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Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University

2020 Edition

Table of Contents

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The Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University is Published annually by the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University with support from the Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) program. The Journal is produced to provide an opportunity for HESA M.S.Ed, Ph.D, and Ed.D students and alumni to publish articles pertinent to the field of student affairs. The primary sources of funding for the Journal are alumni donations and support from current students within 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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Letter from the Editors

Alice Dahlka, Autumn Kearney, Dajanae Palmer

It is with great excitement that we present the 2020 edition of the Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University (SPA at IU Journal). This publication is a collection of scholarly work related to higher education and student affairs (HESA) that is written, edited, and published by students and alumni of the masters and doctoral HESA programs at IU. 2020 has marked a significant milestone in IU history as the bicentennial year. Though the on campus celebrations have been halted as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, we wanted to make sure that the SPA at IU Journal was able to celebrate our history during this banner year at IU.

The first edition of the SPA at IU Journal was published in 1967, featuring articles on a variety of topics that provide current students with a time capsule on relevant issues in student affairs throughout history. For the IU bicentennial issue, journal editors reviewed past issues of the journal and invited previous authors to submit an op-ed reflection on how the issue they wrote about has changed since their time as an IU graduate student. Two alumni reflections are included in this issue on the topics of campus security and gay and lesbian student identity issues.

In the last 10 years of SPA at IU Journal history, the Journal has moved to an online format through the IUScholarWorks database available on the IU digital libraries platform. This service has allowed us to reach a wider audience of viewers, increase accessibility to research, publish additional articles, and build an archive of previous editions of the journal. As you read through the 2020 edition, we encourage you to browse through the Journal archives as well to reflect on how the field has changed since the inception of the journal.

The 2020 edition marks the third year we have included a Contemporary Issues and Opinions section where we feature editorial style writing. Pieces in this section of the 2020 edition provide opinions on the topics of amateurism in athletics and grant writing. This edition also includes four pieces that explore a variety of campus environments and student populations ranging from international students on branch campuses, to the creation of the Groups Scholars program at IU. We are also pleased to include several pieces that will expand available literature on student development theory and bring to light the needs of modern students. Finally, we offer two original research pieces that provide insight into mentoring programs for LGBTQ+ students and student veterans.

As the editors of the 2020 edition of the SPA at IU Journal, we would like to thank the authors who participated in this edition of the journal by submitting and editing their piece throughout a semester turned upside down by the pandemic. We also offer our thanks to those who served on the journal review board. Without the critical feedback of the review board, the 2020 edition would not have come to fruition. Finally, we would like to thank our advisers, Drs. Lucy LePeau and Gary Pike, for supporting and challenging us as we sought to make changes and additions to the journal. Several months of dedication from each of the parties mentioned are required to ensure that the SPA at IU Journal upholds the HESA legacy of scholarship each year and the commitment does not go unnoticed.

Lastly, the Journal would not be possible without the continued support of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University, financial contributions from alumni, and additional resources from the HESA program. With this support, the SPA at IU Journal is consistently able to provide a unique opportunity for master's, doctoral, and alumni HESA students to experience the publication process and showcase their scholarship. We hope you are as excited to read the scholarship presented in this year's

Journal as we are to deliver it to you. Sit back, relax, and enjoy the 2020 Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University!

Alice Dahlka is a rising second year in Indiana University's Higher Education and Student Affairs M.S.Ed. program. She earned her Bachelor of Science in Human Resources Management from Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan. At Indiana University, Alice serves as a Graduate Supervisor for Residential Programs and Services in addition to being a co-editor of the SPA at IU Journal.

Autumn Kearney is a 2020 graduate of the Indiana University Higher Education and Student Affairs M.S.Ed program. She received her bachelor's degree from Western Michigan University in 2016 and went on to serve two years in an AmeriCorps program prior to attending IU. At IU, she has worked with Residential Programs and Services, Athletics, University Division, and Admissions in a variety of capacities.

Dajanae is a third year PhD student in Indiana University's Higher Education program. She earned her Bachelor of Arts in Psychology from San Diego State University and her Master of Education in Postsecondary Administration and Student Affairs from the University of Southern California. Her assistantship is with the Center for Postsecondary Research as a Project Associate. She is currently writing her dissertation proposal.

Gay and Lesbian College Students' Identity Issues and Student Affairs: 30 Years Later

Sarah Westfall

Sarah Westfall finished the HESA master's program in 1988 and completed her doctorate at IU in 1995. She currently serves as Vice President for Student Development and Dean of Students at Kalamazoo College.

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Westfall, S. (2020). Gay and lesbian college students' identity issues and student affairs: 30 years later. *Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University,* 1-3.

