FOUR DEAD IN OHIO

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS AND CHANGE

Series Editor: Lisa Leitz

Recent Volumes:

Volume 32:	Critical Aspects of Gender in Conflict Resolution, Peacebuilding, and Social Movements – Edited by Anna Christine Snyder and Stephanie PhetsamayStobbe
Volume 33:	Media, Movements, and Political Change – Edited by Jennifer Earl and Deana A. Rohlinger
Volume 34:	Nonviolent Conflict and Civil Resistance – Edited by Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Lester R. Kurtz
Volume 35:	Advances in the Visual Analysis of Social Movements – Edited by Nicole Doerr, Alice Mattoni and Simon Teune
Volume 36:	Edited by Patrick G. Coy
Volume 37:	Intersectionality and Social Change – Edited by Lynne M. Woehrle
Volume 38:	Edited by Patrick G. Coy
Volume 39:	Protest, Social Movements, and Global Democracy since 2011: New Perspectives – Edited by Thomas Davies, Holly Eva Ryan and Alejandro Peña
Volume 40:	Narratives of Identity in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change – Edited by Landon E. Hancock
Volume 41:	Non-State Violent Actors and Social Movement Organizations: Influence, Adaptation, and Change – Edited by Julie M. Mazzei
Volume 42:	Edited by Patrick G. Coy
Volume 43:	Bringing Down Divides – Edited by Lisa Leitz and Eitan Y. Alimi
Volume 44:	Power and Protest: How Marginalized Groups Oppose the State

and Other Institutions - Edited by Lisa Leitz

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Lisa Leitz, PhD Editor-in-Chief

Delp-Wilkinson Endowed Chair in Peace Studies, Chapman University

Eitan Alimi, PhD

Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Joel Busher, PhD

Associate Professor, Center for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University

Darren Kew, PhD

Chair of the Department of Conflict Resolution, Human Security, and Global Governance; McCormack Graduate School and Executive Director of the Center for Peace, Democracy, and Development, University of Massachusetts Boston

Cécile Mouly, PhD

Professor and Coordinator of the Research Group in Peace and Conflict at FLACSO (FacultadLatinoamericana de CienciasSociales) Ecuador

Patrick Coy, PhD

Editor Emeritus

Professor, School of Peace and Conflict Studies, Kent State University

This page intentionally left blank

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS AND CHANGE VOLUME 45

FOUR DEAD IN OHIO: THE GLOBAL LEGACY OF YOUTH ACTIVISM AND STATE REPRESSION

EDITED BY

JOHANNA A. SOLOMON

Kent State University, USA



United Kingdom – North America – Japan India – Malaysia – China Emerald Publishing Limited Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2021

Copyright © 2021 by Emerald Publishing Limited

Reprints and permissions service

Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-80071-808-1 (Print) ISBN: 978-1-80071-807-4 (Online) ISBN: 978-1-80071-809-8 (Epub)

ISSN: 0163-786X (Series)



ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985 ISO 14001



CONTENTS

List of Contributors	
About the Authors	xi
Foreword	xiii
Acknowledgment	xv
Introduction Johanna A. Solomon	1
SECTION I STUDENT AND YOUTH MOVEMENTS	
To Thread the Conscience: Michigan State University and the Anti-apartheid Movement Eric J. Morgan	11
Fear and Loathing: The Rise of Ephebiphobia and Its Implications for Youth Activism Elizabeth W. Corrie	33
Talking with or Talking at Young Activists? Mediated Youth Engagement in Web-accessible Spaces Thomas Elliott and Jennifer Earl	
Peace Fellows: Building and Institutionalizing a Visible Peace Community on Campus Andrea S. Libresco, Margaret Melkonian and Susan Cushman	85

viii CONTENTS

SECTION II RESPONSES TO REPRESSION

The Morphology of Repression: Dialectics between Chilean Students and State Force Actions	
Gabriela González Vaillant and Fernanda Page Poma	
Universities in Post-2003 Iraq: Coalition and Iraqi Responses to Violence and Insecurity Sansom Milton	
The Ukrainian Revolution: Repression, Interpretation, and Dissent Sophia Wilson	157
SECTION III MEMORY AND COMMEMORATION	
Remembering Gwangju: Memory Work in the South Korean Democracy Movement, 1980–1987 Soon Seok Park	
Tent City 1977 and the Kent State Gym Annex E. Timothy Smith	
Index	229

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Elizabeth W. Corrie Program in Religious Education at Candler School

of Theology, Emory University, USA

Susan Cushman Department of English, Nassau Community

College, USA

Jennifer Earl Schools of Sociology and Government and Public

Policy, University of Arizona, USA

Thomas Elliott GitHub, USA

Lisa Leitz Department of Peace Studies, Chapman Univer-

sity, USA

Andrea S. Libresco Department of Teaching, Learning, and Technology

and Institute for Peace Studies, Hofstra University,

USA

Margaret Melkonian Long Island Alliance for Peaceful Alternatives and

Peace Fellows, Hofstra University, USA

Sansom Milton Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies,

Qatar

Eric J. Morgan Department of Democracy and Justice Studies,

University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, USA

Soon Seok Park Department of Sociology, Chung-Ang University,

South Korea

Fernanda Page Poma Escuela de Política y Gobierno, Universidad de

San Martín, Argentina

E. Timothy Smith Department of History, Barry University, USA

Johanna A. Solomon School of Peace and Conflict Studies, Kent State

University, USA

Gabriela González Vaillant Multidiscilpinary Department, University of Social

Sciences (Universidad de la República), Montevideo.

