

*Journal of the Indiana University
Student Personnel Association
2010 Edition*

Contents

Indiana University Student Personnel Association Officers.....	2
Editors of the IUSPA Journal.....	3
Editors' Comments.....	4
<i>Autumn T. Harrell and Mark E. Houlemarde</i>	
The College Literary Society: The Athenian Society of Indiana University during the Nineteenth Century.....	5
<i>James D. Gieser</i>	
Indian International Students in American Higher Education: An Analysis of India's Cultural and Socioeconomic Norms in Light of the International Student Experience.....	17
<i>Kimberley A. Kushner</i>	
A Cultural Perspective for Understanding How Campus Environments Perpetuate Rape-Supportive Culture.....	26
<i>Sarah J. Argiero, Jessica L. Dyrdaahl, Sarah S. Fernandez, Laura E. Whitney, Robert J. Woodring</i>	
The International Mobility of the American Faculty – Scope and Challenges.....	41
<i>Ling Gao LeBeau</i>	
Black Student Leaders: The Influence of Social Climate in Student Organizations.....	48
<i>Cameron C. Beatty, Antonio A. Bush, Eliza E. Erxleben, Tomika L. Ferguson, Autumn T. Harrell, Wanna K. Sahachartsiri</i>	

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The Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association is published annually by the Indiana University Student Personnel Association with support from the Higher Education & Student Affairs (HESA) Program. The Journal is produced expressly to provide an opportunity for HESA master's students to publish articles pertinent to the field of student affairs. The primary sources of funding for the Journal are alumni donations and support from the students and the HESA department. The important role that each of these contributors has played in the production of this edition is gratefully acknowledged and appreciated.

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Editors' Comments

Autumn T. Harrell & Mark E. Houlemarde

The Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association is an annual publication by the Indiana University Student Personnel Association. First published in 1967, it provides the opportunity for current master's students and those associated with the Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) program to publish scholarly works. This year marks a significant change to the 43rd edition of the IUSPA Journal. We've successfully transitioned online with the aid of IUScholarWorks, a service provided by the Indiana University Digital Libraries Program. It is our hope that this move will promote scholarship and learning by ensuring the preservation of the Journal and enabling open access to all those interested in better serving college students. In keeping with tradition, the 2010 edition features a diverse selection of articles that cover a wide range of topics in higher education and student affairs.

First, a retrospective look at a lively student organization popular throughout the 1800s is provided by "The College Literary Society: The Athenian Society of Indiana University during the Nineteenth Century." Next, "Indian International Students in American Higher Education: An Analysis of India's Cultural and Socioeconomic Norms in Light of the International Student Experience" features a comprehensive view of Indian international students and includes challenges to consider when working with this student population. The authors of "A Cultural Perspective for Understanding How Campus Environments Perpetuate Rape-Supportive Culture" write a thought provoking article, making connections between campus life environments and a culture that may support unsafe notions about sex. "The International Mobility of the American Faculty – Scope and Challenges" examines faculty and their relationship with global concerns. Finally, we gain more insight into college student experiences through a qualitative study in "Black Student Leaders: The Influence of Social Climate in Student Organizations." We hope you enjoy these pieces as much as we have.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to the peer review board and our advisor, Danielle De Sawal. This publication has been a concerted effort that took many hours of planning and hard work from the review board team.

Last but not least, this publication would not be possible without the financial contributions of the HESA alumni. It is with their support that the Journal is able to provide opportunities for students to experience the publication process and give back to the field of student affairs and higher education through scholarship.

Working with this publication and serving as the editors of the 43rd edition of the Journal has been an honor and rewarding experience. We are proud to present the 2010 IUSPA Journal!

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The College Literary Society: The Athenian Society of Indiana University during the Nineteenth Century

James D. Gieser

The college literary society was one of the first extracurricular activities of the early American colleges. It was a student-created space where members gathered to explore intellectual concerns, refine oratory skills, and enjoy social companionship. This article investigates these societies in order to broaden our understanding of student life both historically and today. The article focuses specifically on the Athenian Society of Indiana University as an illustrative case.

The college literary societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided students with a space they could truly call their own. These student organizations filled the void left by a curriculum that was often disconnected from both the real world and the academic interests of the students; they provided a realm wherein students might take control of their intellectual and social development in meaningful ways (Harding, 1971; Hollatz, 1965; McLachlan, 1974; Rudolph, 1990). Highly organized and involving most of the student body, McLachlan (1974) called these societies “colleges within colleges” (p. 472). In stark contrast to the rote memorization typical of eighteenth and nineteenth century classrooms, the literary societies became spaces of exploration and freedom through a plethora of oral and other exercises (Hollatz, 1965). The literary societies, quite simply, “engrossed more of the interests and activities of the students than any other aspect of college life” (McLachlan, 1974, p. 472).

The purpose of this paper is to explore the context, features, and purposes of the college literary society in the nineteenth century, specifically as exhibited by the Athenian Society at Indiana University. Operating from 1830 to 1886, its archives will provide definition and description to this exploration and aid in illuminating student

life during this period. McLachlan (1974) identifies the student as one of the most overlooked subjects of the study of education prior to the twentieth century. In exploring Athenian Society activities within the wider context of nineteenth century literary societies, this paper will elucidate one small corner of that subject, thereby adding to our understanding of college student life in the mid-nineteenth century. By appreciating the kinds of spaces students created for themselves in the past, student affairs practitioners may enhance their understanding of the development needs of students in the present.

The paper has been divided into four sections. In the first, Institutional Contexts, an examination of the aspects of the colleges and curriculum that fueled the development of literary societies and served as the context for their activities will be presented. The paper will then explore the general features of literary societies in the following two sections, Literary Societies in Practice and Primary Activities of the Society, and conclude with Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research. I will draw upon the archives of the Athenian Society in order to make links between the typical features of college literary societies and the specific activities of this society at Indiana University. In this fashion I hope to flesh out a clearer understanding of the activities of these “little

republics" (Harding, 1971, p. 1) in general, and of this society in particular.

INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS

Curriculum

The nineteenth century curricular context from which the literary society emerged was narrow in scope, inflexible, and often irrelevant to the lives of students (Greenstreet, 1996; Westbrook, 2002). Student learning in these days was often rote and did little to encourage original thinking or genuine intellectual engagement (Greenstreet, 1996). Consisting mainly of Latin, Greek, mathematics, a few of the sciences, moral philosophy, and *belles lettres*, the typical curriculum was stultifying. Halloran (1990) writes that the classic curriculum assumed that a mastery of the classic languages would translate into a mastery of English. Reading and writing eloquently in English, it was believed, depended upon doing so first in Greek and Latin. The vernacular of real life – English – was considered unimportant in comparison to the classical languages. In fact, McLachlan (1974) writes, "by no educational criteria derived from any time, place, or philosophy, can the early 19th century college curriculum as actually taught be made to look attractive" (p. 466). With creativity discouraged and emotion forbidden, the curriculum was, in short, a stifling experience (Potter, 1954).

Social Control

Not only were classroom activities strictly organized: the college culture as a whole was designed to control nearly every aspect of student life. By the mid-nineteenth century the typical college abounded with rules meant to regulate student behavior and maintain order (Sack, 1961). Greenstreet

(1996) writes, "colleges functioned not so much to encourage intellectual development, as to foster moral piety" (p. 1). The proper moral development of a student's character was a primary concern for the early colleges.

In such a strictly regulated environment, any kind of extra-curriculum was almost entirely nonexistent (Potter, 1954). The types of permissible physical exercise were monitored; spending time with female friends was often off limits during the semester; a visit to the library for a contemporary periodical or novel would have been useless as the library contained only those volumes pertinent to the study of the classic works (Harding, 1971). Indeed, Greenstreet (1996) writes that today's students would regard early colleges as incredibly stifling; we may surmise that the nineteenth century student had similar views.

Students, however, are very good at finding creative ways to adapt to their surroundings. This was evident in the early colleges as literary societies blossomed on almost every campus across the country, the first appearing at Harvard in 1716 (Potter, 1954). These gatherings grew out of students' urges to explore beyond the prescribed course of study; they were places where creative expression was expected and English was freely used. The literary society provided a space for companionship, fun, and intellectual development, and served especially as a proving ground for those with future hopes for public positions in law, business, and politics (Potter, 1954; Snyder, 1904). These student-created spaces counteracted the strict social control of the colleges and provided a place of social and intellectual freedom.

Administrative Estimation of Literary Societies

The oratory and debate activities of the societies soon came to be well respected even by the college faculty. In fact, the students did such a remarkable job in this regard that a few institutions dropped oratory training from the curriculum altogether. For example, the trustees of Columbia decided in 1837 that "...no exercises in extemporaneous speaking or debating were required from the Students, as there are two Societies...of which these exercises constitute the principal objects" (cited in Potter, 1954, p. 245).

Administrators and faculty at Butler University valued the activities of the literary societies so highly that until 1869 society members were exempt from attending rhetorical and composition courses. Weidner (1992) reports, "In fact, throughout the last century, Butler University's catalogue advertised the work of such societies as part of the school's attraction" (p. 2).

Other reasons for supporting literary societies existed, as well. The models of behavior encouraged by the literary societies were found to align comfortably with the kind of moral rectitude encouraged by the colleges. DeMartini (1976) writes that the literary societies "...perpetuated the more traditional goals of higher education, i.e., the transmission of high culture and maintenance of elite status, and the faculty expected these societies to complement the university's purpose rather than provide secular alternatives" (p. 529). To the faculty, society goals and exercises seemed to perfectly complement their own aims to guide the intellectual and moral formation of their young charges. However, as discussed below, literary societies were also places of social exclusion and ill behavior.

LITERARY SOCIETIES IN PRACTICE

Popularity

Rudolph (1977) states that no other aspect of the nineteenth century college, with the possible exception of the senior course in moral philosophy, was spoken of with as much enthusiasm as the literary society. One Athenian alumnus, writing in 1889, passionately opined,

Every Friday evening...how eagerly we flocked to these halls, ready to declaim some carefully committed oration, read profound essays, or indulge in heated debate over questions which we fondly imagined interested the world quite as much as ourselves. There too, we took our first lessons in parliamentary law... And the victories, how prized, talked of and long remembered they were.... But these societies were grand schools, replete with educating influences. (Wright, 1889, p. 8. Archives reference file: Athenian Society)

Through participation in these gatherings, students were able to enter a world wholly different from the curriculum typical of the era.

Public Speaking

Of the many activities characteristic of the literary societies, the most popular were those related to public speaking (Hollatz, 1965). Osborne and Gronert note that oratory was one of the fashionable public spectacles of the day:

Debating and public speaking were regarded everywhere as part of the social experience. Clay, Webster, and Calhoun were the models of political eloquence; budding young lawyers

strove to attain something of their wizardry. The appeal of the orator, whether preacher or politician, was all but universal. The idols of the day were the orators, the preachers, and the debaters... (cited in Harding, 1971, p. 123)

Participation in oratory and debate enabled students to develop this "wizardry," a skill especially important for students planning to enter law, politics, or teaching. Membership in a literary society came to be regarded as simply in the student's best interest. According to one student, "Whatever our plan of life may be we will do wisely to improve the opportunity of uniting ourselves with our literary society" (cited in Radke-Moss, 2008, p. 82).

A Typical Meeting

What might a typical meeting have been like? The weekly minutes are a rich source of data in illuminating the regular Society activities. For example, the entry dated May 10th, 1872, records that the meeting was opened with a reading from Scripture, followed by the review and approval of the previous week's minutes, one oration and one essay, and one debate in which the participants debated whether "Caesar was justly slain" (Minutes: 1865-1876. Collection C135). At a special exhibition of the Society on Monday, March 25th, 1839, the order of exercises included six orations and six musical selections. The oratory topics of the evening were as follows: Early impressions and Female Education; Civil Rights and Obligations; Prejudice – its effects; The West; Progress of Liberty; Sources of Prosperity (Announcements/Programs, 1839-1866. Collection C135). The meetings were also places of spontaneity and fun, as will be discussed below.

Whether or not the curriculum at Indiana University was typical of the period, its students created for themselves a space in which to explore those subjects that they felt were worthy of attention. Thus an oration regarding Caesar's death could be followed the next week by a rousing debate concerning education for women. Based on analysis of the archival collection, the Athenians debated, argued, and pronounced upon the subjects of their choosing, a freedom they exercised with great relish.

Society Constitution

Harding (1971) calls the literary societies "little republics," as society meetings were democratically self-administrated and perpetuated (p. 1). The literary society typically had a constitution that stipulated the purposes of the society, rules for membership, guidelines for the appointment of officers, and conventions for the order of society meetings (Harding, 1971). Founded in 1830, the Athenian Society at Indiana University followed suit, establishing its own constitution and by-laws which governed practice. The front cover of the constitution states the aims of the society: "Constitutions and By-Laws of the Athenian Society of Indiana State University. Virtus, Humanitus, et Literatura [Virtue, Kindness, and Literature]." The Society's Preamble reflects the high-minded aims of the societies towards intellectual and professional development: "To the end that virtue be cultivated, humanity benefited, and literature advanced, we, the members of the Athenian Society adopt the following..." The Constitution then covers, in numerous articles, various aspects of the Society's features, such as an explanation of the roles of President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Critics; the day of the week and time when Society

meetings would be held (usually Friday evenings); and the stipulation that a member of the Athenian Society could not join any other society (1873. Administrative: Constitution and by-laws, p. 3. Collection C135).

Guidelines for Behavior

Although society constitutions often stipulated strict behavior of members, Harding (1971) notes that “a continuous diet of such fare was too much for high-spirited young men... [It is not] remarkable that the minutes of the societies should occasionally record disorder” (p. 231). The young men who wrote the Constitution’s By-laws for the Athenian Society appeared to foresee such possibilities. Offenses such as spitting and smoking during meetings, lying down or leaning against the wall, or placing one’s feet upon the furniture incurred fines ranging from five to twenty-five cents (1873. Administrative: Constitution and by-laws, p. 3. Collection C135). Society records reveal that the By-laws were put to good use, such as this entry for the meeting on October 29th, 1852: “Mr. Wilcox was fined 10 cents for lying down; Wolfe: 10 cents for talking; Read: 25 cents for disorder; Spooner: 10 cents for reading” (Minutes: 1852-55. Collection C135). These proceedings remind the contemporary student affairs professional of the similar characteristics shared by these students and those who currently inhabit our college campuses: both exhibit sincere desires for personal and intellectual growth and, at the same, periodic demonstrations of youthful spontaneity.

Social Exclusion

Societies were not always places of openness and social tolerance (Little, 2002). Although societies had methods of policing their own, as noted above, when it came to outsiders

they presented a united front. There often existed bitter rivalries between the societies on campus, the groups competing for new members or hotly battling one another over a collective bruised ego. For example, the Athenian Society was founded at Indiana in 1830, followed a year later by the Philomathean Society. The two remained keen rivals throughout their existence.

This social exclusivity was felt most keenly by students who did not belong to any society (Little, 2002). The societies acted as exclusive cliques, barring nonmembers from participation in any society activities. Since the literary society reigned as the most significant extra-curricular involvement on college campuses for over a century, those excluded from its ranks must have felt sharply the alienation and scorn of being outsiders. In addition, although women gained admittance to higher education beginning in 1837, they too were typically excluded from joining the established societies. They were viewed by both faculty and students as distractions to the primary purpose of the colleges: the intellectual and moral formation of young men (Lucas, 2006; Rudolph, 1990; Thelin, 2004). Although Indiana University was one of the first Midwestern universities to grant admission to women (Lucas, 2006), the Athenian Society remained exclusively a men’s gathering.