Gay and Lesbian College Students' Identity Issues and Student Affairs: 30 Years Later

The opportunity to revisit an article written over 30 years ago is really something! To look back in time at my early 20-something brain and perspective has been fun and thought-provoking. I am grateful to Autumn, Alice, Dajanae, and the IU SPA Journal review board for the chance to think about this again.

The state of affairs for gay and lesbian college students in 2020 is much different than it was in 1988. The context now is one that, truly, I could not have imagined 30 years ago. Writing the article for the IU SPA Journal in 1988 felt risky (Westfall, 1988). There was little attention being paid to lesbian and gay students in our standard reading, and we were still on the upward trajectory of the AIDS crisis. No states and few institutions had protections of any kind for gay and lesbian people. It was a scary time.

At least three big changes strike me as important in the last 30 years. First, dedicated resources and support for lesbian and gay students are present on many campuses. This includes everything from supportive policies to advocacy centers to research and academic programs of study. Importantly, these structures have made it easier for gay and lesbian students to see healthy, functional faculty and staff role models. The presence of out faculty, staff, senior-level institutional leaders and board members is powerful and important.

Second, I remember the first time I met a student who came to college already having come out as a lesbian. She had come out in high school, had a loving, enthusiastic family, and hit the ground running. This was a revelation to me. For many decades, college was the time and place when students either acknowledged or discovered their sexual identities and orientations. While this certainly still happens, it is much more common that students arrive with clarity about their sexual orientation. The normalization of coming out prior to college has enabled our institutions to normalize providing support, too. When students and families expect us to be welcoming and of service, it is easier for us to do so.

The third big change is the visibility of trans-identified folks. The LGBTQAI community has expanded over time (as evidenced by the breadth of people included in the acronym), and trans people have emerged as a distinct identity group in recent years. Campuses have learned and become more welcoming to trans students over time and have done so at lightning speed compared to our response to gay and lesbian students.

I am still concerned, as I was in 1988, about the support for lesbian and gay students. While societal and cultural support overall is significantly better than it was then, I worry that students who are “just” gay or lesbian – who don’t identify as queer, trans, or non-binary, for example – will be overlooked. While visibility is largely a political issue, the developmental issue for us remains. Gay men and lesbians have unique developmental needs. Subsuming those under the larger LGBTQAI umbrella risks overlooking them. We cannot lose sight of these needs while we support students in the broader community.

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Westfall, S. (1988). Gay and lesbian college students identity issues and student affairs. *Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University*, 4-7. https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/jiuspa/article/view/4829

Campus Security: How Has the Focus Changed?

Lisa Landreman and JJ Thorp

Abstract

As a part of the Indiana University Bicentennial edition of the journal, authors Lisa Landreman and JJ Thorp reflect on their 1988 SPA IU Journal article *Campus Security: Changing the Focus.* To further knowledge in the area of campus safety, they analyze the current landscape on campus security and outline continued concerns facing campuses today.

Keywords

Campus Security, Student Safety, Clery Act

Landreman, held positions at Michigan State University, the University of San Francisco, the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Macalester College in residence life, disability services, and Title IX and on the leadership team of 3 Semester at Sea voyages. Serving as a scholar-practitioner throughout her career, she has taught courses and co-authored articles on student development, sexual violence prevention, and intercultural learning, and edited a book on social justice education facilitation. She served on the ACPA Governing Board as Director for Professional Development and was recognized as a Diamond Honoree for leadership in the field. Landreman received her BS in Social Work from UW-LaCrosse, her MS in Higher Education and Student Affairs from Indiana University and her Ph.D. in Higher Education from the University of Michigan. Currently she serves as the Assistant Vice President and Dean of Student Life at Roger Williams University in Bristol, RI. In July she will begin her tenure as the Vice President of Student Affairs and Dean of Students at Willamette University in Salem, OR.

Since 2005, JJ Thorp has been responsible for the design and construction of learning, teaching, and living spaces at the University of San Francisco as the Director of Project Management. In the years prior, he served in multiple student affairs roles including Assistant Vice President of Univeristy Life with supervisory responsibility for Residence Life and Public Safety. Six years in Residence Life positions at Loyola Univeristy of Chicago preceded his USF tenure. He holds an Ed.D. In Organization and Leadership from USF, an M.S. is Higher Education Student Affairs from Indiana Univeristy and a B.S. in Electrical Engineering from the University of Vermont.

Suggested citation:
Landreman, L., Thorp, J. (2020). Campus security: How has the focus changed? *Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University*, 4-8.

