessed 7/15/15)
- Beemyn, Brett "The Development and Administration of Campus LGBT Centers and Offices" Our place on campus: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender services and programs in higher education The Greenwood Educators' Reference Collection, ed. Ronni Sanlo, Sue Rankin, Robert Schoenberg, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002 p. 21-29
- Brookolo, Marnie "Contested Community: The Campus Community Centers at UCSD" Nexus: Complicating Community & Centering the Self, a 20-year retrospective of a college-based community center ed. E. Welch, J. Ruanto-Ramirez, N. Magpusao, & S. Amon, Cognella Publishing, 2016, p. 69-71
- Cabrera, Rosa "Beyond Dust, Memories and Preservation: Roles of Ethnic Museums in Shaping Community Ethnic Identities" unpublished dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2008
- Central Intelligence Agency "Navajo Code Talkers and the Unbreakable Code" CIA News & Information 2008 <https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2008-featured-story-archive/navajo-code-talkers/>

- Chicago Cultural Alliance “Mission & History” website 2010
<https://www.chicagoculturalalliance.org/about/mission-history/>
- CNN Library “LGBT Rights Milestones Fast Facts” CNN, July 1, 2016
<http://www.cnn.com/2015/06/19/us/lgbt-rights-milestones-fast-facts/>
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement p. xv New York, NY: New Press, 1995
- Cohn, D’Vera “How U.S. immigration laws and rules have changed through history” FactTank: News in the Numbers Pew Research Center, 2016
<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/09/30/how-u-s-immigration-laws-and-rules-have-changed-through-history/>
- Conklin, Alice L. In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013
- Continental Congress “Northwest Ordinance (1787)” Our Documents federal website
<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=8>
- Danilov, Victor J. Ethnic Museums and Heritage Sites in the United States Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co. Publishers, 2009
- Davey, Katie Jean “American Indian Movement (AIM): Overview” Minnesota History Center Research Guides St. Paul, MN: Minnesota History Center, 2016
<http://libguides.mnhs.org/aim>
- Disability.gov “The Rehabilitation Act of 1973” <https://www.disability.gov/rehabilitation-act-1973/>, 2016
- Dudziak, Mary L. Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000
- Eberly, Jan “The Economic Case for Higher Education” HomeRoom: The Official Blog of the U.S. Department of Education, December, 2012 <http://blog.ed.gov/2012/12/the-economic-case-for-higher-education/>
- English, Fenwick W. “Mendez v. Westminster School District” Education Law
<http://usedulaw.com/402-mendez-v-westminster-school-district.html>, 2004
- Evans, Eric “Social History” Making History: The changing face of the profession in Britain
http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/social_history.html
 2008

- Farrell, Betty & Medvedeva, Maria "Demographic Transformation and the Future of Museums report" Washington, DC: American Alliance of Museums Press 2010
<http://www.aam-us.org/docs/center-for-the-future-of-museums/demotransaam2010.pdf>
- Fergus, Devin "My students pay too much for college. Blame Reagan." The Washington Post September 2, 2014
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2014/09/02/my-students-pay-too-much-for-college-blame-reagan/>
- Ferguson, Roderick The Reorder of Things: The University and its Pedagogies of Minority Difference, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 2012
- The Field Museum "Malvina Hoffman" (year unknown)
<https://www.fieldmuseum.org/malvina-hoffman>
- The Field Museum "Center for Cultural Understanding and Change" 2008
<http://archive.fieldmuseum.org/ccuc/>
- Foner, Eric Give me Liberty! An American History Vol. 2, ed. 2, New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co. 2009
- Graham, Patricia Albjerg "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education" Signs Volume 3, Number 4, Summer 1978, p. 759-773
- Gray, Eliza "University Survey Highlights Role of 'Verbal Coercion' in Sexual Assault" Time Magazine June 25, 2015 <http://time.com/3936005/university-michigan-sexual-misconduct-survey/>
- Harris, Neil "Museums: The Hidden Agenda" Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990, p. 136
- Hauenschild, Andrea, Ph.D "Claims and Reality of New Museology: Case Studies in Canada, the United States, and Mexico" January, 1988
<http://museumstudies.si.edu/claims2000.htm#2.%20Elements>
- Hayden, Dolores The Grand Domestic Revolution Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983
- Hamilton, Charles V. "Afterward 1992" Black Power: The Politics of Liberation New York, NY: Random House Publishing, 1967, p. 201-218
- Hartocollis, Anemona & Bidgood, Jess "Racial Discrimination Protests Ignite at Colleges Across the U.S." The New York Times November 11, 2015
<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/12/us/racial-discrimination-protests-ignite-at-colleges-across-the-us.html>