These reasons, among others, may have contributed to the growth of other clubs and activities in which students could invest themselves, such as the *Indiana Student*, the student newspaper founded in 1867 and ancestor to today’s *Indiana Daily Student*. The exclusiveness of the literary societies was a contributing factor to the broadening of alternative social opportunities, including the rise of athletics and fraternities. The growth of these and other extra-curricular outlets precipitated the decline of the literary

societies in the second half of the nineteenth century (DeMartini, 1976; Potter, 1954).

PRIMARY ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

Debate

The debates of the literary societies broadened the parameters of the accepted disputation procedure of the curriculum (Potter, 1954). They took place in English, not Latin, and made use of linguistic methods unwelcome in the classroom, such as humor and emotional appeal. In short, Greenstreet (1996) writes, "society debates were less formal, more fun, and more spontaneous than formal curricular disputations" (p. 4).

Some societies limited the duration of an argument to fifteen minutes (Oberlin, in 1839), while others allowed an hour and a half (Western Reserve, in 1840) (cited in Potter, 1954). Although not regularly noted in the Athenian minutes, one secretary recorded the duration of the debates that took place on October 12th, 1860: "Regular debate occupied 2 h 20', irregular 40'" (Minutes: 1856-1865. Collection C135). Although these times may have been noted due to their unusual length, it is also possible that the Athenian youth may have been especially long-winded or particularly contentious. Either way, the length of these debates suggests the intensity in which students engrossed themselves in their weekly meetings.

Debates topics were chosen by the students themselves, another feature entirely absent from the classroom curriculum (Potter, 1954). Although subjects initially mirrored those of the Latin disputations of the classroom, they soon widened to include many other issues pertaining to contemporary and personal interest. The Athenian records reveal debate topics ranging from historical and philosophical issues to contemporary political and social

concerns. The Athenians took on many difficult issues, as the following demonstrate: "*Resolved*, That universal *amnesty* and universal *suffrage* should henceforth be the policy of our government" (original emphasis; 1867-1885. Publication: Announcements/Programs. Collection C135); "Which has the greater right to complain of the Whites the Indians or the Negro's [*sic*]" (Minutes: 1856-1865. Collection C135); "Should the Constitution of the United States be so amended as to limit the eligibility of the Presidential Chair to a single term" (Minutes: 1856-1865. Collection C135); "*Resolved*, that Andrew Johnson, President of the U.S., should be impeached" (original emphasis; 1867-1885. Publication: Announcements/Programs. Collection C135). In their meetings, the Athenians did not shy away from squarely addressing the issues of the day. The Society provided for them a space of self-determination and independence, a space that granted them freedom to explore issues of personal relevance and contemporary importance (Potter, 1954).

Library

The literary society library came to play a vital function for students in the colleges of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rudolph (1977) states, "Literary society libraries almost everywhere were larger, more accessible, and broader in range of interest than the college libraries" (p. 96). The typical college library of that era was narrow in content, its volumes limited to the dead languages and other dusty subjects of the classic curriculum; few contemporary works were to be found. Moreover, student access to the college library was limited in the extreme. Because the college regarded its titles as a priceless collection requiring careful protection from the grubby hands of students, the volumes were typically stored

in a locked room that was opened only once each week to borrow and return books (Harding, 1971).

The literary societies themselves supplied the solution to these restricting and discouraging circumstances: they simply began libraries of their own. Students chose volumes that enabled them to venture into intellectual territory uncharted by the official curriculum, such as current political and social affairs, fiction, and drama (Greenstreet, 1996). Harding (1971) writes, “these student libraries frequently became larger, well-selected and carefully arranged collections, and the books were used and thumbed to an extent to which only the class text-books of that day afford a parallel” (p. 58).

By the mid-nineteenth century the Athenian and Philomathean Societies at Indiana University both maintained well-stocked libraries of their own. In fact, Harding (1971) surmises that their collections may have exceeded that of the University Library proper. Unfortunately, in 1854 most of the holdings of all three libraries were destroyed by fire.

Publications

In addition to collecting literature that was of personal interest, students also produced a variety of written materials of their own. Societies regularly produced newspapers, society “scandal sheets,” and collections of essays or orations (Greenstreet, 1996; Harding, 1971). These publications provided further opportunity to practice important communication skills and enabled students to exhibit for others the real concerns of their lives. Such latitude resulted both in the high-minded and serious and in the silly and superfluous.

In the 1840’s the Athenian Society published *The Athenian*, a collection of essays written by society members for monthly distribution to members and to the

university community. The student editors sought to maintain high standards for their small journal. In the introduction to a bound volume containing the twelve *Athenians* published in 1845, they write,

Those articles only will appear in our columns which are of a high literary character: nothing abusive or personal shall ever be published. Indeed, we wish to make the Athenian an advocate of a chase [*sic*] and elevated literature, and, at the same time, a fair exponent of the abilities of the honorary and regular members of our society. (1845. Publications: *The Athenian*, vol. 1. Collection C135)

Sample essay topics include “Synopsis of the Education of the ancient Greeks and Romans;” “Contentment;” “Money;” “Fancy;” “Old Bachelors;” “Man’s Destiny;” “The Loafer;” and “Philanthropy” (1845. Publications: *The Athenian*, vol. 1. Collection C135).

The Athenian provides evidence that members of the Athenian Society sought to address issues that were intellectually satisfying and provided edification for their readership. However, only a single collection from 1845, along with a small number of loose reprints of essays found in the same bound volume, are extant in the archives. It is possible that the 1854 fire is to blame for the absence of further publications of *The Athenian*.

An advertisement for a joint meeting between the Athenian and Philomathean Societies is also extant amongst the surviving publications of the Athenian Society. Printed in the student newspaper, this advertisement is strikingly different from typical society announcements. As stated earlier, whereas the purposes of the societies were often of a mature and intellectual nature, these were

still young people who sought to insert periodic levity into their normal routine.

The extant clipping makes for fascinating reading. The format and contents are based on the advertisements used to announce the periodic debate exhibitions that took place between the Athenian and Philomathean Societies. However, this is where the similarities end. A sarcastic, mocking tone runs throughout the announcement, in which the societies poke fun at themselves and their normal activities. It is also brimming with crude jests directed at specific members, which presumably were received good-naturedly. The headings in the announcement are variations of the customary ones: "Urine libations" instead of "Orations," "Ass brays" in place of "Essays," and "Dead formations" substituted for "Declamations." The contents of each section are given in detail, such as the question to be debated in the "De-But" section, with farcical musical numbers slotted in between (Archives reference file: Athenian and Philomathean Societies Annual Exhibition). Portions of the announcement have been provided in an Appendix for the interested reader. This announcement illuminates a very different side of society life.

The publications of the Athenian Society provide evidence that its members were capable of being serious and civic-minded young men, the sort of which Indiana University would be proud. At the same time, boys will be boys: these young men felt a need to subvert social norms and expectations, to let their sense of mischief run wild, to turn the standard practice of the society squarely on its head.

Drama and Music

Other important activities that arose in the life of the societies were dramatic and musical performances. Although drama was regarded with suspicion in the early colleges,

a view that was echoed by the newer colleges in the West, dramatic productions of various kinds appeared in society activities in the Midwest as early as 1838 (Hollatz, 1965).

The Muses were found to be active in the Athenian Society, at least on special occasions. The periodic contests between the Philomathean and Athenian Societies often included musical numbers interspersed between the evening's debates and essays (1847, September 28. Publication: Announcements/Programs, 1839-1866. Collection C135). In addition, on at least two occasions the Society minutes record plans for musical demonstrations for upcoming Athenian Society reunions. One entry, dated February 7th, 1868, states, "It was moved that a committee of fifteen (15) be appointed to produce 'music,' arrange the Chapel, and make the other necessary arrangements for the anniversary address" (Minutes: 1865-1876. Collection C135). Five years later, in January, 1873, students were again assigned the duty of preparing music for the impending anniversary festivities (Minutes: 1865-1876. Collection C135). Although not welcomed on some campuses, the young men of the Athenian Society demonstrated open-mindedness in their pursuit of these dramatic and musical expressions.

LIMITATIONS AND CAVEATS

The Indiana University Archives was the source for all Athenian Society information used for this article. However, the archives for the University's nineteenth century literary societies are not abundant. In contrast to the problem encountered by McLachlan (1974) in his study of Princeton University literary societies – "their manuscript records," he writes, "occupy almost 200 feet of shelf space" (p. 474) – the entire archive collections of the Athenian and Philomathean Societies, the two largest

societies at Indiana University, could fit comfortably into three or four file boxes.

Additionally, although I have sought to provide accurate retrieval information for all archive references, strict adherence to APA style was not always possible. The vast majority of archival information used in this paper can be found in a single source: *Athenian Society records, 1830-1886, Collection C135*. Three *Archives Reference Files* from the Indiana University Archives reference section were also used. These four archival sources are listed in the References section of this article. Unless a citation is noted to be found in one of the three *Reference Files*, it may be assumed that the material can be located in the primary source, *Collection C135*.

Masculine pronouns are used throughout the paper due to the simple fact that women were not members of the Athenian Society. Women were not admitted to American colleges until 1837, and thereafter gained admission only in a slow trickle (Lucas, 2006; Rudolph, 1990; Thelin, 2004). Even after Indiana University began to admit women, the Athenian Society continued to remain exclusively a men's gathering.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

According to McLachlan (1974), "beyond the merely anecdotal, the history of the student before the 20th century would seem to belong to the history of the inarticulate..." (p. 459). McLachlan suggests that this history has been largely dependent upon anecdotal evidence and the perspectives of administrators and the elite few. According to McLachlan's assertion, which he made in the 1970's, historians had yet to expend serious effort in understanding the actual life of the college student in

history. It is hoped that the foregoing exploration of literary societies, and of the Athenian Society at Indiana University in particular, has in a small way contributed to this effort.

A study of this kind is useful not only for illuminating the history of student life but also for its implications for current practice. Understanding how students created spaces that met their social and intellectual needs encourages contemporary student affairs professionals to allow the same sort of latitude today. Rather than yield to the temptation to initiate yet another program, practitioners may do better by providing students with the support and resources necessary to pursue their own interests by their own methods, with minimal professional interference.

Additional archival research on student life at Indiana University may continue to advance our understanding of student life, both then and now, and serve to further enhance contemporary practice. The records of the Philomathean Society, the Edgeworthalean Society, the Adelphean Society, the Century Literary Club, and the Independent Society may yield useful insight in this regard. Another promising source are the records of the student newspaper, then known as the *Indiana Student* and today called the *Indiana Daily Student*, which began publication in 1867. An additional and important development in student life was the rise to dominance of athletics and fraternities in the latter half of the century (DeMartini, 1976; Potter, 1954). How they came to challenge the literary societies, eventually replacing them as the most popular activities on campus, may also be worthy of further scholarly attention. Research on how students created new extra-curricular possibilities for themselves and negotiated a widening array of options may contribute to a greater understanding of student organizations on today's campuses.

One area of particular interest are those few literary societies that admitted women. Although women were often restricted to the periphery of student life in the nineteenth century, several societies at Indiana University freely admitted women into their ranks. For example, the Edgeworthalean Society was established solely by and for women and was active at Indiana from 1841 to 1844 (Archives reference file: Edgeworthalean Society). The Independent Society, begun in 1885, was explicitly open to both women and men from its founding (Archives reference file: Independent Literary Society). How these associations contributed to the lives of college women is another topic deserving further study. If the history of student life has typically received little attention from scholars (McLachlan, 1974), the history of student life for women students has been all but ignored. Further historical research on the lives of college women in general, and at Indiana University in particular, is an important undertaking.

The highly-regarded historian, Frederick Rudolph (1977), writes that literary societies "...imparted tremendous vitality to the intellectual life of the colleges" (p. 95). The Athenian Society was a student-created space for intellectual exploration, an alternative to the classroom that enabled members to hone their debate and oratory skills and to prepare for public vocations. These gatherings allowed students to enjoy the kinds of meaningful social interaction and creative expression they desired but which were not available in the highly regulated life of the college. The journey into their activities undertaken here serves as a reminder of the creative possibilities that young people have always possessed, and encourages the contemporary practitioner to remain ever receptive to student initiatives.

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APPENDIX

Selections from an undated farcical advertisement of a society meeting, printed in the Indiana University student newspaper

GRAND EMPTYING OF PHILO. AND ATHENIAN THUNDER MUGS.

At Indiana STATE NECESSARY, Thursday evening, April 25th, '72.

Old Doc's gone and don't give a damn.

Squirtus, finger ass et urinam.

MUSIC – I am bound to be a Bishop – by Old Doc.

CUSSIN IN – By Dam High Buck Water.

MUSIC – We must respectively resign – by Gay.

URINE LIBATIONS.

The first mug emptied will be that of the celebrated A. Wiper Fullerton, who will bounce forth in his night apparel and belch out upon the unsuspecting audience the mighty and odiferous treasures of his rational mug...

MUSIC – Gua-ard well the clappers my boy – by Spicer...

DE-BUT.

Res[olved], That (God Almighty) Thompson should be promoted for his hell rousing defence [*sic*] of the flea infected barracks of Cincinnati, by G-D.

The first to show his But on the Affl, will be Jug Winded Ewing. This long winded, lantern jawed, knock kneed, pigeon toed, bandy shanked, god forsaken renegade, who, after having damnably kidnapped, with the assistance of his belly backer, his adversaries stink, will for thirty minutes throw the rotten contents of his Thundering mug over the woe bestricken [*sic*] multitude in defence [*sic*] of bully, buck cat Jeems...

DEAD FIRMATIONS.

The first declamer [*sic*] will be Hell Monster Logsdon, who, in his usual, sore eyed, big headed, d-d awkward style, will dash from the mouth of his offensive mug, a 'Regular Roman Senate.'...

EVIL'S BLESSING – by Richard the T(h)ird.

(Archives reference file: Athenian and Philomathean Societies Annual Exhibition)

Indian International Students in American Higher Education: An Analysis of India's Cultural and Socioeconomic Norms in Light of the International Student Experience

Kimberley A. Kushner

This article examines Indian international students in American higher education. It discusses major factors influencing this student population's academic study in the United States. The article provides information about cultural and socioeconomic issues that student affairs professionals should consider when working with this minority student population. This article concludes with brief recommendations for effectively working with this diverse and dynamic student population.

Indian international students make up approximately 15.4% of the total non-immigrant international student population at American colleges and universities (Institute of International Education [IIE], 2009). Since 2001-2002, India has remained the leading place of origin for international students, and the numbers continue to grow with 103,260 undergraduate, graduate, Optional Practical Training, and those in other programs (e.g., English language programs) represented during the 2008-2009 school year (Gardner & Witherell, 2009). To adequately serve this growing international student population, it is important that student affairs professionals understand the impact of India's norms, values, and beliefs within the broader context of the American higher education international student experience. As this international population becomes more prominent within American campus culture, professionals should be sensitive to how India's diverse cultural and socioeconomic issues influence the needs and concerns faced by these international students as they work toward developing their academic, professional, familial, and personal objectives.

This article serves as a literature review, examining research about Indian international students and providing

information about cultural and socioeconomic issues that student affairs professionals should consider when working with this minority group. It discusses factors that shape American study, including the role of the family, traditional Indian gender norms, and globalization. It is important to note that the themes and trends discussed in this article do not represent all Indian international students. Similar to other international student populations, Indian students have varied religious, sociolinguistic, and cultural backgrounds that influence their experiences abroad. However, through presenting practical information grounded in relevant research, this article serves as a resource to further support this dynamic student population.

FACTORS INFLUENCING INDIAN INTERNATIONAL STUDENT STUDY IN THE UNITED STATES

To understand Indian international students' diverse experiences in American higher education, it is important to analyze literature that introduces relevant trends relating to this population. This section addresses primary reasons that Indian international students study in the United States and presents pertinent information about other demographics, such as primary

fields of study and how this population finances their education abroad.