TRIGGER WARNING: This article discusses campus safety and includes language around sexual assault and sexual violence

Introduction

In 1988 we wrote *Campus Security: Changing the Focus* that argued the need for college students to take more responsibility for their own safety. At the time the Clerys were leading efforts to develop new security legislation following the 1986 rape and murder of their daughter Jeanne in her residence hall room at Lehigh University. The Clerys sent a mailing declaring that "students are powerless to provide for their own security" (Landreman and Thorp, 1988, p. 22), a sentiment consistent with public discourse at the time. Following our own observational research and case law review we concluded that "it makes no difference what kind of policies, educational opportunities, or safety features campuses build into its environment...if the campus community does not buy in...the risk of violence or injury will increase" (Landreman and Thorp, 1988, p. 23). For the bicentennial edition of the IUSPA journal we were asked to consider how the landscape for campus security has changed and its relevance today.

Current Landscape

Since 1988, the landscape of campus crime and safety prevention efforts have changed dramatically. The *Student Right-to-Know* and *Campus Security Act* became law in November 1990 with bipartisan support (S.580, 1990). Renamed the *Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act* (CSA) in 1998, the law requires higher education institutions to distribute an annual security report that includes security policies, campus crime statistics and crime prevention efforts. Amendments to the CSA 1990 has focused more explicitly on sexual assault than the original legislation and expanded the reporting mandate to include hate crimes, consistent with federal guidance resulting from student Title IX activism, "BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo, and #TimesUp movements, and the testimony of Dr. Blasey Ford in the Kavanaugh hearings that changed the public discourse on sexual violence (Graham and Konradi, 2018).

Technological changes that have permeated the US over the past decades are increasingly used to enhance campus safety efforts. Many campus building security systems include online locks that can exclude selected individuals' entry in real time, and auditable off-line locks to know who accessed a space and when. Video capabilities are also being used for facial recognition, authentication, and verification. This technology can provide notification to campus security about who is entering campus buildings almost instantaneously.

Nationwide emergency notification systems are used to send text and voice alerts to students and university stakeholders in emergency situations. Technology can digitize the popular "if you see something, say something" mantra, making it much easier to actually "say something" (Parent, 2018, para. 5). By replacing the proverbial "tip line" with a smartphone, campuses receive more calls and better information from the campus community. Smart-notified "safe walks" are now available on smart phones, replacing campus escort programs. Students can map out their route and estimated travel times on Google Maps and select friends, family, and security personnel to be notified. If the student does not push a button during the trip to confirm their safety, their contacts will be notified (Parent, 2018).

Technology is also being used to monitor students' social media. Informed by data scientists, linguistics, scalable technology, and AI-powered language engines, companies are being contracted to search Twitter and Facebook for digital signals that are potential threats to the campus community and immediately notify an emergency response team.

Safety Prevention efforts have also been enhanced. Bystander education programs emerged in the 2000s to empower students to engage in active surveillance of their environment and social norms. These programs help students develop strategies to identify and intervene in situations before racist or aggressive sexual behavior occurs. These programs have been administered in peer education programs, video campaigns, and required pre-enrollment online modules on alcohol education and sexual violence prevention.

Continued Concerns

Despite the attention and improvements to security policies and practices, campus safety remains a concern, with many strategies creating new challenges. Although campus crime reporting and awareness of campus security policies has greatly enhanced since the CSA 1990, there is no evidence that students use this information to make admissions decisions or change their behavior, nor has campus crime decreased (Gregory & Janosik, 2003). Shafer (2007) analyzed sexual assault rates on campuses both before and after the passage of the CSA 1990, and found almost no difference (as cited in Graham and Konradi, 2018). In other words, the Act did not itself prevent campus violence.

Case in point, in 2015, two unescorted MIT students entered 11 unlocked rooms in a Boston University residence hall. One of them sexually assaulted a woman asleep in her residence hall room until she awoke and screamed. The victim sued the university and administrators, arguing that the university gave students a false sense of security in the residence hall and failed to enforce security policies that could have prevented the attack (Khan, 2020). Students reported that, “security is so lax that residents easily swipe their friends into the dorm with their key fobs, and many unauthorized guests sleep in the common areas” (Krantz, 2018, para. 4). This case is reflective of the same issues and arguments that motivated our 1988 article.

The number of deaths caused by shootings on college campuses has also increased. The shooting tragedy at Virginia Tech in 2007, which led to the deaths of 33 people, brought attention to a number of issues that continue to be debated on campuses, in law enforcement agencies, the media, and federal and state legislatures. Some of these include access to firearms on campus, availability of mental health services, and emergency response protocols and communication (Greenberg, 2007).