- Henry, Carole The Museum Experience: The Discovery of Meaning Reston, VA: National Art Education Association, 2010
- Hord, Fred Lee "A Conversation with Haki R. Madhubuti and Safisha Madhubuti" Black Culture Centers: The Politics of Survival Chicago, IL: Third World Press Publishing, 2005
- Ignatius, David "How ISIS Spread in the Middle East And how to stop it" The Atlantic October 29, 2015,
<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/how-isis-started-syria-iraq/412042/>
- Isserman, Maurice & Kazin, Michael America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s New York, NY: Oxford University Press 2004
- Ivaska, James Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar Es Salaam Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011
- Jones, Jacqueline; Wood, Peter H.; Borstelmann, Thomas; May, Elaine Tyler; Ruiz, Vicki L. Created Equal: A Social and Political History of the United States, until 1877 vol. 1, 2nd ed. New York, NY: Pearson Education, Inc. 2009
- Jefferson, Thomas "Letter to James Madison," December 20, 1787 American History, from Revolution to Reconstruction website
<http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl66.php>
- Kahn, Mussarat & Ecklund, Kathryn "Attitudes toward Muslim Americans Post-9/11" Journal of Muslim Mental Health Volume 7, Issue 1: *Stigma*, 2012
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jmmh/10381607.0007.101/--attitudes-toward-muslim-americans-post-911?rgn=main;view=fulltext>
- Katz, Michael B. "The role of American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century" History of Education Quarterly vol. 23, no. 2 Summer 1983, p. 215-223
- Kayne, Eric "Census: White majority in U.S. gone by 2043" NBC News, June 13, 2014
http://usnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2013/06/13/18934111-census-white-majority-in-us-gone-by-2043
- Keller, Jared "The IMF Confirms That 'Trickle-Down' Economics Is, Indeed, a Joke" Pacific Standard June 18, 2015 <https://psmag.com/the-imf-confirms-that-trickle-down-economics-is-indeed-a-joke-207d7ca469b#.2t36d5e9l>
- Langland, Victoria Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013

- Laurenson, John "Paris museum exposes history of human zoos" *DW History*, September, 10, 2011 <http://www.dw.com/en/paris-museum-exposes-history-of-human-zoos/a-15588660>
- Lee, Sonia Song-Ha *Building a Latino Civil Rights Movement* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014
- Libresco, Leah "Here Are The Demands From Students Protesting Racism At 51 Colleges" *FiveThirtyEight*, December 3, 2015 <http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/here-are-the-demands-from-students-protesting-racism-at-51-colleges/>
- Lichtblau, Eric "Crimes Against Muslim Americans and Mosques Rise Sharply" *The New York Times*, December 17, 2015 http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/18/us/politics/crimes-against-muslim-americans-and-mosques-rise-sharply.html?_r=0 (last accessed 6/19/16)
- Lozano, Adele "Latina/o Culture Centers: Providing a Sense of Belonging and Promoting Student Success" *Culture Centers in Higher Education: Perspectives on Identity, Theory, and Practice*, ed. Patton, Lori D. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2010, p. 3-25
- MacAskill, William "Does Divestment Work?" *The New Yorker* October 20, 2015 <http://www.newyorker.com/business/currency/does-divestment-work>
- Marable, Manning *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945-2006* 3rd ed. Jackson, MI: University of Mississippi Press, 2007
- Mariscal, George *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005
- Materson, Lisa G. *For the Freedom of her Race: Black Women and Electoral Politics in Illinois, 1877-1932*, 2009, p. 25
- Mondello, Bob "History of Museums, 'The Memory of Mankind'" *Museums in the 21st Century* November, 24, 2008 <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=97377145>
- "Morrill Land Grant Act" *OurDocuments.gov* <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=33> 1862
- National Museum of American History "Opportunity or Exploitation: The Bracero Program," digital exhibition *Smithsonian Institution America on the Move* 2009 http://amhistory.si.edu/onthemove/themes/story_51_5.html
- Palmer, Scott R. "A Policy Framework for Reconceptualizing the Legal Debate Concerning Affirmative Action in Higher Education" *Diversity Challenged: Evidence of the*