Primary Reasons for Study in the United States

The attraction for Indian international students to study in the United States is growing, and it has changed significantly throughout the decades. According to Lavakare (2007), during the early 1960s, American universities mainly attracted graduate and doctoral students from India in areas of natural sciences, physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics. These students earned upper level degrees difficult to acquire in India during this time. The American higher education system depended on this graduate student population for research projects sponsored by funding agencies. Throughout the 1970s-1990s, India underwent periods of major increases and decreases in the number of students studying in the United States; beginning in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, however, the number of students from India increased dramatically and continues to grow steadily (IIE, 2003). Although there is still a large recruitment effort for graduate and doctoral candidates, sustained growth also occurs within undergraduate recruitment and enrollment.

Dewan (2008) supports Lavakare's (2007) research when he writes about the main reasons for this continued growth of Indian students enrolling in American higher education. One primary reason is the Indian government's economic liberation policies, providing increased social mobility and access to educational opportunities both in India and abroad. Another reason involves India's extraordinary economic growth throughout the beginning of the twenty-first century. This growth has increased India's ability to provide education loans from dollars per student in the 1970s to thousands

of dollars per student for contemporary study abroad options (Dewan, 2008). A further reason for this increase concerns the number of quality higher education institutions in India and their inability to sustain India's population growth and demand for postsecondary education. Since India declared its independence from Great Britain in 1947, the country has developed one of the largest higher education systems in the world (Gupta, 2008). However, with over ten million students currently enrolled in Indian institutions, competition for admission often forces these students to find other higher education options (Dewan, 2008).

Dewan (2008) continues his analysis, stating that a fourth reason why many Indian students study in the United States relates to the American dollar's weakness compared to other worldwide currencies. This weakness makes American higher education more economically appealing, ultimately increasing the diversity of Indian students pursuing degrees abroad. Although the aforementioned reasons are primary motives for pursuing an American education, research shows that Indian students also feel that the prestige of an American degree is important (Altbach, 2004; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). American higher education's reputation attracts this student population, as they see increased academic and socioeconomic opportunities for advancement within the United States' "globally disseminated culture" (Altbach, 2004, p. 4).

Primary Fields of Study and Majors in the United States

Business and management are the most popular fields of study for international students in the United States, followed by engineering, and physical and life sciences (IIE, 2009). Khadria (2004) writes that this popularity holds true amongst many Asian

and Indian international students, who primarily study engineering, technology, and management. Over the past decade, there have been increases in Indian students studying arts, law, and medicine, as well as expanded diversity in the types of American postsecondary institutions that these students attend. In the past, Indian international students often enrolled in Ivy League institutions due to the prestige of degree and research opportunities (Lavakare, 2007). However, as opportunities for mobility increase and more Indian students with varying interests enter the United States, further options at public, private, and community colleges are more affordable and available.

Financing American Higher Education

Indian international students are willing to pay higher fees for American higher education due to its prestige in both India and worldwide (Gupta, 2008). Marginson and McBurnie (2004) support this argument when they write that these students believe a foreign degree will enhance their professional opportunities while also increasing their educational and financial mobility. Similar to other international students attending American higher education institutions, the majority of Indian international students' primary funding comes from sources outside of the United States (Gardner & Witherell, 2008). Parents or other family members provide approximately 66% of funding and bank loans provide an additional 27% (Bhushan, 2006, as cited by Gupta, 2008).

Although research illustrates increases in mobility and diversity within the demographics of Indian students attending American universities, the high cost of international education can deter many lower and working-class Indians from applying and enrolling (Lavakare, 2007).

Nevertheless, many families invest significant funds for educational pursuits, hoping that their children will obtain profitable jobs after graduation and cover the expenses by giving back to the family (Lavakare, 2007). This hope enforces an interdependent relationship discussed in the next section of this article.

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE INDIAN INTERNATIONAL STUDENT'S EXPERIENCE

To better understand Indian international students' experiences at American higher education institutions, it is important to analyze the diverse cultural and socioeconomic factors to consider when working with this subgroup. In particular, research indicates that the traditional Indian family structure greatly influences Indian international students' personal, professional, familial, and academic objectives as they study in the United States (Das & Kemp, 1997; Segal, 1991; Suryakantham Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994). For many Indian international students, the family structure is inherently different from Western European and American family structures. This structure creates an "interdependent group of people whose concerns are not for themselves as individuals, but for the family as a whole... the responsibility is to family before self" (Das & Kemp, 1997, p. 25). Parents often raise children to be respectful and obedient; they teach their children to demonstrate good behavior to bring honor to their family (Segal, 1991). Because Indian families invest considerable finances in sending their children to American universities, choices in study and career objectives are often "heavily influenced, if not dictated, by the family" (Segal, 1991, p. 235). Indian students may feel conflicted studying in the United States where society teaches values such as

“individualism, independence, and self-sufficiency” and where American students have more freedom to study what they please instead of feeling pressures toward family goals (Suryakantham Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994, p. 99). Thus, for Indian students studying in American campus culture, financial responsibility can generate juxtaposition between individualism and familial accountability, often creating complicated collectivist and hierarchal relationships.

Moreover, the traditional interdependent Indian family structure is also important because it often brings intense demands to succeed personally, professionally, and academically. Similar to other Asian international student populations, academic achievement and success are highly esteemed (Nilsson, Butler, Shouse, & Joshi, 2008). There is an expected norm that all Indian students succeed at the university level; if the individual student does not achieve, a belief exists that lack of success can negatively affect the family’s reputation (Segal, 1991). Many Indian families aspire that their children achieve “social and economic mobility in India’s very competitive society” (Altbach, 1993, p. 11). Therefore, they believe that their children will have more success if they earn a college degree, especially from an American institution that holds an impressive reputation (Altbach, 1993). Not all Indian international students can live up to these idealistic expectations. Furthermore, because these students often depend on their family group for financial and psychological support, these expectations can elevate their stress, making them feel like a failure since communal resources invest heavily in their success (Nilsson, et al., 2008; Segal, 1991). Within the interdependent system where collective resources finance the individual’s education, Indian students can feel an intense obligation to give back once they achieve their family’s

goals of financial and academic accomplishment.

GENDER ROLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE INDIAN INTERNATIONAL STUDENT’S EXPERIENCE

Gender roles in Indian society are also important in examining the diverse needs of Indian international students in the United States. Traditionally, Indian culture is “very patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal, resulting in entitlements for being male” (Root, 1998, p. 220). There are distinct lines defining male and female gender roles. According to Ibrahim, Ohnishi, and Sandhu (1997), the conventional domain “outside of the home is managed by men and the one inside the home is managed by the women” (p. 40). Males are often highly favored because they “act as the head of the household, primary wage earners, decision makers, and disciplinarians” (Segal, 1991, p. 235). In contrast, women often serve a subordinate role, acting as *caretakers* and *preservers* of Indian cultural traditions (Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002; Segal, 1991; Sue, 1981). Women are traditionally defined as successful if they can obtain a well-financed dowry for marriage and continue the family’s lineage by raising children and showing compliance toward their husbands (Farver, et al., 2002; Ghuman, 1997; Root, 1998). Thus, a hierarchal structure significantly influences Indian gender roles. Men typically have more access to personal autonomy and educational opportunities, while often restricting women from these types of resources.

According to Maslak and Singhal (2008), although a history of patriarchal structure has instilled these traditional gender roles in much of the contemporary Indian population, the twentieth and twenty-first centuries produced important social changes, challenging female identity as it had

been conventionally recognized. For many middle and upper class families, contemporary Indian society prioritizes education for both male and female children. The woman's role has expanded outside of the home to provide a less hierarchical and more flexible means to gain social mobility along with academic and professional success. However, although women's roles may have changed, many Indian parents still watch over their daughters more strictly, especially when these daughters study abroad and do not have the physical dependence on the family structure (Farver, et al., 2002).

Maslak and Singhal (2008) continue to analyze female Indian international students when they examine the relationship between pressures to succeed and the sense of personal duty to give back to the family. Although most female Indian students are in the United States to obtain a postsecondary degree, their parents often emphasize the need to find an Indian husband and raise a family after graduation, thereby perpetuating traditional Indian gender stereotypes and hierarchy. Therefore, as tradition and modernity intersect within the lives of these students, a struggle often exists to balance familial responsibilities within the new cultural environment designed by their own academic and professional aspirations. This intersection of tradition and modernity can generate anxiety and stress, further intensifying cultural adjustment issues (Constantine, Kindaichi, Okazaki, Gainor, & Baden, 2005). Female Indian students may feel conflicted pursuing their own objectives without the restraints of present and future familial responsibilities.

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE INDIAN INTERNATIONAL STUDENT EXPERIENCE

The Traditional Indian Caste System

In recent decades, India has transformed from a traditional society to one of the fastest growing economies in the world (Jahanbegloo, 2008). Altbach (1993) stresses that this expansion takes place at all societal levels, especially in "all levels of the academic system—from increases in postgraduate and professional education to massive expansion of undergraduate arts and sciences colleges throughout the country, including to smaller towns and even to rural areas" (p. 11). He supports this statement by writing that the availability of more places to obtain postsecondary degrees has become a "top priority of the aspiring middle class and to growing segments of the upwardly mobile rural and urban poor" (p. 11). As India's population continues to increase and education becomes more accessible, globalization becomes a prominent socioeconomic phenomenon that greatly affects many Indian international students' experiences in the United States.

Vidyasagar Reddy (2006) defines globalization as "a process of change that affects all regions of the world in a variety of areas including the economy, politics, education, culture and the environment" (p. 344). The results of globalization include "the integration of research, the use of English as the lingua franca for scientific communication, the growing international labor and [educational] market for scholars and scientists...and the use of information technology" to aid in worldwide communication, education, and commerce (Altbach & Knight, 2006, p. 1). For some Indian students, globalization means increased opportunities to study in the United States and achieve social mobility

away from conventional societal roles. In particular, the decreased role of the traditional Indian caste system as a controlling socioeconomic construct greatly influences the role of globalization, especially for Indian international students from middle, rural, and urban poor socioeconomic statuses.

Migration into Indian cities along with increased educational opportunities and globalization have significantly altered the traditional Indian caste system and its effect on educational, socioeconomic and cultural mobility. According to Deshpande (2000), the Indian caste system is almost 3,000 years old. The ancient Hindu society divided the population into five “mutually exclusive, exhaustive, hereditary, endogamous, and occupation-specific *Varnas* (translated into English as castes)” (p. 322). Deshpande continues by listing the caste levels, including the *Brahmins* (priests/teachers), the *Kshatriyas* (warriors, royalty), the *Vaisyas* (moneylenders, traders), the *Sudras* (menial jobs), and the *Ati Sudras* (*the untouchables*, the lowest of the menial jobs). For centuries, a person’s caste affiliation determined all aspects of his/her existence. However, during the last six decades, increased efforts to equalize opportunities among different socioeconomic classes began, including a decline in higher education inequalities (Chauhan, 2008). The Indian population’s increased movement to cities ultimately “disrupts the prescriptions of caste that are still found in towns and villages from which the many new large-city residents have migrated” (Mehta & Belk, 1991, p. 401). In the context of Indian international students’ experiences, the caste system plays a significant role; the types of students attending American institutions have diversified due to the decreased emphasis on this traditional social stratification system (Chauhan, 2008). Modernization and globalization work to reduce socioeconomic

inequalities, influencing how families seek social mobility opportunities through financing education abroad.

The Role of the Brain Drain and Brain Gain

Globalization is also important in understanding Indian international students’ experiences due to its role in the creation of the concepts *brain drain* and *brain gain*. According to Meredith (2008), in the past when Indian students graduated from college abroad, they often continued to live outside of India to earn higher salaries and pursue their professional interests. Altbach (2005) supports Meredith’s assertion by stating that “the talent migration was once called a brain drain because departing [students] retained few, if any...links with their home countries” (p. 68). Due to the increasing role of globalization in Indian society, contemporary Indian international students stay better connected with their home country, and often do not feel the same type of stress to remain in the United States or move to other Westernized countries to succeed (Altbach, 2005). As India’s economy continues to grow and brain drain reverses to an economic and cultural brain gain, social mobility and educational opportunities become increasingly accessible (Marginson & McBurnie, 2004; Meredith, 2008). As more Indian students obtain a prestigious American degree, they often stay further connected to and invested in their Indian heritages, creating brain gain as they bring the skills and expertise learned abroad to their home country.

WORKING WITH INDIAN INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Family structure, gender roles, and globalization are three important issues that

student affairs professionals should take into account when working with Indian international students in American higher education. In analyzing these issues, it is important that professionals “adopt many helping roles in serving [these] international students, including being counselors, advocates, resource persons, mentors, and facilitators” (Carr, Koyama, & Thiagarajan, 2003, p. 133). In particular, professionals must be aware of the model minority stereotype and its influence on Indian international students’ experiences. Leong and Schneller (1997) state that, “traditionally, Asian Americans have been pointed to as the ‘successful minority’ [in American society] and have been perceived as above-average in intelligence and education” (p. 75). Because of this Asian American minority model, American students often group other Asian international subpopulations into this stereotype, including Indian international students. Although the traditional Indian family structure and gender roles enhance this model minority stereotype by encouraging Indian students to be achievement-oriented, practitioners should be sensitive that this need to achieve may cause social and academic isolation for this student subgroup (Leong & Schneller, 1997; Nilsson, et al., 2008). Professionals can help ease Indian international students’ adjustment to pressures based on family expectations and model minority stereotypes by creating supportive environments where these students can better understand their experiences and feel more comfortable adjusting to American culture according to their own developmental needs (Carr, et al., 2003; Lin & Yi, 1997). Unfortunately, little research exists on how to effectively produce these supportive environments for this particular student population (Suryakantham Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994). However, in utilizing relevant counseling and mental

health research related to other Asian international student populations (Atri & Sharma, 2006; Byon, Chan, & Thomas, 1999; Carr, et al., 2003; Heggins & Jackson, 2003; Lin & Yi, 1997; Yoon & Jepsen, 2008; Zhang & Dixon, 2003), professionals can better recognize the transitional needs and potential barriers that this student population faces within the United States.

Another recommendation for higher education is not to generalize the Indian international student experience within American higher education. According to Atri and Sharma (2006), a “stereotype of homogeneity [leads]...many researchers to mistakenly focus on this extremely diverse, multicultural, multilingual, and multiethnic assortment as a homogenous populace” (p. 136). Professionals must understand that these students come from various cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds, have different academic and familial objectives, and cope with assimilation and acculturation stresses in different manners. Practitioners must be cautious in generalizing the identity development of Indian international students and “allow [these] students to ‘name themselves and their identities’” like any other minority group on campus (Poynter & Washington, 2005, p. 46). When working with Indian international students, it is very important that student affairs professionals remember that there is not one way of displaying Indian tradition and identity; rather, Indian international students need to be able to express and make meaning of their multiple identity dimensions simultaneously.

CONCLUSION

For many Indian international students, studying in the United States “has opened up new opportunities for education and research in frontline areas, with an increasing access to the growing global

employment market" (Lavakare, 2007, ¶ 3). As more Indian students choose to study in American higher education institutions, it is important that student affairs professionals create welcoming and safe environments for these students. These environments will better enable this minority subgroup to adjust positively to developmental and environmental stresses as they aim to fulfill their academic, professional, familial, and personal objectives. Much of the research analyzed in this article deals with cultural and socioeconomic issues this student population can face throughout their experience studying and living abroad. This article recommends that future research continue to recognize the extreme religious, sociolinguistic, and cultural diversity of Indian international students to avoid generalizations in this important area of international student research.