Emergency notification systems and bystander prevention programs have provided enhanced communication to security personnel and the knowledge and skills for students to enact “see something, say something.” These improvements have done nothing to prevent the staff and students with unacknowledged racial and gender biases from imposing their bias in their surveillance and interventions of their potentially dangerous settings/interactions (Graham & Kornadi, 2018). Revelations of the #Metoo, Occupy, and #BlackLivesMatter movements (and many other justice movements) have resulted in critiques of the failure of judicial systems, where issues of systemic and institutional racism, classism, and sexism were at the forefront. When colleges and universities adopt messages of “danger” and focus on what potential victims could do to protect themselves, they often ignore the role of students in perpetrating crimes against one another and the lack of effort to challenge cultural norms that contribute to implicit bias. Societal prejudices coalesce with the unspoken beliefs that the campus community, which remains primarily white and middle class, are most vulnerable to aggression from perceived “outsiders,” and they tend to be people of color (Graham & Konradi, 2018). The pervasive myths that frame students of color as more threatening or dangerous affects White students’ bystander lens (Graham & Konradi, 2018). These implicit biases complicate the ability to train campus communities on effective ways to enact prevention education that includes how students can take responsibility for their own safety without blaming the victim or perpetuating systemic oppression. While technology offers the promise of improved crime prevention, a reduction of campus violence is difficult to correlate and it does not eliminate implicit bias.

Additional concerns have emerged with the application of new technologies such as facial recognition and location tracking that give rise to ethical questions about their use. Questions such as: How are we training the staff who respond to these situations in ways that balance the security concerns with the recognition that often these are students and other members of our community who warrant dignity and respect? How are we addressing concerns of implicit bias? How much information is too much information to collect? Who has access to this information and how is it being protected? Who decides who has access to information? How do we balance the need for security with the desire for developing trusting communities and maintaining individual privacy, freedoms, and agency?

Despite the increased legislation, improved safety awareness campaigns, and implementation of a myriad of technological strategies to assist with crime prevention, the challenges of upholding college students' safety remains a relevant topic, with old challenges continuing alongside the introduction of new concerns. For students to be motivated to follow safety policies and recommendations they must perceive their safety is at risk, which contradicts the "at home" feeling we strive to create on campus. Individuals make their own threat assessment in making decisions about how to respond to policies and practices designed to enhance their safety. If students question the validity of the warning or level of risk they are less likely to follow university recommendations (Madden, 2015).

Higher education institutions will always have a duty of care for their students. Security systems and prevention programming have been important enhancements to this duty, but it has not diminished the importance of students' need to take responsibility for adhering to safety and security policies and recommendations. The messaging, however, has been complicated by our increased awareness of the implicit biases inherent in the messages of "safety," and the members of our community asked to enforce and participate in safety interventions. Colleges need to strive to create caring, trusting, and safe campus communities that cultivate students' sense of belonging. When achieved, the conditions for a learning environment where students can thrive and succeed are enhanced. Working to dismantle the legacies of power, privilege and oppression and their influence on individuals' behavior, institutional policies, and campus norms is required to ensure these communities include all students. Finding ways for "both/and" conversations—of community and proactive safety in a world that strives for social justice—is key. Efforts by faculty and staff to teach and mentor students about the context of the world and their responsibility in it are paramount. Universities are influencers of culture and can reinforce the careful and complex interplay between community, individual responsibility, safety, security, and freedom.

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Queer Students Navigating the Academy: LGBTQ+ Mentoring Practices at IUPUI

Lillian Hogan, Gabriel Rodríguez Lemus, Jr., Zach Lynn, Brennan Murphy, Rachel Scherzer

Abstract

Queer students (students who are non-heterosexual or non-cisgender) face unique challenges in higher education, including hostile campus climates and lack of specialized resources. While mentoring is considered a high-impact practice for undergraduate students, mentoring of queer students has received little attention in student affairs literature. This study focuses on five students' reactions to the Advancing Queer Student Education & Social Success (AQSESS) mentorship program at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI). Interview questions sought to address how queer student mentorship programs impact the students' sense of belonging on campus and how these programs may fit into the greater campus environment for queer students. Three emerging themes provide context for recommendations for how queer mentorship programs can benefit from leveraging student perceptions, while acknowledging mental health implications specific to the queer student population.

Keywords

Mentorship, LGBTQ+ Students, Queer Students

Lillian Hogan is a double alumnus of Indiana University with a B.A. in Psychology (2016) and M.S.Ed. in Higher Education and Student Affairs (2020). During the master's program, she has served as a Conduct Hearing Officer and Building Manager for the Indiana Memorial Union. She hopes to continue to develop as a supervisor and further her research in queer-lesbian identity development.