- Impact of Affirmative Action The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, ed. Gary Orfield, Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Publishing Group, 2001, p. 49-80
- Patton, Lori D. "Power to the People! Black Student Protest and the Emergence of Black Culture Centers" Black Culture Centers; Politics of Survival and Identity Chicago, IL: Third World Press 2005, p. 151-163
- Patton, Lori D. "Preface: A Call to Action: Historical and Contemporary Reflections on the Relevance of Campus Cultural Centers in Higher Education" Culture Centers in Higher Education: Perspectives on Identity, Theory, and Practice ed. Lori D. Patton, Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2010, p. xiii-xvii
- Peabody Essex Museum "Museum History" 2015
http://www.pem.org/about/museum_history
- Pilkington, Ed "How the Tea Party movement began" The Guardian October 5, 2010,
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/05/us-midterm-elections-2010-tea-party-movement>
- Princes, Carolyn D. W. "The Precarious Question of Black Cultural Centers versus Multicultural Centers" Black Culture Centers: Politics of Survival & Identity ed. Fred Lee Hord, Chicago: Third World Press 2005, p. 135-146
- Project for Public Spaces "Ray Oldenburg biography" (date unknown, last accessed 6/22/16) <http://www.pps.org/reference/roldenburg/>
- Ramirez, Leonard "Latino Cultural Center 20th anniversary Oral History" UIC Archives, Rafael Cintrón Ortiz Latino Cultural Center Records box 1, folder 23, 1997
<http://www.uic.edu/depts/lib/specialcoll/services/lhsc/ead/011-27-02-01f.html>
- Rhoads, Robert A. Freedom's Web: Student Activism in an Age of Cultural Diversity Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998
- Rich, Robert "The Great Recession of 2007-09" Federal Reserve History November 22, 2013, <http://www.federalreservehistory.org/Events/DetailView/58>
- Richmond, Demetrius D. "A Case Study of Two Exemplary Black Cultural Centers in Higher Education" unpublished dissertation, Knoxville: University of Tennessee, December 2012
- Rieff, David "The Long War on Terror" The New York Times July 2016
http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/24/opinion/sunday/the-long-war-on-terror.html?_r=0
- Rose, Julie K. "The Legacy of the Fair," 1996
<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma96/wce/legacy.html>

- Roseboro, Donyell Icons of Power and Landscapes of Protest: The Student Movement for the Sonja Haynes Stone Black Cultural Center at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Greensboro, NC: University of North Carolina unpublished dissertation, 2005
- Sandoval, Gabriel "LGBT Centers on Campuses Try to Reassure Worried Students" Chronicle of Higher Education vol. LXII, no. 39, June 24, 2016, p. A6
- Sanlo, Ronni; Rankin Sue; Schoenberg, Robert "An Overview of this New Profession in Higher Education" Our Place on Campus: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Services and Programs in Higher Education The Greenwood Educators' Reference Collection, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, p. 1-8
- Schrecker, Ellen The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents 2nd ed. Boston, MA: Bedford St. Martins, 2002
- Sieyès, Abbe Emmanuel-Joseph "Qu'est-ce que le Tiers-Etat?" University of Oregon documents website
<http://pages.uoregon.edu/dluebke/301ModernEurope/Sieyes3dEstate.pdf>, 1789
- Shek, Yen Ling "Strategizing for the Future: Evolving Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education" UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2013
<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/1b19969f>
- Stennis-Williams, Shirley, Terrell, Melvin C. & Haynes, Alphonso W. "The Emergent Role of Multicultural Education Centers on Predominantly White Campuses" From Survival to Success: Promoting Minority Student Retention, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, Inc. ed. Terrell, Melvin C. & Wright, Doris J. Monograph Series Vol. 9 Dec 1988
- Suri, Jeremi Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003
- Sutherland, Anna "Why Do More Women than Men Go to College?" National Review October 14, 2015 <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/425506/why-do-more-women-men-go-college-anna-sutherland>
- Tegler, Eric "A Just and Equitable Division: 125 years of the Second Morrill Act of 1890" WorldAgNetwork.com April 6, 2015 <http://worldagnetnetwork.com/a-just-and-equitable-division-125-years-of-the-second-morrill-act-of-1890/>
- Tinto, V. "Linking Learning and Leaving: Exploring the role of the college classroom in student departure" Reworking the student departure puzzle ed. Braxton, J. M. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000