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A Cultural Perspective for Understanding How Campus Environments Perpetuate Rape-Supportive Culture

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This article explores the promotion of a rape-supportive culture in three distinct environments: a university residence hall common area, football tailgate event, and a bar. Key features of a rape-supportive culture are the acceptance of rape myths, promotion of hegemonic masculinity, and peer support. Our findings indicate the existence of rape-supportive culture through male controlled environments, use of women as entertainment, influence of interactions between men, and the desensitization of sex.

Sexual violence is a problem that affects most college and university campuses. Studies show there is a higher risk of sexual violence for college-going women than women in the general population (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004). Carr and VanDeusen (2004) found that 20% of all female students experience a sexual assault during college. Even more, in a study sampling college men, they found that roughly 30% of respondents stated they would commit rape if they were sure they had no chance of getting caught (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004). Another study found 1 in 12 college men committed rape according to the legal definition, but a large majority of them did not consider their actions to be rape or illegal (Ouimette & Riggs, 1998). This shows a lack of understanding among men of what constitutes sexual violence, and by stating they would commit sexual violence if there were no ramifications, it is clear some college men have little regard for their female counterparts.

The issue of sexual violence has been studied and documented over the last 30 years, and in that time colleges and universities across the country have acted on the need to develop sexual violence prevention programs. Many of these programs focus on changing the attitudes of students in regard to sexual violence,

including decreasing student acceptance of rape myths, increasing understanding of consent, and increasing empathy for survivors (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007; Foubert & Newberry, 2006). It is clear from previous research that sexual violence is a prevalent issue, particularly on a college campus, yet many misconceptions about the issue still remain.

Part of the issue may be due to the information students, staff, and faculty members receive about sexual violence. Every university is required by the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (Clery Act), enacted in 1998, to report and distribute statistics on specific criminal offenses, including acts of sexual violence. Institutions are mandated to report crimes that involve students and have been reported to campus security or police. However, it has been found that most universities report no more than a few sexual assault incidents a year (Fischer, Hartman, Cullen, & Turner, 2002).

This discrepancy between research findings of the prevalence of sexual violence and numbers reported by institutions causes some to question whether sexual violence is still an issue on the college campus. For example, MacDonald (2008) argues a rape crisis on college campuses does not exist and believes research misrepresents what

students consider to be normal interactions. Further, MacDonald believes if sexual assault was occurring at high rates it would show in the number of incidents reported by students.

Others argue research findings are a more accurate depiction of what is happening on college campuses and the lack of reporting is due to rape-supportive values on campus (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2000). If students accept rape-supportive values they are more likely to believe experiences, which may be considered sexual assault, are not out of the ordinary (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2000). Students are then less likely to report, because they view these experiences as normal interactions (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2000).

From such a perspective, there are aspects of the general college environment that encourage the development of rape-supportive beliefs and values, but it is unclear how specific campus environments promote them. The purpose of this study was to explore the concept of rape-supportive culture and examine to what extent certain campus environments perpetuate rape-supportive beliefs and values. Our findings illustrate the varying degrees in which rape-supportive culture is perpetuated in these environments. Lastly, this study provides recommendations for institutions in regards to addressing the issue of sexual violence on their campuses.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Defining Sexual Violence

Consensus about what constitutes sexual violence has been elusive. Some limit sexual violence to situations involving physical force (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). Another approach considers sexual coercion, focusing on the use of power and control

through language rather than physical force (Kelly & Radford, 1998). Sexual violence is further defined as sex obtained without the other person's consent (rather than as sex obtained using force), which places responsibility for explicitly seeking sexual consent on the individual (Kelly & Radford, 1998). For the purpose of this study, we define sexual violence as an attempted or completed sexual act, in which one or more parties involved does not provide consent, which can involve sexual coercion and physical force. For the purpose of this study, a sexual act will be defined as any physical contact sexual in nature, including touching, fondling, kissing, oral sex, and/or intercourse (Finkelhor, D., Hotaling, G., Lewis, I.A., Smith, C., 1990).

Culture

Culture is the collective pattern of "institutional history, mission, physical settings, norms, traditions, values, practices, beliefs and assumptions" (Kuh & Hall, 1993, p. 2). Patterns influence both individual and group behavior. In an institutional culture, these behaviors are created from relationships built over time (e.g. friends, classmates and faculty) and form a shared understanding of a phenomenon that perpetuates and reflects an institution's individual characteristics (Kuh & Hall, 1993). The behaviors provide a frame to make meaning of cultural experiences of the individual and community (Kuh & Hall, 1993).

Cultural artifacts help us to better understand environments (Kuh & Hall, 1993). Artifacts are the tangible aspects of culture. These aspects encompass physical, behavioral and verbal artifacts. Physical artifacts surround people and provide immediate sensory stimuli in the environment. Artifacts on a college campus are structures (e.g. landscaping and clock

towers) and objects (e.g. t-shirts and course syllabi). Behavioral artifacts include rituals and ceremonies, such as induction and commencement ceremonies, homecoming parades, and athletic events (Kuh & Hall, 1993). These behaviors provide students with interactions unique to their culture that connect them to the institution and help build unity and tradition among the population. Language, stories, and myths are examples of verbal artifacts in a culture that are manifested in stories told of historical moments, information from older students about professors and courses, and terminology specific to the students and local community (Kuh & Hall, 1993). For the purpose of this study, artifacts are the tangible aspects that show evidence of a rape-supportive or non-rape-supportive culture within an environment. These artifacts can be expressed through, but not limited to, preventative programming, campus and community traditions, and literature available to the campus community.

Rape-Supportive Culture

A rape-supportive culture is an environment containing a set of beliefs and values that are conducive to and support rape (Boswell & Spade, 1996). Although it is believed there are environments in which sexual violence is most likely to occur (e.g. colleges and universities), this concept describes the surrounding belief system that promotes sexual violence (Boswell & Spade, 1996). It is important to recognize that although it is named a *rape* culture, it focuses on the promotion of all types of sexual violence. Within this type of environment there are a few key features that support rape and sexual violence. They include: a) acceptance of rape myths, b) promotion of hegemonic masculinity, and c) peer support (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Acceptance of Rape Myths.

The scholarly definition of rape myths has evolved over the past thirty years. Rape myths are defined as false attitudes and beliefs, generally based on stereotypes and prejudices that remove responsibility from men and encourage sexually aggressive behavior toward women (Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Acceptance of these rape myths has been connected to the likelihood of an individual's inclination to use sexual force (Briere & Malamuth, 1983; Eyssel, Bohner & Siebler, 2006; Kimmel, 2008). Rape myths create a limited view of what constitutes rape. For example, one common myth is the notion that rape involves a stranger who violently assaults the victim (Schafran, n.d.; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). When a situation falls outside this view, the perpetrator justifies or rationalizes his or her actions because it is not viewed as rape. Rape myths allow perpetrators, victims and bystanders to believe there is nothing wrong with nonconsensual sex as long as it does not meet their personal definition of rape. This rationalization causes perpetrators to believe their actions deserve lesser sanctions because they do not believe they have done anything wrong (Carr & VanDuesen, 2004).

Promotion of Hegemonic Masculinity.

In addition to rape myths, gender scripts and roles such as hypermasculinity in men contribute to a false understanding of sexual violence (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In exploring these effects further, scholars (e.g., Pappas, McKenry, & Catleet, 2004; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) have discussed hegemonic masculinity, the dominant form of masculinity, which others aspire to obtain. In our society, hegemonic masculinity

represents aggression, homophobia, emotional detachment, and a desire for high status positions among men (Capraro, 2000; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). In the college environment, fraternal masculinity has been described as the hegemonic form of masculinity (Syrett, 2009). This concept of masculinity is essential to the understanding of a rape-supportive culture, because it dictates the actions of other men within the culture. Syrett (2009) argues this in his description of White male fraternities. Not only did students aspire to possess the masculine characteristics of fraternity men, but due to the historical exclusion of others (on the basis of gender, class, race, sexual orientation, etc.) by White fraternities, alienated students began to develop organizations that closely reflected the values of these fraternity men (Syrett, 2009).

Men have been found to be aggressive towards women in both intimate and non-intimate settings (Pappas, McKenry & Catlett, 2004). This aggression, when coupled with the desire to achieve high status or security in gender identity through sex, causes men to believe it is acceptable to “work a yes out of a woman” (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Kimmel (2008) explains “It’s a way that guys compete with each other, establish a pecking order of cool studliness, and attempt to move up in their rankings” (p. 207).

Masculinity creates a difficult paradox for men. Men as a group are socially more powerful than women; however, as individuals the incongruence between one’s self and hegemonic masculinity causes them to feel powerless (Capraro, 2000). This incongruence occurs whether or not a man has conformed to hegemonic masculinity (Capraro, 2000). To combat this threat, men empower themselves by objectifying women (Edwards & Headrick, 2008; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Objectification is the process in which men view women as less significant, which in turn allows men to

remove themselves from femininity and further their male superiority (Bird, 1996; Edwards & Headrick, 2008; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Objectification of women is present both in language (e.g. music lyrics) and physical objects, both of which assist in the creation of rape-supportive culture (Edwards & Headrick, 2008).

Peer Support.

Along with the concepts of masculinity and objectification of women, a rape-supportive culture includes a sense of male peer support. It is argued that when men gather together in male dominated spaces, their interactions often position women as the weaker sex (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Studies have looked into the impact of male athletic teams and fraternities (Boeringer, 1999; Boswell & Spade, 1996; Pappas, McKenry, Catlett, 2004). Groups such as these reinforce the need for men to strive for hegemonic masculinity, because if their actions differ from the norm they are subject to ridicule and harassment (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). As a result, men do not confront other men who marginalize women because they do not want to be marginalized themselves (Kimmel, 2008). Additionally, men demean women as a way to establish intimacy with each other (Capraro, 2000; Quinn, 2002). Demeaning women as a means to connect with other men shows that peer support and the perceived need to conform are key factors in the perpetuation of a rape-supportive culture.

While research has shown male dominated spaces on campus (e.g. fraternity houses) perpetuate a rape-supportive culture (Boeringer, 1999; Boswell & Spade, 1996; Pappas, McKenry, Catlett, 2004), questions remain about whether and how environments where both genders are present perpetuate a rape-supportive

culture. In our study, we seek to answer the following questions: First, do three distinct campus environments perpetuate a rape-supportive culture? And second, what artifacts within those environments contribute to the perpetuation of a rape-supportive culture?

METHODS

Site Selection

The overall site of our research is a four-year public university with a total enrollment of over 40,000 students. The student population is evenly distributed between genders, 50.4% female and 49.6% male. The university's focus is to prepare students academically and provide a support network in the form of various programs and resources offered on campus. We interpret this as the university placing an emphasis on both curricular and co-curricular experiences. Many of these experiences revolve around traditions typically associated with university life, such as athletics and Greek life, which have a strong presence on campus.

Although a university-wide definition of sexual violence does not exist, there are many resources both on and off campus for students, staff, and faculty regarding the issue. The institution attempts to educate students about sexual violence in a variety of ways, including through publications and passive and active programming. Most of the educational efforts come from two separate offices on campus. These offices provide resources for survivors of sexual violence and provide educational programming to students focused on reversing students' belief of rape myths and furthering students' understanding of consent (personal communication, October 8, 2009).

We have selected three specific environments for our study: (a) a common area in a residence center; (b) a football tailgate event; and (c) a local bar. These sites were easily accessible for data collection and rapport had been previously established. Each environment was selected based on its association and proximity to the institution and impact on the student experience.

Freshmen are required to live in one of the university's residence centers during their first year. A total of 27% of the student body lives on campus (personal communication, November 3, 2009). The common area at a residence center was selected as an environment because the majority of students have been impacted by a residence center environment due to the live-in requirement. Of the three environments we observed, the residence center has the most direct connection to the university's mission. Residence centers are required to host educational programs, which are typically planned and implemented by resident assistants who gain approval from their supervisor, ensuring congruence with the university's educational mission.

The selected residence center houses over 1000 students and is almost evenly distributed among men and women (51% female). There are 5 buildings, which contain a total of 23 floors. Of these floors, 7 are female only, 6 are male only, and 10 are co-educational. The specific space we observed is located in the central building and is connected to the main entrance containing a theatre and game space. This is a co-educational space frequently used by residents (personal communication, November 2, 2009).

The second environment we observed was a football tailgate event. The football tailgate event is located in the parking lots and field adjacent to the university football and basketball stadiums. The tailgate area is typically separated into three sections

depending on where the participants decide to congregate. One of these areas is sponsored by the alumni association, and is known as the “ultimate tailgating destination.” Groups are able to reserve a tailgate spot in advance and the remaining spots are open to the public.

This environment was selected because the tailgate event takes place on university grounds with university support but is not exclusively controlled by the university. There are external influences affecting the tailgate environment including alumni and community members not affiliated with the university. The environment is loosely regulated by the university, but in general there are not restrictions on who can participate in the tailgate events.

The third environment we observed was a bar near campus. This environment is not officially affiliated with the university, but is predominantly populated by university students and exists to serve students. We recognize its physical location is not on campus, but the environment has an impact on the student experience.

Data Collection

For this study, data was collected through naturalistic observation; we did not interfere with any of the interactions that occurred during our observations. As our research examined the culture of the environments, there were no participants in our study. The reason for choosing naturalistic observation was so as a research team we would be able to truly observe and attempt to understand the cultural artifacts that are present in the environment. Using the literature on rape-culture and sexual violence as a guide, we established loose criteria for rape-supportive verbal, behavioral, and physical artifacts. In establishing loose criteria, researchers were

able to take more general field notes of the overall environment, in an effort to understand the cultural aspects of it. Examples include sexually suggestive music lyrics (verbal), fondling or touching (behavioral), and articles of clothing (physical). We observed each environment for a total of one hour on one occasion.

The residence center lounge was observed on a Thursday night between 10:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. The lounge is particularly active at this time with students coming and going, and others choosing to spend their evening socializing in the lounge. All five members of our team were stationed throughout the room to observe and take field notes.

Observations of the tailgate event took place during the morning of a home football game. The game began at noon, and observations took place between 10:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m. Observations were focused on a reserved area of the tailgate event. Four members of the team were present for this observation. The team members circulated throughout the area and made field notes of cultural artifacts in the environment.

The selected bar has a reputation for being the last stop on a night out on the town. Our observations took place between 12:30 a.m. and 1:30 a.m. on a Thursday night/ Friday morning, which is a high activity time for the bar. All five members of the team participated in this observation.

Data Analysis

Field notes of each environment were taken by the researchers present in accordance with our criteria of rape-supportive culture as established by the literature. Field notes were compiled into one document, and analyzed as a collective. Data were coded through an open coding method that allowed us to make meaning of the data. In this step we were not looking for

specifics, but for broad categories that were present across the data. Researchers identified codes that interacted across artifact types. We did not differentiate between trends that were occurring within specific artifacts, but instead identified codes that were seen across all artifact types. From this we moved toward focused coding, meaning we took the most significant of the previously established codes in an effort to pursue those more analytically. These interacting codes yielded themes. Themes reflective of a rape-supportive culture, as they relate to our literature review and our research questions, were then identified.

Validity/Trustworthiness

All members participated in the data analysis. This reduced the possibility that the results of our research represent only the idiosyncratic views of one individual researcher. Additionally, our instructor, project advisor, and classmates provided reflection and input on our work. This peer review and debriefing helped to limit the effect of our bias influencing our research.