Gabriel Rodríguez Lemus, Jr. is a 2020 M.S.Ed. graduate of Indiana University's Higher Education and Student Affairs Program and an alumnus of San José State University. He will be attending The University of Texas at Austin to pursue a Ph.D. in Higher Education Leadership in Fall 2020 to continue his research interests focusing on Queer students, LatinX/o boys and men, and LatinX/a/o identity development.

Zach Lynn is a 2020 M.S.Ed. graduate of the Indiana University Higher Education and Student Affairs program. Zach earned his Bachelor of Music Education from Missouri Baptist University in 2014. At IU, Zach served as a Graduate Supervisor in Residential Programs and Services and as a practicum student with ACUI: Advancing Campus Communities.

Brennan Murphy hails from Chesterfield, Indiana. He attended Indiana University for his baccalaureate degree in Theatre & Drama before returning to IU for graduate studies. During his time in the HESA program, Brennan worked with Residential Programs & Services, the Office of Institutional Equity, and the Office of Student Conduct.

Rachel Scherzer is a higher education professional focusing in community engagement, service-learning, and social justice programs. She is a 2015 graduate of Otterbein University in Westerville, Ohio and served 3 years as an AmeriCorps VISTA member building programs to serve college students facing socioeconomic barriers. At IU, she held her assistantship with the

Student Involvement and Leadership Center as the Community Engagement GA and worked part time for the Center of Excellent for Women and Technology.

Suggested citation:
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Introduction

While there are at least 4,298 postsecondary institutions throughout the United States, the College Equality Index (2019) has listed links to only 175 LGBTQ+ cultural centers across those colleges and universities, with other sources reporting only slightly higher numbers (US News, 2019). Resources for the LGBTQ+ community are vital on college campuses because young people are identifying as queer at much greater rates than older generations – and at earlier ages. In fact, one third of transgender individual's transition from the ages of 18-24 (Rivas, 2011). From 2012 to 2017, older Americans decreased slightly in the numbers who identify as queer while those middle aged had a slight increase of 0.3% (Newport, 2018). Millennial identification increased by almost 5% during the same time period; now the newest generation has recently begun college and there is reason to believe the increases will continue (Newport, 2018). Gallup and the Williams Institute (2019) found approximately 4.5% of adults in the state of Indiana identify as LGBT – which implies an estimated 930 undergraduates at IUPUI who may need specialized services.

Purpose

Within the United States, queer individuals face discrimination in a variety of ways, many of which result in financially insecure situations related to that discrimination. Unfortunately, a Gallup survey revealed that LGBT identification correlates with lower incomes and lack of college degrees (Newport, 2018). In the higher education context, this translates to queer individuals having a lower degree completion rate than other groups, with the Midwest region having the lowest rating of college completion for queer students in the country (Williams Institute, 2014). Mentorship programs are one programmatic intervention that may provide students with a connection on campus that can raise the likelihood of degree completion through connections with faculty and staff.

The purpose of this project explores the experiences of queer students within the faculty/staff queer mentoring program at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI). Advancing Queer Student Education & Social Success (AQSESS) is an LGBTQ+ mentorship program run out of the IUPUI LGBTQ+ Center, which aims to "serve as a lighthouse of LGBTQ+ resources and as a landing ground to find community [for LGBTQ+ students] on campus" (IUPUI, 2019). The Center serves the queer community at IUPUI through community building, education, and advocacy. In this article, we examine the experiences students have had in this program as a way to evaluate the experiences of students within the center and within IUPUI as a whole. By examining the experiences of students within the IUPUI mentorship program, we explore the effective components of that program and the possible interventions for improving mentorship and the queer student experience, both at IUPUI and with queer student populations more generally.

Literature Review

A fundamental understanding of the construction of queer identity is necessary before attempting to navigate queer presence in higher education. The interrelation of sexual and gender minority groups creates a landscape of overlapping and conflicting needs. This review of extant literature opens with a look into queerness, an inherently political and philosophical underpinning of this study. Insight on the queer student populations in higher education then breaks down the common experiences of sexual and gender minorities, while also noting significant differences within those populations. Finally, the formats and benefits of student mentoring relationships in general provide background for mentoring initiatives that colleges and universities can foster to improve the campus climate for queer students.