- Trask, Jeffrey The Arts and Intellectual Life in Modern America: Things American: Art Museums and Civic Culture in the Progressive Era, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, p. 9
- Trevor, Greg "September 11: Let Us Not Lose Sight of the Significance of the Day" Huffington Post, September 5, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/greg-trevor-/september-11_b_5775652.html
- Ture, Kwame "Afterward, 1992" Black Power: The Politics of Liberation ed. Kwame Ture & Charles H. Hamilton, New York, NY: Random House Publishing, 1967, p. 187-199
- Walch, Michael C. "Terminating the Indian Termination Policy" Stanford Law Review vol. 35, no. 6, July 1983, p. 1181-1215
- Welch, Edwina F. "Campus Based Community Centers: Havens, Harbors, and Hope for Underrepresented and Marginalized Student Success" UC San Diego Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2009
- Westad, Odd Arne The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007
- Willinger, Beth "Women's Centers, Their Missions, and the Process of Change" University and College Women's Centers: A Journey Toward Equity The Greenwood Educator's Reference Collection, ed. Sharon L. Davie, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, p. 47-64
- Yang, Raymond K., Byers, Steven R., Salazar, Guadalupe, & Salas, Richard A. "Cultural Adaptation at a University Campus: The Case of Latino Students" Journal of Hispanic Higher Education vol. 8, no. 3 April 2009, Fort Collins, CO: Sage Publishing, p. 115-129
- Yosso, Tara J. & Lopez, Corina Benavides "Counterspaces in a Hostile Place: A Critical Race Theory Analysis of Campus Cultural Centers" Culture Centers in Higher Education: Perspectives on Identity, Theory, and Practice ed. Lori D. Patton, Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2010
- Young, Cynthia A. Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006
- Young, Lawrence W. "The Role Minority Student Centers Play on Predominantly White Campuses" Handbook of Minority Student Services Madison, WI: NMCC Inc. Publications, 1986, p. 13-22

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Association for Black Culture Centers website <http://www.abcc.net/>

“Disability Rights Movement” LIFE Center website <http://www.lifecil.org/about/disability-rights-movement/>

UIC Centers for Cultural Understanding and Social Change website
<http://diversity.uic.edu/who-we-are/centers-for-cultural-understanding-and-social-change/>

UIUC Cultural & Resource Centers website <https://oii.illinois.edu/our-centers>

“Museum History” Peabody Essex Museum website
http://pem.org/about/museum_history

“19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Women’s Right to Vote” OurDocuments.Gov
https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=63_1920

South Side Community Art Center website <http://www.sscartcenter.org/>

American Indian Center website <http://aic-chicago.org/aic-history/>

United States Incarceration Rate
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_incarceration_rate

International Coalition of Sites of Conscience website <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/>

VITA

- NAME:** Lena Guerrero Reynolds
- EDUCATION:** B.A., History, University of Illinois at Urbana, 2010
M.A., Museum and Exhibition Studies, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2016 (expected)
- MUSEUM WORK:** National Museum of Mexican Art Exhibition Assistant, Spring 2016
UIC Latino Cultural Center, Graduate Assistant, 2014-2016
Field Museum of Natural History, Climate Action Toolkit Intern, Summer & Fall 2015
Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, Museum Educator, 2012-2014
Chicago History Museum, Volunteer Docent, 2010-2012
- HONORS:** Chicago River Stories Grant, Freshwater Lab, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2016
Social Justice Award, Museum and Exhibition Studies, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2016
Graduate Assistantship, University of Illinois at Chicago Rafael Cintrón Ortiz Latino Cultural Center, 2014-2016
Annual Meeting Fellowship, American Alliance of Museums, 2015
I4I Study Abroad Scholarship, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 2010
President's Award Merit Scholarship, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 2008-2010
Campus Merit Award, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign 2006-2008
- PRESENTATIONS:** Commencement Speaker, College of Architecture, Design, and the Arts graduation, University of Illinois at Chicago, May 2016
Panel Speaker, Gender and Sexuality in Museum Exhibitions session at American Alliance of Museums Conference, Atlanta, GA April 2015
Workshop Facilitator – Civic dialogue training for museum professionals session at Historical Administration Program Symposium, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, IL, April 2015
Panel Speaker, Popular Education and Transnational Solidarity event, Social Justice Initiative partnership with Chicago's Centro Autonomo, October 2014