Bias and Limitations

In order to clarify our individual bias as researchers, we reflected on our own subjectivity of the subject of sexual violence. Through our experiences we have been exposed to university sexual violence prevention programs and have worked with staff to expand educational initiatives. We know from the literature that sexual violence is a prevalent issue on college campuses (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007; Foubert & Newberry, 2006; Ouimette & Riggs, 1998). In addition, the study focused on heterosexist views of society and sexual violence. Part of our bias revolves around the fact that the majority of sexual assaults involve a man attacking a woman, which may influence our

perspective of the environments observed. Therefore, we assume that most perpetrators are men, and men have a role in perpetuating rape-supportive culture. This may also be influenced by the gender breakdown of our research team being four females and one male.

In this study, we only collected data from each location for a total of one hour on one occasion, which can be a limitation of our research. Additionally, the students in each of the environments could have been different, which means the impact of the environment could have been different. Although the students were not the focus of our study, they have an influence on the environment of which the students can internalize differently. The events and incidences that occurred during our observations could be situations that happened with the students in that particular environment in isolation. Further, the bar restricts entry of persons under the age of 21, which influences the demographics of the environment.

FINDINGS

Male Controlled Environments

In all three environments we gained a sense that men were in control. Although both men and women were present, men were in the dominant position in all three environments. In some instances, women entered spaces that were established by men. Often men not only provided the space, but enticed women with alcohol and music. Men exerted their masculinity, particularly aggressive behavior, to establish their position within the environments.

At the tailgate event, many of the spots belonged to a group of men. Several of the groups were associated with a fraternity and could easily be identified by

organization. The men generally congregated around the vehicle parked at their tailgate spot, while the women traveled around the tailgate field. In addition, the men set the tone of the event by selecting and playing the music. If a grill or food was present at the tailgate site, the men had provided that also.

Nearly every tailgate spot had a sports utility vehicle (SUV) or truck, not a small car. Several groups brought large speaker systems in order to play music. We observed one man open the trunk of his SUV, which was filled to the top with cases of beer. Groups passed around half gallons of vodka, which the men and women drank directly from the bottle. Many of the groups had tables that were used to play drinking games. While we observed women moving through the tailgate area, larger congregations developed at spots with large SUVs, loud music, and large quantities of alcohol. These artifacts served as status symbols for men and attracted more women to their area. A parallel can be drawn to fraternity parties hosted by groups of men, with women traveling to and from the parties, which previous research has shown is conducive to a rape-supportive culture (Boreinger, 1999).

Male control and the need to express one's masculinity fostered an atmosphere of aggression. The volume of the music was loud enough that people had to shout to talk to one another. Furthermore, the lyrics and beat of the music played were often hostile in nature. While the men more often sat and watched the women dance, when a particularly aggressive song was played, the men in the area jumped up and danced, formed a circle, pushed each other around the space and shouted along to the lyrics, "ya'll gonna make me lose my cool", "I gotta get my dick sucked," and "don't be fuckin' with me, you ain't strong enough."

At the bar, the scene was not much different. In general, the men arrived before the women and secured a table or spot along

the bar. As the women arrived, they approached the bar to get a drink and then squeezed around tables already occupied by men. In addition to controlling the space, men also controlled the alcohol. While some women did purchase alcohol at the bar, men were frequently observed purchasing alcohol for women. In this scenario, it seems the manly thing to do is purchase alcohol for women.

Both disc jockeys at the bar were men, playing many of the same songs we heard at the tailgate event. Some songs were violent in nature and nearly all contained sexually suggestive lyrics. An example of the lyrics include, "baby when it's love, if it isn't rough it isn't fun."

Although the residence center game room was different from the previous environments in many ways, some aspects of the environment were similar to those in the tailgate and bar environments. We still observed a sense of male control in the game room. In this environment we witnessed how male control promotes aggressive behavior. Two men argued in the center of the room. We were unable to hear entirely what the argument was about, pieces overheard were about a situation that occurred recently between the two, which caused one to no longer trust the other. The fact that others were in the room and passing by did not seem to influence their conversation. Their argument became progressively louder before they finally walked away. Therefore, we see that even though some male control and aggressive behavior was exhibited in the residence center, it was less than in the other two environments.

Women as Entertainment

During our observations, there were several instances women were viewed as objects performing for the men present. As

we explained earlier, men were in control of the environments, and they were strategic in how they placed themselves in the environments in order to more easily be entertained by women. Furthermore, men did not only accept women as entertainment, but they celebrated their peers' accomplishments, giving high-fives and cheering each other on when they witnessed a friend dancing with or getting close to a woman. This supports the idea that men demean women as a means to create bonds with each other and conform to hegemonic masculinity (Capraro, 2000; Quinn, 2002). It is important to recognize that this peer support did not appear to be from strangers, but from friends or acquaintances.

At the tailgate event, we observed three men sitting on the top of a SUV talking to each other and drinking beer. It did not take long to realize, however, they were watching the women walking by and dancing near their vehicle. Although we could not hear what they were saying, we observed them pointing, leaning in to talk to one another, laughing, and cheering. This was not an isolated incident, but a common scene at the tailgate event. At many of the tailgate spaces, men were sitting at the highest point watching while women danced below. Women served as their entertainment.

The bar had a similar scene. We observed men watching women both on and off the dance floor. In one instance, a woman was dancing and as the man she was dancing with began to move closer, his three friends at the table next to him watched with interest. Soon the pair began to dance very closely, and the man began touching the woman while his friends watched. When this happened, his friends began to point, cheer, and high-five each other. The three men at the table were not interacting with anyone else.

Additionally, women were portrayed as entertainment in the music played at both

the tailgate event and the bar. Most of the songs played were sung by men about women, encouraging women to perform for them. One example of a song played includes a man singing lyrics about women, asking her to "take off that polka dot bikini, girl". Furthermore, none of the songs played during our observations referred to women as such; women were called "girls," "bitches," or "hoes." Although these songs are not limited to being listened to by college students, these were the songs selected and heard by the students in these environments.

Interactions Between Men

It is apparent that peer support is influential in the actions and behaviors of men (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). However, it does not seem as though the peer support comes from just anyone; instead this transaction comes from those in the environment who are closest to that individual and in their social circles. At the same time, men are in competition with other men, which also provides an avenue of support. By competing with each other they are justifying their actions and behaviors.

In the residence center environment a man and a woman were sitting together on a couch, with her legs draped over his. Two men playing ping-pong in the room did not seem to notice the pair sitting a few feet away. This same situation between a man and a woman was seen as an accomplishment in other scenarios, but only when the man's friends were present. Men appeared to support each other when they were friends or acquaintances, but did not when they did not know each other. When men received encouragement for their interactions with women, it was not from strangers, but from their friends. This reflects the rape-supportive characteristic of peer support, but uncovers a different element. Previous studies have shown the impact of peer

support in establishing male intimacy (Capraro, 2000; Quinn, 2002). However, this is not occurring between those men who do not know each other, but primarily between those with already established friendships.

This is not the case for women, lines between social circles appeared to be blurred among the women. We observed sorority members spread out among the tailgate field, as well as interacting with women from other sororities. The interactions between women of different social circles were more fluid than with the men, and it appeared to be more acceptable for women to interact with those they did not know. However, while it appeared acceptable for men to interact with women they did not know, it was less acceptable to interact with men they did not know.

Social circles at the bar were more difficult to distinguish, but men seemed to still attract women by providing alcohol. Interacting with women gave men a higher status. It was an accomplishment for men to dance with different women, especially when they received positive feedback from their peers. Competition reinforced the need for high status within hegemonic masculinity (Kimmel, 2008). Competition provides support from peers within social groups and validation from those outside their group, because this drives the competition. Further, it promotes status among groups, which further promotes characteristics of rape-supportive culture. The need for men to achieve high status is part of hegemonic masculinity. There was an underlying sense of competition, and it was clear that some groups were more popular than others at the tailgate event.

Desensitization of Sex

In our observations, we saw a culture desensitized to sex and sexual violence. In all three environments, our observations

revealed that students are desensitized to sex and sexually aggressive behaviors, which may impact how sexual violence is viewed. This was seen in the student responses to an educational board on sexual assault in the residence center, which will be explained in further detail later. In all three environments, students willingly engaged in language and actions that were not out of the ordinary, demonstrating a desensitization to sex.

At the tailgate event we observed many students wearing shirts specifically made for tailgate and athletic events. Many of the tailgate participants wore shirts with messages such as “Everyone Scores on Game Day” and “Make a Pass.” Both of these shirts used common sports language to allude to sexual acts. It was clear these shirts were a common part of the tailgate environment and no one suggested they were inappropriate. This was one example of the desensitization to sex in the tailgate environment.

As stated earlier, loud music was played during the tailgate event and many of the songs included sexually suggestive or aggressive lyrics. Many of the songs involved a man telling a woman to perform specific sexual acts, making them not just suggestive but sexually aggressive. Not only were these songs played in the background, but the students, both men and women, sang and danced along to the music.

At the bar we observed three women wearing shirts that said, “Blow Me, It’s My Birthday.” This shirt was distributed by the bar to patrons on their birthday. We observed one man receive the shirt, but he did not wear it; he carried it over his shoulder instead. This was interesting, because the phrase on the shirt has a male orientation, but we only observed it worn by women. This suggests the students recognized the shirt was sexually suggestive. However, it appeared to be more acceptable for women to wear it. This is further example

of the objectification of women. We did not observe anyone question the appropriateness of the shirt.

In addition to the use of sexual innuendos seen on clothing and in song lyrics at both the bar and tailgate event, there was evidence of the desensitization of sex in the interactions between men and women. Men and women did not appear to have a problem touching each other both on and off the dance floor. In one instance at the bar, when a man walked in, a woman ran over and wrapped her arms and legs around him. The man placed his hands on her rear end and held her. In both the bar and tailgate environments men and women danced in a sexually suggestive manner. Even in casual conversation it was common to observe men place their hand on the women's lower back as they were speaking.

In the residence center there was an educational board on the topic of sexual assault. The board was a temporary fixture that was coincidentally present during our observations. The board encouraged student interaction by asking them to define consent and determine whether or not the two given scenarios were consensual. The students that responded to the board were able to define consent, but were not always able to transfer the definition to the scenarios or understand why the scenarios involved sexual assault. One student stated, "Let's just toss the word rape around loosely," and another claimed women lie about rape to "cover up something that looks bad on their part." To the students, the situations about an individual forcing sex onto another (one involved a man and woman, the other involved two men) were not sexual assault in their eyes, but just sex. From this we conclude that desensitization to aggressive and forceful sex (as described previously) perpetuates desensitization to sexual violence. Although not all of the student

comments were of this nature, the majority of them were.

DISCUSSION

This study contributes to current literature by examining how environments where both genders are present exhibit characteristics of a rape-supportive culture in the same manner as homosocial spaces. Our research identifies rape-supportive characteristics in each of the three environments we observed to varying degrees and shows these specific environments perpetuate artifacts of sexual violence within a collegiate setting. However, this study expands on the previous research showing how even environments consisting of both men and women perpetuate the characteristics of a rape-supportive culture. Our observations reinforced the existence of these rape-supportive characteristics: a) acceptance of rape myths, b) promotion of hegemonic masculinity, and c) peer support in campus environments (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). As stated earlier, a rape-supportive culture describes the surrounding belief system that promotes sexual violence (Boswell & Spade, 1996). Although the university does not actively support sexual violence, the environment is conducive to and supportive of beliefs and behaviors that are consistent with the concept of rape-supportive culture. We recognize the affiliation of all three environments to the institution is not direct, but each environment affects the student experience. The promotion of hegemonic masculinity and peer support were most prominent in our findings. This was seen through student interactions, in combination with an institutional culture (i.e. tailgate event), containing messages and responses coinciding with sexually aggressive behaviors. For example, despite the tailgate

event occurring at 10:00am, the tradition is so engrained in the student experience that there appeared to be little hesitation for students to engage in the tailgate. The tailgate was an outlet for men to exhibit their masculinity while receiving validation from their peers.

Student acceptance of rape myths was observed. Student responses to the educational board in the residence hall indicated to us students have a narrow definition of rape and were unable to identify the given scenarios as sexual assaults. Because the student responses were left on display passersby were exposed to the rape myths, thus giving the impression that sexual violence is normal, the woman's fault, and a part of life on a college campus. Research shows those who accept rape myths are more likely to have a limited definition of sexual assault, which increases the likelihood of sexual violence (Briere & Malamuth, 1983, Eyssel, Bohner & Siebler, 2006; Kimmel, 2008). Our observations were consistent with this research. If students' understanding of sexual assault does not include acquaintance rape, students will not have any hesitation continuing to behave in the manner we observed.

Our observations showed students behaving differently in different environments based on what is socially acceptable, which is related to the level of monitoring and restrictions within the environment. This was observed in the bar and at the tailgate; in these two environments there were few regulations that inhibited students' behavior. From this we interpret that environments with less authoritative control allow students to more freely express their rape supportive ideologies, whereas those with more administrative control repress these ideologies. In the residence center we saw similar rape-supportive artifacts, but to a much lesser degree. This is seen in the instance of the two men arguing in the

residence hall who eventually walked away. Had this same interaction happened in the other environments we may have observed other behaviors, because of the different expectations of behavior. Residence halls have more policies and restrictions than the other two environments. These policies clearly communicate a standard of behavior, which is why we assume students often left the residence hall for other environments. In environments outside of the residence hall students received more validation for their actions, both direct and indirect, from peers and strangers of both genders.

Implications and Future Research

Our observations illustrate rape myth acceptance by both men and women, which means all students will benefit from programs that debunk rape myths and widen students' view of sexual violence. The educational board we observed was a good initial step, but the need for follow up to the student responses is necessary. In addition to reversing rape myths, the program should emphasize a wider understanding of sexual assault. Future research includes identifying to what extent specific campus environments affect students' rape myth acceptance. We know that students have these beliefs, but exploring whether different environments further or lessen acceptance of these myths may be beneficial.

It is also recommended the university reevaluate policies and procedures where applicable. For example, there are few regulations during the tailgate event, which allows students to feel as though their behaviors are acceptable. Although security and police officials were present, there was very little accountability of the students to the Student Code of Conduct. For example, a large majority of the students were consuming alcohol, but we assume many of them were not of legal age. Yet, nobody was

inquiring to ensure that those under the legal age were not consuming alcohol. In addition, we recommend the university consider no longer allowing student groups to reserve spaces at the tailgate event. This in turn can lessen or remove some of the rape-supportive characteristics including competition between groups and male control over the environment. Although we recognize the university has little control over the bar's policies, it would benefit the institution to create a partnership with the city and local establishment owners to address the issue of sexual violence.

We also recommend examining more environments on campus, particularly those that are racially diverse, to see if our findings are consistent across the overall campus environment. We are cognizant that we were only able to study three locations, and encourage more research to be done in environments that differ from the three we observed. Studying more environments will further justify the ability to generalize the findings across campus.

Furthermore, we selected this institution as our site because of a recent increase in educational efforts to prevent sexual violence and define sexual consent. At the same time, the number of reported sexual assaults on campus has increased (personal communication, October 8, 2009). Although the increase in reports of sexual assaults may be an indicator of successful programming, the study examined a cultural aspect of sexual violence. This study focused on one institution in particular, it is our hope the findings will encourage other institutions to look more closely at the perpetuation of sexual violence in their campus environments. Through these examinations, institutions will have a better understanding of the rape-supportive ideologies held by their students. This will help with developing educational programs that cater to the specific needs of their students.

CONCLUSION

Progress in combating sexual violence requires collaboration across campus. Administrators have a responsibility to assess high risk environments on their campus to identify any existing characteristics of a rape-supportive culture. Despite beliefs that a campus rape crisis does not exist, our observations of student interactions in three distinct environments confirmed the existence of rape-supportive culture on campus. This study provides further insight into the idea that student acceptance of rape myths contributes to their lack of understanding of what constitutes sexual violence, resulting in low reporting of sexual violence incidents. Student affairs professionals can use the four characteristics identified as promoting rape-supportive culture as a framework to assess their institutions' sexual violence climate. Through such assessment, institutions can identify the rape-supportive aspects of their campus in order to implement the appropriate educational and cultural changes necessary to become a non-rape supportive environment.