Queerness

Over the last few decades, political and social movements have led to a coalition of identity minority groups under the overarching "LGBTQ+ community." This alliance is the product of three distinct factors: recognition of a common "coming out" experience, during which individuals internalize and/or publicly disclose their non-heterosexual or non-cisgender identities (Garvey, Matsumura, et al., 2018; Knous, 2006; Pryor, 2015; Solomon et al., 2015; Stevens, 2004); empathy over shared marginalization (Blumenfeld et al., 2016; Mollet & Lackman, 2018); and political utility of smaller populations banding together (Kilgo et al., 2019; Valelly, 2012). These conditions have crafted a community out of several distinct groups to create the LGBTQ+ mantle, which has positive connotations as well as drawbacks. First, as Kilgo et al. (2019) illustrate, the LGBTQ+ mantle "conflates differences in the lived experiences of individuals of various sexual identities and gender identities" (p. 422), ignoring the distinctions between subpopulations and even subordinating the needs of some identity groups below more vocal groups. The obfuscation behind the "+" in LGBTQ+ indicates how some groups do not even receive the verbal recognition of lesbians and gays. Secondly, LGBTQ+ does not adequately account for the fluidity of gender and sexuality (Rankin et al., 2010), requiring individuals to clearly identify the letter with which they align.

The terms "queer" and "queerness" are used throughout this study to denote the LGBTQ+ community and its members. Perhaps this leads to greater conflation than the LGBTQ+ umbrella, but it allows for a greater acknowledgment of fluidity. "Queer" became a prevalent slur against sexual and gender minorities in the early-20th century (Wortham, 2016), used to attack individuals not only as different, but as *different and wrong*. Rand (2014) notes that the term was reclaimed in the 1980s by the very people it was meant to belittle as a "widely accessible, highly recognizable, and fiercely worded statement meant both to agitate and inspire" (p. 2). Post-reclamation, queerness connotes an active, agitative view of gender and sexuality, providing an alternative route for subcommunities to coalesce in a more egalitarian manner.

Not all individuals in the LGBTQ+ community wish to identify as queer, given the term's oppressive history. When appropriate, this article refers to individuals and populations by the labels and names they have disclosed for themselves. Attention is also given to when research focuses on particular subpopulations (i.e., LGB studies or interviews with gender nonconforming individuals) rather than the queer community as a whole. Confusion arises as some researchers use "queer" as an identity category for all gender and sexual minorities (Renn, 2010), while others use "queer" as an umbrella term for only sexual minorities (Garvey & Rankin, 2015).

Queer Students

Queer students entering college bring with them the stigma and trauma they confronted in earlier life, to be compounded upon new stressors and methods of support. Like other marginalized student populations, queer students on campus often experience minority stress: the feeling of tension between the student's minoritized perspective and the dominant ideology frequently manifesting as discrimination and prejudice (Woodford et al., 2015). Additionally, the collegiate experience is a typical environment for students to explore their identities, leading it to be a common place for students to come out for the first time (Garvey & Rankin, 2015). Institutions of higher education must consider how to attend to the needs of queer students in this seminal time, perhaps the first period of their lives in which questioning and closeted students can spend time publicly within the queer community.

Extensive research has focused on the effects of campus climates on queer students (Blumenfeld et al., 2016; Brown et al., 2004; Garvey, Squire, et al., 2018; Woodford & Kulick, 2015; Woodford et al., 2015), specifically on recording the existence of hostile campus climates, or qualifying and quantifying the detrimental effects of such environments. Less attention is given to how institutions can actively improve campus climate for queer students. Dealing with a hostile campus climate, in addition to the regular stresses of college, can negatively impact students' mental health (Woodford et al., 2015) or can lead to students seriously considering leaving their institution (Rankin et al., 2010). The hostility of campus climate manifests in different forms, depending upon the queer subpopulation, and consequently may induce different negative effects, as discussed in the following sections.

Sexual Minority Students

Sexual minority students (those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, pansexual, asexual, etc.) confront *heterosexism* on their campuses, which is the ongoing and pervasive cultural assumption that labels heterosexuality as a norm (Woodford et al., 2015). Heterosexism creates the oppressive conditions that compel sexual minority students to come out, labeling themselves as "other," while also motivating homophobia and other forms of discrimination and violence. Different subpopulations are more likely to encounter different manifestations of aggravated heterosexism at college. For example, gay men are more likely to be targets of derogatory remarks, while lesbians are more likely to be purposefully ignored or excluded by other students (Rankin et al., 2010). The trauma of heterosexism to sexual minority students leads to adverse personal outcomes, including diminished self-esteem, greater psychological distress and suicidality (Silverschanz et al., 2008), and adverse academic outcomes, including lower grade point averages and academic disengagement (Cress, 2008).

The majority of the literature surrounding sexual minority students (and queer students at large) looks specifically to gays, lesbians, and, to a lesser degree, bisexuals, referred to as the LGB student population. This reflects real-world resource allocation and attention given in the queer community, with gay men holding a place of privilege (Adler, 2018). Pansexual, asexual, and other queer people can feel ostracized not only from the dominant culture, but also within the queer community. This affects non-LGB sexual minority students, who feel they are in the "sexual borderlands" (Mollet & Lackman, 2018), who deserve care and informed treatment from staff as any other minority student.