Uruguay

Sophia Wilson Department of Political Science at Southern

Illinois University Edwardsville, USA

This page intentionally left blank

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Elizabeth W. Corrie is an Associate Professor in the Practice of Youth Education and Peacebuilding and Director of the Program in Religious Education at Candler School of Theology, Emory University, in Atlanta, Georgia. Her research was supported by a grant from the Louisville Institute in 2019–2020.

Susan Cushman is a Professor of English at Nassau Community College where she also teaches courses in Gender Studies and Peace Studies. She was a guest lecturer in the Hofstra Peace Fellows program in 2016.

Jennifer Earl is a Professor of Sociology and Government and Public Policy (by courtesy) at the University of Arizona, where she studies social movements, information technologies, and the sociology of law, with research emphases on youth activism, Internet activism, social movement repression, and legal change.

Thomas Elliott is a Senior Data Scientist at GitHub. He has his PhD in Sociology from the University of California, Irvine, where he studied the cultural consequences of social movements. His work has appeared in *Social Forces*, *Mobilization*, *Research in Social Movements*, *Conflicts*, and Change, and New Media and Society.

Andrea Libresco is a Professor of Social Studies Education, Head of the Minors in Civic Engagement and Peace and Conflict Studies, Co-coordinator of Peace Fellows, and Director of the Institute for Peace Studies at Hofstra University. Books include: *Every Book is a Social Studies Book* and *Peace Lessons from Around the World*.

Margaret Melkonian is a Director of the LI Alliance for Peaceful Alternatives, Downstate Chair of Peace Action NYS, and Member of the Pax Christi LI Council. She co-coordinated the Peace Fellows Program at Hofstra University and was the recipient of the 2007 Gandhi, King, Ikeda Peace Award from Morehouse College.

Sansom Milton is a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies (Doha, Qatar). He previously served as a Research Fellow at the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit at the University of York. His book *Higher Education and Post-Conflict Recovery* was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2018.

Eric J. Morgan is an Associate Professor of Democracy and Justice Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, where he teaches courses on Modern US and

African History. His scholarship has been featured in, among other publications: Diplomatic History, The International Journal of the History of Sport, Diplomacy & Statecraft, The History Teacher, Enterprise & Society, Peace & Change, and the Dictionary of African Biography.

Soon Seok Park received his PhD in Sociology from Purdue University. He is currently a Lecturer in the Department of Sociology at Chung-Ang University in South Korea. His interests include social movements, political economy, and social change. His work also has appeared in *Social Movement Studies*, *Sociological Perspectives*, and *Sociological Focus*.

Fernanda Page Poma is Professor at Escuela de Política y Gobierno, Universidad Nacional de San Martín, and Postdoctoral Fellow at CONICET National Scientific and Technical Research Council, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Her research focuses on social movements, security forces, gender, and protest control. She received her PhD in Sociology from Stony Brook University (SUNY).

E. Timothy Smith is a Professor of History at Barry University in Miami, Florida. He received his PhD from Kent State University and has published on US foreign policy during the Cold War and on the involvement of private voluntary organizations' assistance to the developing world during the Cold War.

Gabriela González Vaillant is Professor at the Social Science University (Universidad de la República) and the Catholic University at Montevideo, Uruguay. She is also a researcher and active member of the National Research and Innovation Agency (ANII). She has undertaken numerous investigations in the field of political sociology, youth social movements, education, memory, and civic participation. She received her PhD in Sociology from Stony Brook University (SUNY).

Sophia Wilson is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville. She is a former Shklar Fellow and Lecturer at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and a Jerome Hall Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Law, Society and Culture at the Indiana University Maurer School of Law.

FOREWORD

This volume comes out of an international conference held at Kent State University on the Semicentennial of the occupation and shooting of students by the Ohio National Guard during a demonstration against the US wars in Vietnam and Cambodia, "Commemorating Violent Conflicts and Building Sustainable Peace." The National Guard shooting of four white students on May 4, 1970, captured the American imagination. These deaths of unarmed protesters came to symbolize the divisions in the United States – both generational and political. The incident was memorialized in more than a dozen songs and plays, focused on in at least seven documentaries, and fictionalized in numerous novels, poems, comics, films, and television series. Numerous historical, journalist, and social science texts cover the lead-up, investigate what happened, and examine the memory of these shootings.

The Kent State shooting was not the first nor the last of such killings of students by state officers during this tumultuous period of heightened activism in the United States. Government information suppression and racism led to the near erasure of government shooting of students at historically Black colleges, such as the Orangeburg, South Carolina massacre and the Jackson State College, Mississippi, killings. The role of race in collective memory processes here are similar to the way that the 1964 Freedom Summer deaths of white and Black Civil Rights activists attracted attention during a time where the slayings of Black activists by whites attracted little attention. Similarly, the Kent State shootings are more commonly discussed in social movement texts than the much bloodier Corpus Christi Massacre in 1971 and the state infiltration of student movements during Mexican Dirty War. Thus, the editor of this Volume, Johanna A. Solomon, rightfully surmised that we do not need another book that interrogates the actions at Kent State related to the May 4th killings. Rather, this volume illuminates numerous other incidents of state suppression and/or student activism around the globe.

> Lisa Leitz, PhD. Series Editor

This page intentionally left blank

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

With many thanks to the editorial assistance of Kate Croteau.