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The International Mobility of the American Faculty – Scope and Challenges

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Internationalization has been drawing attention at U.S. academic institutions for the past two decades. The engagement of faculty is accepted as the key for sustaining higher education internationalization. Regardless of the increasing focus placed on faculty internationalization, faculty in the U.S. lag behind their foreign peers in international engagement. This article reviews studies that explore the factors that shape American faculty internationalization, raises awareness of challenges, and puts forward suggestions for improvements.

The world is growing flatter and globalization has never presented more opportunities and challenges for institutions of higher education in the United States than it does today. In the era of globalization, internationalization has been drawing wide attention at U.S. universities and colleges. Altbach and Knight (2007) indicate that internationalization in higher education is propelled to improve itself by an integrated world economy and global academic mobility, emphasizing that “internationalism will remain a central force in higher education” (p. 303).

Higher education administrators are recognizing the values of international activities to achieve global competencies. During the past two decades, academic institutions have initiated international activities ranging from curriculum internationalization, education abroad, faculty conducting research and activities abroad, recruitment of more international students to the U.S., and establishment of strategic international partnerships to achieve global competencies. Many scholars (Dewey & Duff, 2009; Fischer, 2009; Stohl, 2007) point out that the engagement of faculty is the key for developing and sustaining higher education internationalization in the 21st century. Faculty should be convinced to commit to internationalization in terms of internalizing

teaching, research, and service functions and examining how these activities enhance student learning (Stohl, 2007). O’Hara’s (2009) study echoed that international mobility is a key component enabling faculty to fulfill their roles and advance their impact on the academy and society.

This literature review will focus on recent studies that address the definition and benefits of faculty internationalization, explore the factors that shape American faculty internationalization, analyze participation rates of American faculty in internationalization and their perspectives, raise awareness of existing issues and challenges, and put forward suggestions to assist faculty to enhance internationalization in teaching and research.

DEFINITION OF FACULTY INTERNATIONALIZATION

Sorcinelli, Austin, Eddy, and Beach (2006) reviewed the history of faculty development and divided the history into five ages: the Age of the Scholar, the Age of the Teacher, the Age of the Developer, the Age of the Learner, and the Age of the Network. In the current Age of the Network, faculty developers network with faculty and institutional leaders to respond to issues and propose solutions to the challenges of the new century. One of the challenges facing

faculty in higher education in the Age of Network is internationalization. Knight (2003) provides a well-established definition of “internationalization” at the national, sector and institutional level as the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education” (p. 2).

Finkelstein, Walker, and Chen (2007) refer to internationalization as “the increasing permeability of national boundaries in faculty research and teaching and the increasing mobility of students and faculty across borders” (p. 3), which specifies faculty’s role. If a university strives to be internationalized, its faculty members have to be internationalized first. Faculty members hold the keys to education in academic institutions. O’Hara (2009) used the term “scholar mobility” to characterize faculty internationalization, stating that the common definition of scholar mobility is the movement of scholars across national borders. Those scholars conduct research in a culture and region beyond their own and the mobility enables them to fulfill their roles and have an impact on the academy and society at large in three areas: knowledge transfer and innovation, influencing future generations, and shaping public perception (O’Hara, 2009, pp. 30-34).

PARTICIPATION RATES OF AMERICAN FACULTY IN INTERNATIONALIZATION EFFORTS

The disappointing participation rates of U.S. faculty members in internationalization are reflected in headlines such as, “U.S. academics lag in internationalization,” (Fischer, 2009a) and “U.S. faculty members lag on global engagement” (Fischer, 2009b). U.S. faculty members ranked the least mobile among the 14 countries studied in a 1992 Carnegie

Foundation International Faculty survey (Altbach & Lewis, 1996). Altbach and Lewis report that only one third of U.S. faculty members take at least one trip abroad for study and research. U.S. faculty members were less likely than their colleagues from the other countries in the survey to value connections with colleagues in other countries for their professional work. Finkelstein, et al. (2007) conducted a new international survey, the *Changing Academic Profession*, as a follow-up to the 1992 survey. This research finds that faculty in the U.S. lag behind their foreign peers in key measures of international engagement, despite the increasing focus that has been placed on faculty internationalization. The following section illustrates what aspects are included in faculty internationalization based on two large-scale international faculty surveys.

FACTORS THAT SHAPE THE AMERICAN FACULTY’S INTERNATIONALIZATION

In 1990, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching began a major research project in international education. As a part of the project, in 1992, the International Survey of the Academic Profession was conducted among 14 participating countries: Australia, Brazil, Chile, England, Germany, Hong Kong, Israel, Japan, Korea, Mexico, The Netherlands, Russia, Sweden, and United States. The purpose of the survey project is to explore problems they face “in an era of worldwide fiscal constraints for higher education and increased demands for productivity” (Altbach & Lewis, 1996, p. 87). The survey questionnaire included a variety of topics; for instance, faculty’s attitudes toward teaching and learning, the governance of academic institutions, national and international involvement, and morale. In the section on international dimensions of academic life,

topics included: international activities of faculty for the last three years, by teaching or research preference; perceptions of the degree to which the curriculum at their institution should be more international in focus; amount of travel abroad to study or do research in the past three years; perceptions of the importance of connections with scholars in other countries to the respondents' professional work; opinions on whether scholars must read books and journals published abroad in order to keep up with developments in their discipline (Haas, 1996). Altbach and Lewis's (1996) report indicates that U.S. faculty scored the lowest in a few sections, i.e., traveling abroad to study or do research, connection with scholars in other countries, reading books and journals published abroad, compared to their counterparts in the other 13 countries.

Finkelstein, et al.'s (2007) study conducted among 17 countries (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Finland, Germany, Hong Kong – China, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, and United States), was a fifteen year follow-up to the original Carnegie Foundation International Faculty Survey. Its results do not present much progress of U.S. faculty internationalization during the 15 years (1992 to 2007) between surveys. The unpublished paper finds that American faculty members still lag behind their foreign peers in key elements of international engagement.

This study focuses on two main questions pertaining to American faculty's internationalization (Finkelstein, et al., 2007): To what extent has the American faculty increased its "internationalization" in their course content and research? To what extent has the American faculty increased its "internationalization" in professional networking, such as collaboration on research projects and/or co-authorship of scholarly publication with international

colleges, and publication in foreign countries?

A sample of 5,772 faculty members at 80 four-year colleges and universities across the United States were selected randomly to participate in this online survey, via e-mail invitation, and later on a paper survey sent by mail to non-respondents. The overall response rate was 21.4%, which would be viewed as low for a paper survey, but according to the authors, its rate falls safely within the acceptable range for on-line surveys. This study is based on a four-stage model for understanding individual faculty member's internationalization in their teaching and research: basic demographics, early socialization and educational background, institutional pressures, and current work situation.

Finkelstein, et al. (2007) claim that it is complicated to compare the 1992 and 2007 survey response because only three items from the two surveys are comparable. The data analysis shows that despite the continued comparative insularity of U.S. faculty, a significant segment of the faculty respondents, about 53%, reported having integrated international perspectives into the content of their courses; and one third are active in research, collaborated and/or co-published with colleagues worldwide (Finkelstein, et al., 2007). Faculty members who spend years abroad are more likely to incorporate international issues in their teaching and have a research agenda with an international scope than those who do not.

Based on the survey data analysis, this variable is even more influential than being foreign born or being under institutional pressures to internationalize (Finkelstein, et al., 2007). In terms of work role, faculty members who teach in non-STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields are more likely to incorporate international perspectives in their courses. Another distinguishing feature is that faculty

leadership tends to direct faculty to internationalization initiatives. This research has identified and enlightened the elements in faculty internationalization in a systematic and comprehensive way.

One vital element missing in the faculty internationalization scope identified in the two studies above is information on to what extent the American faculty members have increased internationalization in their interactions with international students and faculty in the U.S. The scope, in the studies, primarily focuses on faculty's international engagement outward; however, domestic interaction with students and faculty from other nations is worth being explored as well. For instance, how should American faculty update curricula to take advantage of participation of international students in a class? How should American faculty get fresh perspectives in research and teaching from visiting international faculty in the academic department?

ATTITUDES AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE AMERICAN FACULTY TOWARDS INTERNATIONALIZATION

It seems to be widely held among U.S. academics that to improve the higher education system significantly, perspectives, practices, and achievements developed in other regions need to be incorporated into the curricula of our universities, and possibly our non-academic administrative processing. Examples of administrative processing include supporting services provided by the Office of International Affairs, Office of Financial Management Services, and other units on campus. Nevertheless, there are some American faculty members who tend to be cautious about how internationalization moves forward. According to Haas' (1996) analysis on *The American Academic Profession*, while 72% of American faculty

members in the 1992 Carnegie survey agreed that internationalization of the curriculum in universities is a trend and it is extremely important for U.S. schools to implement internationalization, some faculty members expressed concerns. For instance, one of the concerns is state government's failure to subsidize international education and lack of international funding sources. The surveys also document some U.S. academicians' negative attitudes towards foreign professors. One faculty member considered internationalization of curriculum ridiculous and believed more attention should be focused on making students and faculty aware of cultural differences (Haas, 1996). Seventy-five percent of faculty members agree that "connections with scholars in other countries are very important in my professional work" (Haas, 1996, p. 379); the study also states 74% believe that "in order to keep with developments in my discipline, a scholar must read books and journals published abroad." Ninety-two percent of faculty expressed eagerness with being involved in faculty exchanges and advocated methods and procedures for promoting faculty exchange. This survey analysis also presented some statements revealing faculty members' short-sightedness, such as the statement made by one faculty member who only noted that our students should know more about Canada and Mexico.

The Finkelstein, et al. (2007) survey does not have a specific question focusing on faculty attitudes toward internationalization. Further research on faculty members' perspectives and attitudes towards internationalization is necessary to explore current trends and provide constructive advice to institutional leaders to enhance international initiatives.

In spite of the common acceptance of the value of faculty internationalization, some hesitance and reluctance still exist with regard to international engagement among

American faculty. What current challenges do faculty members face in internationalization?

BARRIERS TO FACULTY INTERNATIONALIZATION

Dewey and Duff (2009) identified four types of barriers to faculty internationalization based on data from a case study reviewed about the School of Architecture and Allied Arts (A&AA) International Initiative Committee at the University of Oregon: lack of coordination and information available regarding engagement in international initiatives; limited funding availability for international work; specific administrative policies and procedures that are disincentives to participation in international initiatives; lack of staff and personnel to facilitate international initiatives.

Dewey and Duff (2009) found that limited financial support makes it difficult for faculty to secure funds for traveling overseas and other expenses in the international context. Current university financial policies make faculty's international engagement inconvenient and discourage them to take initiatives. The work load of developing international curricula is time-consuming and a burden to faculty, which is added as extra to their required position responsibilities. At any rate, not all faculty members bring the same value of international work into their vision of professional success.

Increasing the population of international students on campus is considered to be an important means to engage faculty into internationalization. However, Dewey and Duff's (2009) study indicates that cultivating more international students may raise questions, for instance, increased faculty workload and issues of possible displacement of domestic students. Inviting more international faculty to teach,

conduct research, and provide academic activities, can enhance domestic faculty's interaction with peers from other nations in their disciplines, but grant money for inviting international faculty is limited.

Administrative procedures and visa processing for this type of invitation are bureaucratic and lengthy.

In terms of study abroad programs, Dewey and Duff's (2009) research claims that the management of these programs is troublesome. Intensive time and extensive work involved in a study abroad program, as well as some curricular issues, discourage faculty members from continuing leading programs. Regardless of faculty's heavy work load in these programs, some administrators may believe it is a privilege for faculty members to participate in a study abroad program (Dewey & Duff, 2009). Further, existing administrative policies and procedures raise challenging practical issues, such as replacing faculty and making salary payment when faculty participate in long-term research and teaching overseas. These issues may have a negative impact on faculty members' decisions on committed international activity.

Stohl (2007) explored a few more barriers in his study related to faculty engagement in the internationalization of higher education. He stated that few universities incorporated an international dimension into their mission. He also pointed out that universities tend to only recognize faculty members' international reputations in research rather than their international collaborations in teaching, research, and service as a whole. Furthermore, junior faculty members are often encouraged to produce publications and they claim that they do not have extra time for international incentives. This value was supported by the national report, *Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses* (Green, Luu, & Burris, 2008),

which showed that the percentage of institutions that have made international work for faculty a consideration in promotion and tenure decisions decreased from 96% in 2001 to 92% in 2006. These conclusions resemble Dewey and Duff's caution regarding administrative policies and procedures as disincentives. However, the number of institutions that give recognition awards for faculty's international activity has gone up to 21% from 12% in 2001. Stohl's (2007) research also examines another hurdle to international collaboration, i.e., regulatory inhibitors. According to Stohl, his former university did not allow state funds to be used for faculty international travel to conferences due to the treasurer's different interpretation on state funds. What means and approaches does the literature itemize for U.S. institutions to take to address these challenges?

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

First, literature in this review implies that faculty internationalization needs more than passion and conceptualization of higher education internationalization and globalization. It requires systematic institutional plans of rationales and missions, incentive policies, abundant resources, and efficient administrative support. Universities should create incentive systems and support the foundation for faculty involvement in international activity. Central university administrators should review all policies and procedures regarding international teaching and research activities to systematize them for faculty's needs.

Secondly, as Dewey and Duff (2009) concluded in their study, a balance between centralized and decentralized authority and capacity is demanded for smooth internationalization processes. For example, strategic plans and goals are expected to be

centralized by institutional administrators, but the actual international activity is conducted by an individual faculty member, therefore decentralized. The power conflict between two parties needs to be resolved for institutional success in faculty internationalization. Finkelstein, et al.'s (2007) research addresses a similar concern: institutional influence becomes less effective if faculty research involvement and interests are controlled. The research results indicate that faculty from a higher education institution where faculty members take the primary responsibility in establishing international linkages are three times more likely to collaborate with colleagues cross borders than those from institutions where internationalization is driven by administrators. Faculty members with leadership roles in campus internationalization initiatives appear to be higher achievers in internationalization.

The data from Finkelstein, et al.'s (2007) study suggests that faculty members who spend one to two years abroad after obtaining their undergraduate degree are almost twice as likely to incorporate international issues into their teaching, four times more likely to collaborate with foreign colleagues in research, and are more likely to have co-authored with a foreign colleague than those who had not spent any time abroad. Those with three or more years abroad are 2.6 times more likely to include international themes in the content of their courses. As Finkelstein, et al. (2007) write, "it is clear that the surest road to internationalizing the U.S. faculty is to make sure that they receive some international experience" (p. 25).

A topic that is worth exploring is a comparative study between the factors that shape the American faculty's internationalization and those that shape internationalization of faculty in other nations. As Finkelstein, et al. (2007) point

out, there is no information in their findings with this regard. Their conclusion, on the basis of surface data from surveys, claims that American faculty members are behind in internationalization compared to other countries in the survey, but the surveys do not ask for comparable statistics in other nations, given their different political and educational systems. From my experience as a previous faculty member in a Chinese university, in most Chinese universities faculty members are required to conduct research or study in a developed country for a minimum of one year before being considered for tenure. Internationalization is not their internal drive for professional development, but a policy centralized by the institution and government. Examples like this contextualize findings from U.S. surveys. Addressing more questions like the above will hopefully help U.S. faculty overcome the relative isolation and accelerate the steps of scholar mobility.