Gender Minority Students

Queer students who identify outside of the sexually constructed gender binary are gender minority students. While previous scholarship and institutions have paid moderate focus to transgender identity, the definition of and notions informing that identity have shifted. Historically, transgender often referred to students who identified as the opposing binary gender identity from that which was assigned to them at birth. But even in 2005, Beemyn noted that "[m]ore and more students today are coming out as transgender – as transsexuals, cross-dressers, genderqueers, gender benders, androgynous, and a host of other gender-variant identities" (pp. 77-78), indicating that *transgender* itself is another catch-all for a slew of identities.

The primary, but not only, aggravating factor in the discrimination of gender minority students is *cissexism*, a prevailing and debilitating cultural norm that harms those who exist and live outside of the gender/sex binary. Of all queer students, gender minority students are most likely to experience overt hostility (Rankin et al., 2010), often in the forms of violence and harassment. Additionally, gender minority students have their own distinct set of needs in the realms of "health care, residence halls, bathrooms, locker rooms, records and documents, public inclusion, and programming, training, and support" (Beemyn, 2005, p. 78). Not all gender minority students seek medication or surgical intervention to aid in their transitions, but universities without staff trained in the process will find themselves ill-equipped to support these students in one of the most salient identities they hold. As mentioned in the previous section, LGB populations have received the bulk of the attention in LGB(T) research. Gender minority identities remain under-researched (Renn, 2010), a limitation to providing quality care.

Addressing Hostile Climates

Some higher education researchers have looked toward how to address hostile climates for the betterment of queer individuals. Vacarro (2012) proposes ameliorating the negative effects of a broader campus climate by fostering positive microclimates, small pockets on campus that provide a sense of belonging, usually fostered in departments, specified residence halls, or LGBTQ+ centers. More concretely, Yost and Gilmore (2011) give examples of initiatives undertaken at Dickinson College to improve campus climate for queer students: a campus-wide colloquium; discussions on inclusivity with administrators; orientation events for queer students and allies; curricular changes; and the creation of a bias response team. The mere presence of and marketing about an LGBTQ+ center and organizations on campus appeared to improve queer students' sense of belonging (Vacarro & Newman, 2017).

Mentorship of Undergraduates

There are as many definitions of mentorship as there are leaders that practice it. In a review of college mentoring literature over a 27-year span, Crisp and Cruz (2009) found over fifty varying definitions of mentoring. Since college students can receive mentoring guidance on mental, emotional, career, and social growth, a sufficiently broad definition proves useful. Kram (1985) describes mentorship as a relationship in which a more experienced individual provides support in the development of the less experienced individual. Undergraduate students receive different guidance depending upon whether their mentors are faculty, staff, graduate students, or their peers (Crisp et al., 2017), since the different perspectives and relationships that are created can inform the content and dynamics of mentorship. Mentoring relationships may develop in formal situations, such as with supervisors or in research teams, but also may arise informally, through student-student interaction. In collegiate settings, the quality of a mentoring relationship depends upon several factors including authenticity, commitment, extent to which a mentor challenges a student, and the extent to which a mentor encourages a student to seek extracurricular involvement (Docherty et al., 2018).

In fact, higher education institutions have adopted mentoring as a "high-impact practice" (Garvey, BrckaLorenz, et al., 2018; Kilgo et al., 2019), as building a relationship with a mentor has been shown to have multiple benefits for students. Well-received mentoring partnerships yield several positive college outcomes for undergraduate students, most notably in degree attainment, persistence, career and personal development, social responsibility, and leadership (Crisp et al., 2017). Baier, Markman, and Pernice-Duca's (2016) survey of 237 college freshmen showed that, alongside collegiate self-efficacy, perception of mentorship was a top indicator of student persistence beyond the first semester.