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Black Student Leaders: The Influence of Social Climate in Student Organizations

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The social climate of student organizations can alter a student's perception of their influence upon the organization. This study examines Black student leaders' perceptions of social climate of campus governing boards at a predominantly White institution (PWI). Black students' experiences were investigated using Moos's (1979, 1987) social climate dimensions. Implications and recommendations for student affairs professionals advising Black student leaders are detailed based on three salient themes: mission and direction, relationships, and mutual impact.

As college campuses across the country continue to become more racially diverse, a need exists for student affairs professionals to understand diverse populations and the unique characteristics of their experiences. Research has shown Black students' experiences can differ from White students at a predominantly White institution (PWI) (Harper & Quaye, 2007; Sedlacek, 1987). Moreover, a Black student often has to "handle cultural biases and learn how to bridge his or her Black culture with the prevailing one at the White university" (Sedlacek, 1987, p. 539). Campus involvement, such as student organizations, can function as one way for Black students to become acclimated to their university. Researchers studying the leadership experiences of Black students did not examine how social climate affects Black students. Social climate is an area for concern as Davis (1994) found that "many institutions are concerned with the possible negative effect of campus social climate of African American students" (p. 622). We are interested in how relationships within the environment influence relationships in student organizations. In this study, we will use Moos's (1979, 1987) social climate dimensions as a framework for assessing student organization environments in campus governing boards.

By analyzing the experiences of Black student leaders, we gain a better understanding of their experiences, and contribute to the creation of learning environments conducive to their needs. We will review literature that discusses social climate, Black students at PWIs, and Black student leadership and involvement. Also, we will explain our methodology, discuss our findings, and provide evidence for implications and our recommendations for higher education.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Kuh (2000) described the campus climate as "how students, faculty, student affairs staff, and other institutional agents *perceive and experience* their institution" (p. 60, emphasis in original). Using the preceding description of campus climate as a foundation, the social climate describes how students perceive and experience their socially-based interactions at their institutions. This includes, but is not limited to, experiences within residence halls, classrooms, group projects, and student organizations.

Social Climate

The social climate is “the ‘personality’ of a setting or environment” (Moos, 1987, p. 2). Halpin and Croft (1963) state, “personality is to the individual what ‘climate’ is to the organization” (p.1). For example, just as some people are more supportive than others, some environments have aspects that provide more support (Halpin & Croft, 1963). If students in an organization felt that their members embrace their ideas, then they would perceive that environment as supportive.

As Halpin and Croft (1963) alluded, the effects of the relationship between the social climate of an environment and the people in that environment are reciprocal. The personalities of people define the social climate of a setting and, therefore, simultaneously influence those individuals who make up that environment. The aspirations, achievements, morale, and well-being of an individual may be impacted as a result of the social climate (Moos, 1979). Social climates, just as human beings, have personalities made up of several distinct characteristics, which can be assessed using Moos’s Social Climate Scales.

Moos (1987) developed 10 Social Climate Scales used to assess 10 different types of settings, such as family environments, classrooms, and correctional institutions. These scales are used to: describe and compare settings, examine stability and change over time, examine the influences of environments, and make people’s lives more satisfying. Although the environments assessed by the social climate scales differ, the three dimensions that define each scale do not: relationships, personal growth and development, and system maintenance and change.

The relationship dimension reflects the participants’ mutual support, involvement, and manner in which they

express themselves in an environment (Moos, 1987). This dimension will allow us to determine if the students feel supported by their organization and their peers within it, the extent of the participants’ involvement in the organization, and the ways the participants communicate with others within the organization. The personal growth and goal orientation dimension covers areas of individual achievement related to the purpose of the environment. Also, this dimension will help us better understand our participants’ motivation to stay in a student organization, their level of involvement, and their commitment to their respective organizations. The system maintenance and change dimension reveals the environment’s control, clarity, and responsiveness to change.

Researchers have argued that the system maintenance and relationship dimension are sufficient to grasp the climate of an environment because they are the most consistently recognized across all environments (Moos, 1987). Moos designed the social climate scales specifically to use all three dimensions. Standing his ground, he maintains that each social environment arranges itself around a collection of goals that play an essential role to complete the picture of a setting. Therefore, a two-domain idea will not “capture the complexity of social settings or fully explain their scales” (Moos, 1987, p. 31). In these dimensions, we will examine the participants’ impact on and influences of the student organization’s mission, values, and performance standards.

While this framework has not previously been applied to the social climate of student organizations, Moos’s dimensions reveal a great deal about student organizations and the experiences of students within these organizations. Each dimension takes both the student and the organization into consideration when describing the environment and interactions

between the members and advisors of the organizations. We used the previously defined dimensions as a framework for analyzing the social climate of Black students in predominantly White student organizations.

Black Students at PWIs

Black students at PWIs have been studied to better understand their experiences in environments where they are the minority (Allen, 1992; Arminio et al., 2000; Fleming, 1991; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Levine & Cuerton, 1998; Schoem, 1991; Sedlacek, 1987; Tatum, 1997; Turner, 1994). Steward, Jackson, and Jackson (1990) found that Black students expressed the inability to “be themselves in predominately White environments” (p. 512). The predominately White student environment influenced the behavior of Black students at PWIs because these students understood how White students and faculty perceived them. These studies, among others, have found that Black students often feel unwelcomed, unsupported, and have different perceptions of campus climate than their White counterparts.

Turner (1994) indicated that many students of color did not find a positive “level of comfort” (p. 355) on university campuses, despite the implementation of supportive programs and specific policies intended to serve students of color. Also, Hurtado (1992) found that Black students at PWIs perceived higher levels of racial conflict than other college campus environments. The campus racial climate at PWIs also influenced Black students’ experiences in all aspects of the campus environment (Arminio, 2000; Hurtado, 1992). Since research examined Black students and the campus racial climate, but not Black student leaders’ experiences of the social climate in student organizations,

we chose to further investigate these experiences.

Sedlacek (1987) found eight non-cognitive variables that affect Black student life on campus. The successful leadership experience of Black students is one non-cognitive variable that has not been extensively studied in higher education. Sedlacek’s research, among others cited, has demonstrated the many unique aspects of Black students’ experiences on a predominantly White campus. However, the literature has not given much attention to the social climate perspective of student organizations that influence Black student leaders’ experiences.

Black Student Leadership and Involvement

More recent research conducted by Arminio et al. (2000) recommended that PWIs assess their programming in order to determine whether it adequately serves students of color, since the programs provided for all students had not met the interests and developmental needs of students of color. This research also recommended that PWIs examine their social and educational programming in order to determine whether the resources currently offered on campus by student affairs offices have met the needs of racial minority students. Furthermore, recommendations for practice included examining the experiences of students of color and why they choose to get involved on campus at PWIs.

Harper and Quaye (2007) examined the experiences of Black male student leaders within student organizations and focused on students’ purposes for engaging in such commitments. The authors recommended that Black male student leaders use both predominately Black and White student organizations as platforms for racial uplift and support for minority student interests. Black student leaders’ perceptions and

experiences are vital for analyzing the social climate of student organizations at PWIs. Sutton and Kimbrough (2001) studied Black students' involvement in minority student organizations at PWIs, and found that Black student leaders remained in self-segregated student organizations because of the organizations' mission and commitment to enhance academic and social environments for other Black students on campus. Sutton and Kimbrough also found that Black student leaders' involvement on campus plays a crucial part to their overall undergraduate experience. Black students who help lead student organizations on campus become more grounded in and shape the culture of the student organizations they lead because of their additional level of commitment and responsibilities. In other words, Black students with high levels of involvement and commitment to their leadership roles have an in-depth understanding of social climate of their student organizations.

Current Study

Moos's (1979, 1987) social climate model provided a framework to examine relationships, personal growth, and the change and impact students experience within student organizations that may or may not differ across race. In order to examine these dimensions we used Moos's social climate framework as opposed to racial climate, which emphasizes the race relations and social psychology when the climate relates to racial/ethnic diversity. In this study, Moos's social climate dimensions will be used to examine Black student leaders' experiences through the lens of the three dimensions: relationships, personal growth and development, and system maintenance and change.

Specifically, our study investigated how the social climate of campus governing boards is experienced through the

perceptions of Black student leaders. Our research examined the social climate of non-culturally based campus governing that did not focus specifically on race-based initiatives. For example, the Black Student Union, Latino Student Association, and Asian American Student Association would not be included because they are culturally based organizations. We explored how the social climate influenced the experiences for Black students who hold a leadership position within the campus governing board. By analyzing their perceptions, we gained a better understanding of their experiences with intentions that others will use this information to influence policies and adopt practices that contribute to the creation of learning environments conducive to the needs of Black student leaders. Therefore, we pose the following question: How does the social climate of large non-culturally based campus governing boards at a PWI influence Black student leaders?

METHODS

Because qualitative methods allow for the identification of unanticipated phenomena, such as an individual's contribution or the influence of a specific practice on group morale, this approach is preferred when conducting exploratory studies (Maxwell, 1996). Specifically, phenomenological studies "focus on exploring how human beings make sense of experience and transform experience into consciousness, both individually and as shared meaning" (Patton, 2002). For that reason, we used Moustakas's (1994) guide for phenomenological research to conduct our study.

Site

Our study focused on two non-culturally based campus governing boards at a large, public PWI in the Midwest. Each study participant held a leadership position on either the campus programming board (CPB) or the housing governing board (HGB). We chose these specific organizations because the executive boards had a mix of elected and selected positions intended to represent the entire student body. In addition, the student organizations had similar missions of providing opportunities for leadership, programming, intellectual growth, and socializing in academic environments outside of the classrooms. Traditionally, the leadership boards have consisted predominantly of White students.

The CPB comprised 16 student directors who led committees that focused on educational and entertainment programmatic initiatives on campus and governed the policies of the college union. The HGB consisted of 25 executive board members at various levels in the organization. The board members worked to promote a “home away from home” for students living in the residence halls. All participants in this study held a position on one of these two executive boards.

Data Collection Procedures

Students who met the criteria and chose to contribute to the study participated in a semi-structured interview that lasted no longer than one hour. Students were asked open-ended questions that were intended to gauge their perceptions of the social climate of their organization. Questions were organized along the three dimensions outlined by Moos (1979) to obtain responses that spoke to the relationship, personal growth and development, and system maintenance and change dimensions. Such

questions included, for example, “How would you describe your relationship with your organization?” and “How have the values of your student organization influenced your experience as a leader within the organization?” Probing questions were used to elicit clarification of participant responses. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researchers for data analysis.

Sample

We used criterion sampling to identify our target population. Recruitment efforts were initiated by contacting the advisors of each student organization to identify participants who met the inclusion criteria. Our criteria included students who identify as African American or Black, had completed at least one year of undergraduate coursework, and held an executive leadership position in one of the governing boards outlined above.

All participants were at least in their second year of study at the institution. The gender split was even: three females and three males. Four students were members of HGB and two were members of CPB. Participants chose their own pseudonym for use in the study.

Data Analysis

Through semi-structured interviews, which allowed interviewers to ask probing questions, we gained a better understanding of how the dimensions of the social environment affected Black student leaders. As mentioned previously, Moustakas’s (1994) phenomenological step-by-step techniques were used to analyze interview responses. Consistent with Moustakas, we first reviewed all the transcripts to get a sense of the individual participants and the interviews as a whole. Two researchers read

each interview and coded for themes within individual interviews. Next, we combined consistent codes across interviews to identify major themes for the study. We then reviewed these themes for their alignment within Moos's (1987) dimensions. Finally, we identified passages from the student transcriptions that best captured these themes while maintaining the student's voice.

FINDINGS

Through our analyses, we produced three overarching themes that explain how the social climate of non-culturally based campus governing boards influences Black student leaders: mission and direction, relationships, and mutual impact. The first theme, mission and direction, encompassed both the students' understanding of the mission of their organization, and how they used this understanding to maintain or change the organization through their actions as well as how their performance reviews affected their perceptions of the organization. The second theme, relationships, emerged after noting how positive and negative relationships with peers and advisors contributed to the students' experiences within the organization. Finally, the mutual impact of the students on the organization and the organization on the students influenced the students' growth within the organization.

Mission and Direction

Perceived Alignment with Organizational Mission. *"I carry out that mission through my leadership" – Charlotte*

Though not every student knew the official mission of their organization, they worked to uphold its goals and values. Each student provided a description of their interpretation

of the mission, often highlighting key phrases and goals. When asked about the mission of the organization, Shawn gave this reply:

I don't know if we have an exact mission statement, but I can just say... it's just to improve the lives for the residents in the dorms, make it a cohesive community, make it fun for the residents, basically like that.

Tyler, who has been in the organization longer and holds a higher leadership position, gave this response: "Our main mission and goal is to create a home away from home.... Our job is to keep retention [up] but also show that we're doing things to make you feel welcome and that's our main goal."

The organization's official mission statement includes elements of what both students stated, however, their interpretations directly related to the roles they held within the organization. Shawn has a more programmatic role, while Tyler has a more administrative role that is focused on maintaining order and facilitating processes within the overall organization. The students embraced particular elements of the mission and actively worked to meet the goals of the organization. This personal connection added to their growth as leaders and overall commitment to the organization.

Identifying how their positions affected the organization also showed benefits for students' personal growth. Some students could articulate their role within the organization and understood how they contributed to carrying out the organization's mission. Students took ownership of their role within the organization and articulated how their association to the mission enhanced their role. Henry's interpretation closely aligned with the organization's stated mission, and he also commented that he viewed his role as one who "checked" his

peers or made sure their actions were fair and equal. He gave an example of such an occurrence for the organization as a whole: "You're doing a lot of good things for the community, for the campus, but the way you're going about doing it... it's not embodying what we hold true to our mission." Henry's motivation and commitment to the organization came from both his official role and the one he ascribed to himself, and how he fulfilled the mission of the organization in both positions. In addition to his personal growth, through challenging his peers' actions based on its mission, Henry both maintained the organization's mission and changed the way the organization achieved its mission.

Performance review. *"They help us out on a weekly basis" –Henry*

Evaluations provided an avenue for members of an organization to congratulate or correct behavior, revisit expectations, and address the performance of individuals. We noted two types of reviews, structured and unstructured, in both organizations. Unstructured reviews were often responsive in nature, either to address a success or failure with a program or when a specific need arose. The structured reviews were planned, conducted at the end of the semester or academic year, and often included feedback from both peers and advisors. Charlotte described the review she would receive through the organization:

We have performance reviews at the end of every semester; I have one coming up in December, which is basically myself, my advisor, the [HGB] advisor, and either the vice-president of [HGB] or the president of [HGB]. And what we would do is go down the list and review my

strengths, my weaknesses, [and] how did I contribute.

Because Charlotte expected this review, the organization positively maintained its system, and she was prepared to assess her successes and areas in need of improvement. Charlotte also participated in an unstructured review. Noting that the organization gave no assessments during the semester, she created one on her own:

But I made one myself and passed it to my board. I just really wanted to see how they felt like we were doing. I added a few questions about myself, but I just really wanted to see how we were doing and what they thought we needed to work on. Because I really feel like if we are not doing good then that may be a reflection of my leadership. I figured it kind goes both ways, there's two sides [*sic*].

Charlotte's structured and unstructured reviews helped improve her leadership as well as contributed to the organization's system maintenance. In both reviews, Charlotte could acknowledge achievements and problems that she experienced as a leader and member of the organization.

Students also received unstructured reviews after straying from the organization's established norms. After completing what he thought was a successful program having primarily Black participants, Henry's peers questioned him:

[They asked] "Well, what do you think you could do to have, like, changed that to make it more diverse?" I'm like, this has never been discussed before when we do all the other programming... We never discussed that before, why are we discussing

this now? If we're gonna start now, why now?

This line of questioning from peers within the organization was new to Henry; he perceived it as an attack on his program and counter to fulfilling the mission of the organization. The organization's members maintained the organization's status quo while simultaneously stifling Henry's personal development within the organization. However, when discussing the weekly meetings he had with his advisor, he had a much more positive tone:

They help us like "Well, look you need to do this; you've been kind of lackadaisical with this, you need to get back on it." They help us out on a weekly basis and that's very helpful and it's reflected in our programming.

Henry viewed this gentle nudging as helpful for him, and it benefited what he could accomplish within the organization. The ongoing structured, planned reviews provided Henry and the other students with guidance for improving their programs and processes, and the semester reviews gave students ample time to assess their own performance. The unstructured, responsive reviews had either a positive or negative effect on the student and organization depending on how the students perceived them. Both performance reviews and student's interpretation of the organization's mission influenced the social climate of non-culturally based student governing boards.

Relationships

Supportive. *"[The executives] offer advice, they lead by example, which I think is one of the best things you can do" – Charlotte.*

Student leaders addressed the supportive atmosphere of personal relationships within their student organization environments such as involvement, peer cohesion, and expressiveness of their leadership skills in their campus governing boards. The strong nature of the supportive relationships suggested an association with supportive environments. Students felt that supportive environments led to high levels of participation and togetherness while still retaining individualism. Students alluded to the strong supportive relationships with their campus governing boards as contributions to their professionalism and mutual respect for each other. Supportive relationships positively influenced the social climate of non-culturally based campus governing boards.

In addition, the student leaders' involvement within their student organizations heavily influenced their experiences. Regardless of which campus governing boards students involved themselves in, each student leader articulated the importance of supportive relationships from their campus governing boards whether from their peers or advisors. An example from Charlotte:

I feel supported by the leaders that lead over me, the executives of the [HGB], because they are really supportive and I can come to them about an issue...They offer advice, they lead by example, which I think is one of the best things you can do.

Student leaders' initial support from advisors could be as important as that from their peers. The support students received instilled and developed students to take on a larger leadership role. The early support Charlotte received from her advisor and peers helped her get acclimated with the university. This led to her continued

involvement in the organization at the executive leader capacity:

[My] first leadership experience was with [the summer bridge program], and with [my advisor], and I kind of learned a lot from him. He was pretty much our advisor over the summer and so from there, I just looked to staying involved with the residence halls. It's great and it's nurturing to put it that way.

Additionally, the supportive relationships established with the student organizations have helped students find their niche, and further developed a sense of belonging. Dawn felt the supportive relationship with the campus governing boards influenced her to aspire to do great things, and make an impact as a student leader. Dawn continued to credit her relationship with her advisor along with the strong support system from her colleagues as helping her know she belongs at the university:

I would describe my relationship with [CPB] as the organization on campus that made me feel like I belonged at [this university]...Joining the [CPB]... let me know I had a position. I had control. I had a say in things that went on with campus. So it just made me feel like I belonged.

Dawn's involvement with the CPB had given her many venues to establish strong supportive relationships with campus administrators. It also empowered her to be a better student leader. Through the CPB, Dawn was provided with networking opportunities with different people such as the Dean of Students and Executive Directors:

...having these types of connections and relationships with these people, and being able to talk to them about any problem that I saw on the campus, and have them listening... like they cared and [then] taking necessary steps to change [those problems].

The supportive relationships Dawn established with senior campus administrators influenced her positive experiences at the university. With the network established from her CPB connections, Dawn acknowledged the importance of her position with CPB that could potentially affect future policies at the university.

Unsupportive. *"They'll criticize... but not really help" – Henry*

The student leaders' lack of a support system could easily impact later experiences and perceptions that may continue to influence the students' future at the university. Without the supportive experiences, students often felt the university lacked the resources and support to meet the needs of underrepresented students. Henry spoke about the lack of support and assistance from his peers in the CPB. After requesting assistance from his peers to diversify the previously mentioned program, his peers had this response:

"Ah, yeah, okay, we'll do that" but it didn't happen obviously... Although I marketed [the program] the best way I could, I really didn't get a lot of help from [CPB] members... [The assistance from them] didn't happen obviously...

Support is considered "efforts to aid one another" (Hearn & Moos, 1976, p. 298). Henry continued to describe his experiences

with unsupportive peers as influencing his perceptions of the student organization since his peers always questioned his programs. In addition, he felt his peers doubted his skills as they continued to question his work despite his acknowledgement of successful programs. Without a supportive relationship environment, students often felt their voices went unheard. Henry felt the voices of students of color were often missing when decisions were made in CPB regarding campus policies, the allocation of resources, and the selection of guest speakers that the organization brought to campus.

Supportive and unsupportive relationships established within student organizations have the potential to affect a student's entire experience and perceptions of their undergraduate career. The same applies to the type of support students received from peers and advisors of student organizations. Both supportive and unsupportive relationships influenced, positively and negatively, the social climate of non-culturally based campus governing boards.

Mutual Impact: Student Leader and Organization

Personal Growth. *"It makes me want to go further and actually hold myself at a higher standard..." – Brandi*

Students exhibited personal growth when they could articulate one or more of the following: personal goals, goal setting, and finding their niche. The students' experiences, in relation to their personal growth, were influenced within the campus governing boards. This displays each student's individual achievement in relation to his or her organization's environment (Moos, 1987). They articulated an ability to develop as individuals while working with others, and how their growth in the

organization benefitted their future. Henry shared a personal growth experience within his organization:

I'm still learning how to appeal to [other organization members] and I think that will help me outside of this organization, well, in my future. I'm sure whatever field that I'm working in, I will be interacting with other ethnicities, backgrounds, sex, gender, all of that good stuff. So it's preparing me to be more versatile in my approach to people and working with them.

Henry viewed his ability to work with others as a benefit to his future. His organization assisted him by exposing him to different types of diversity, and providing opportunities for him to learn how to appeal to others from different backgrounds.

Charlotte expressed an immediate application of lessons learned as she described her growth and how it has motivated her to be a part of her organization:

I guess just really being able to develop as a leader. So I just want a growth of experience so when I leave, and I go to the business world, I already have these experiences of how to work with people on a team and how to plan things, how to use other resources, how to network with other companies, I guess that's what I really want from the experience.

One part of personal growth and goal orientation for students is the learning experience. For Charlotte and Henry, they saw their personal growth within their organization as having lasting consequences for their future. They leave the organization with varied experiences and abilities that can

transfer to other areas of their lives whether personal or professional. They saw the connections between their leadership experience within and outside of the organization that have prepared them for interactions with their peers and in their professional lives.

Values. *"I feel like the values are really aligned with how I feel as a person" – Charlotte*

Students identified certain values of the organization as aligning with their personal values, and how the values influenced their growth within the organization. The alignment of their values and the values of the organization showed evidence of personal growth. Students made connections about how the aligned values have influenced their lives. Dawn explained how the values of her organization aligned with her own: "[They] help to make me more well-rounded and to see what others value. I feel I am able to relate to more people better." Dawn articulated a positive influence from the aligned values as improving her interactions with others. This exhibited evidence of personal growth within her organization.

Also, Charlotte shared how her aligned values and her organization impacted her: "I feel like the values are really aligned with how I feel as a person. And so it's just like positive reinforcement...It's not like a conflicting standard and it's like they really support me." Charlotte accomplished two things. First, she saw the values of the organization align with her personal values in a positive manner. This demonstrated areas of personal growth for her as she saw the organization live out its values in a way that strengthened her. Second, Charlotte saw the organization as a source of accountability, and it was established as a source of support for her. This showed the development of

relationship between her and the organization. The students' ability to clearly articulate the positive aspects of the organization in relation to their values showed personal growth.

Brandi explained her growth in consideration of the alignment of her values, the organization's values, and how it has influenced her aspirations: "...also it has...enhance[d] my education goals as well. It makes me want to go further and actually hold myself at a higher standard than what typical students that goes to [the university] would do." The alignment of the organization's and Brandi's personal goals has not only improved her educational goals, but also has allowed her to set personal goals in comparison to her understanding of her peers. Her experiences within the student organization produced her desire to improve herself.

Student Impact. *"I just came in and I wanted to impact the campus" – Tyler*

Students were asked to describe their impact on their student organization. In responding to this question, we noted two types of responses. Some students clearly articulated their impact upon their organization. Dawn recognized her impact, "So I think my impact...is [mainly] showing diversity...redefining diversity and opening people, who are not of color, their eyes to a different culture." Here, Dawn made a connection with her role in the organization and how this position benefited the growth of diversity for the organization. Her clear articulation of her impact showed congruence between her specific role and the benefit of what she has done for the organization. In her response, Dawn exhibited a sense of pride in accomplishing this task. She clearly identified her impact with confidence.

Other students could not clearly articulate their impact upon their organization. These students did not struggle to answer the question, but rather could not associate an example of roles within the organization as having any kind of impact. Charlotte initially responded to the question as follows:

It's hard to say 'cause sometimes I don't feel like I made that large of an impact. It's like I'm one of thirty other people on my board. So it's hard to say if there's one individual who makes an impact.

Charlotte did not believe that she had made a large impact on her organization in comparison to the number of other students she works with. Yet, as she continued her response to the question, she provided an example of her participation in the organization, which evidenced an actual impact that she has made.

...I'm just really big on having things set in order for the next year. 'Cause when I came into my position there was like nothing done, I had no one helping me. I was one person, I needed 10 other people for this beginning of the school year, so we could start [HGB] up and going and I don't want the person that comes after me to have to do that. I want them to have a support in place. Like right now I am actively recruiting right now, and we don't even start electing until [next year] and I'm recruiting right now.

Charlotte impacted the organization by preparing it for transition into next year's leadership. She identified that the organization did not have its leadership in place during the beginning of the academic year, but she proactively structured the

leadership transition for the next year. Also, she felt uncertain about the validity of her impact with her organizational involvement. This depicted a disconnection that showed Charlotte lacked the ability to clearly define her impact. Although Charlotte could not define her impact, she clearly impacted her organization by creating structure.

Mission and roles, relationships, and mutual impact on both the person and the organization were themes based on the perceptions of Black student leader's within the HGB and CPB. Students shared how their experiences influenced the social climate of the campus governing boards.

DISCUSSION

The impact of the students' involvement was expressed in connections between relationships in and outside of the organization. Students experienced both unsupportive and supportive relationships; regardless, each student's level of commitment to their organization did not waver. They associated their experiences within their organizations as transferable with other experiences in life or on campus. Further, the broader campus influenced the social climate of each student organization since the representation of Black student leaders in these organizations reflected upon other campus leadership boards.

Arminio et al. (2000) stated that student leaders of color expressed a group's responsibility for their involvement in student organizations. Similarly, students in our study felt it was important to serve as a resource for peers in and outside of their organization. The relationships within the organization served as the motivation for students to be resources to others. As the organization's social environment became more conducive to reaching this goal, the

students' ability to serve as resources increased.

Structured and unstructured reviews by advisors and peers served to maintain the existing conditions of the organizations' social climate. The reviews supported the system maintenance and change dimensions, which consider clarity of expectations, control, and responsiveness to change within organizations (Moos, 1979). Our findings indicate that students did not always support maintaining existing conditions, specifically when they felt certain changes within the organization could help it better achieve its goals. From the students' perspectives, changing how the organization functioned would improve the organization's outcomes. Students challenged organizational practices that they felt hindered their ability to successfully carry out their roles. For example, Charlotte assessed her leadership role in the organization via feedback from her peers. Students knew of the opportunity to enhance their role as leaders as a result of structured and unstructured reviews.

The students' personal connection to the mission enabled their growth as leaders within the organization. Within Moos's (1979) personal growth and goal orientation dimension, students' interpretation of their organization's mission and values influenced how they carried out their responsibilities. Though they had varying interpretations of their organization's mission, no student lacked motivation to fulfill his or her leadership role. Students' personal values often aligned with their perceived values of their respective campus governing board. This alignment channeled students' achievement of their position's goals.

Students expressed that working with diverse populations benefitted their personal growth. Harper and Quaye (2007) found similar findings in their research where interactions of African American students outside of their racial group provided

opportunity for them to branch outside of their "cultural comfort zone" (p. 140). For example, Henry described working and interacting with diverse populations as beneficial to his current role and future career.

Overall, students articulated benefits and problems associated with the social climate of their student organizations. The students' most salient needs and their perception of the organization's willingness to meet those needs influenced their experiences. Regardless, students still fulfilled and excelled in their leadership roles.

LIMITATIONS

This study had two main limitations. First, many of the researchers had regular interactions with the students involved in the study. This knowledge provided a closer insight, but also may have influenced students' responses as well as our interpretations of their experiences. To lessen this effect, researchers who had frequent contact with particular students did not interview those participants or look for themes within their transcriptions. However, the other reviewer did not verify the codes assigned to a particular transcription. This additional step would have further validated the results. Second, due to the nature of our study, our time and resources were limited. For instance, the perceptions of six students may not be representative of the entire population's experience; however, because of the small number of Black student leaders on the campus, we found the sample size satisfactory. Phenomenological studies often include longer or multiple interviews with each participant, but due to the time constraints our interviews were limited to single, one-hour long sessions for each student. Though the data collection was

abbreviated, the information gathered served as a starting point for further research.

In addition, some findings may not be applicable to all student organizations or all PWIs. Factors such as organization and institution size, demographic of student population, or geographic location could affect the results of the study. For example, we felt the students' experiences might have been different if we conducted the exact study at an institution with a higher Black student population, in a different region, or student organizations organized around different missions. Despite the limitations, our study introduced the topic of the social climate of predominantly White student organizations and the influence of Black student leaders to the higher education conversation.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Student perspectives and experiences in this study provided useful recommendations for students and student affairs professionals at PWIs. We found that supportive relationships allowed positive experiences for students and provide a sense of belonging to the campus governing board. Student affairs professionals who work with Black student leaders in an advisory capacity should provide positive relationships and a climate of support, by building trust and facilitating open lines of communication between student leaders.

Students' personal values often aligned with the perceived values of their respective campus governing board. Student affairs professionals should recognize students' ability to interpret the mission and values of their student organization and how those align with their personal values. Harper & Quaye (2007) found that black male student leaders join both predominantly White and Black student

organizations as a way to support minority student interests. Their value of minority student interests could be aligned with the mission of a student organization by receiving assistance from student affairs professionals. By encouraging Black student leaders to incorporate the practical understanding of their value alignment within the organization, students can better fulfill their roles. When reviewing the performance of students, student affairs professionals should encourage unstructured, responsive reviews in conjunction with the use of structured performance reviews. These types of reviews help students to better understand their impact within their particular campus governing board.

This research is limited in scope in that it provides a segment of the students' experiences in their respective organizations. Our study should be replicated using different lenses, such as Black identity development, leadership identity development, or racial climate. Future research should extend interviews, conduct follow-up interviews and member check, and recruit more students and organizations in order to have a more in depth study to develop a model. A more comprehensive model of Black student experiences could be developed to help inform the field of student affairs on how to best cultivate nurturing and developmental student organizations for these students.

CONCLUSION

We conclude that the social climate of student organizations can alter Black student leaders' experiences and influence on their organization. Understanding the alignment of the organization's values and mission influenced their personal growth. Supportive relationships within the organization helped

students develop a sense of belonging and contributed to positive experiences at the university. Not surprisingly, unsupportive relationships had a negative impact on students' perceptions. Regardless of the level of support, students were aware of how their involvement impacted the organization and how the organization shaped their development. With this information, student affairs practitioners should help Black student leaders recognize their impact and further their development. Considering that college campuses are more diverse today than ever, future research examining other student populations has the potential to provide further insight into the influences of social climate.

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