Mentoring Queer Students

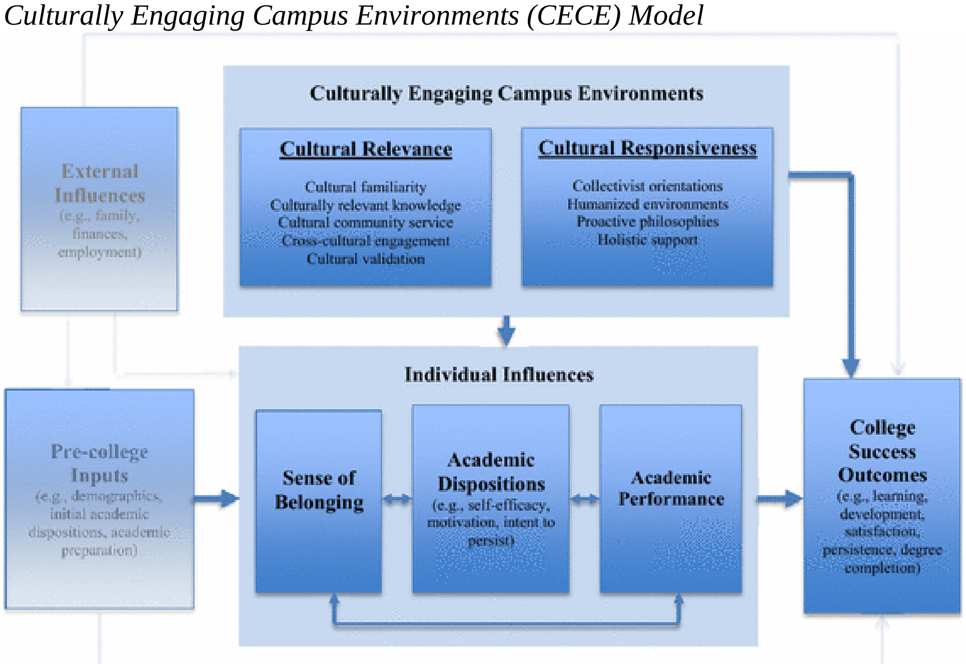
Researchers have analyzed mentorship's impact on college students for decades, but scholarship framed on the mentorship of queer students did not gain prominence until the last ten years. Many queer undergraduates enter higher education having experienced what Graham (2019) describes as mentor deficit, the lack of effective mentors or role models at younger ages. College is often the first opportunity where these students have the freedom to effectively seek out a formal mentor – or perhaps college is the first environment in which openly queer people are recognizable as potential mentors. Faculty mentorship of queer students has a positive impact on the students' academic success (Garvey, BrckaLorenz, et al., 2018) and resiliency (Graham, 2019), but also improves students' sense of belonging in otherwise hostile campus climates (Garvey & Kurotsuchi Inkelas, 2012). The personalized and semi-private nature of mentorship provides "gains in self-confidence and comfort with one's sexuality [that] will make participation in other, more public LGBT activities a possibility" (Hoover, 2009, p. 37). If executed correctly, mentorship programs provide academic, social, and developmental boons for queer students – a form of institutional support that they may not find elsewhere on campus.

Formal mentorship programs are initiatives that institutions of higher education can implement in order to engage the underrepresented queer student population. However, there appears to be some discrepancy in the literature over mentoring across difference (i.e., mentor/mentee partners of different gender, race, class, etc.). Graham (2019) claims that mentor pairing is more successful when the mentor and mentee share similar identities, Ragin (1997) contends that mentor partnerships across diverse backgrounds are overall equal to similar background pairings, and Early (2017) found evidence that diverse background pairings actually yielded better results for mentorship partners. This incongruity of findings makes it difficult to effectively coordinate mentorship pairings: Must mentors and mentees share the same identities? While at least some research suggests that mentorship across different queer identities may still be beneficial for students, it is important that faculty and staff mentors are adequately informed on and prepared for the particular identity-based issues that students bring to the relationship.

Conceptual Framework

New models of approaching campus environments have been developed in order to better serve marginalized students. One example is Museus' (2014) Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) Model (see figure 1), which uses studies on students of color on campus to create indicators that help determine the ability of a campus to engage students of diverse cultural backgrounds or identities, reflecting their needs as they navigate institutions of higher education.

Figure 1
Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) Model



By analyzing potential pre-college inputs, external influences, and individual influences including sense of belonging, academic dispositions, and academic performance, Museus (2014) constructed nine potential indicators that can be implemented to create higher degrees of college success for marginalized students. The CECE Model uses an asset model to focus on the ways that success is promoted for these marginalized students, rather than focusing on the ways their success is hindered (Museus, 2014). The model calls for practitioners to analyze environments and create opportunities that align with the indicators.

While primarily framed in terms of supporting racialized students, the CECE Model has been reframed for successful application with other marginalized communities. The model has been applied within racialized and broader, more intersectional contexts to analyze students' success within their environments (Druery & Brooms, 2018; McShay, 2017). While less is known about the application of CECE Model with queer students, the model is able to apply to diverse experiences on college campuses. Within this project, the concept of mentoring connects to key indicators for culturally engaged environments for queer students. We focus specifically on evaluating the indicators of cultural relevance (i.e. relevant knowledge, cross-cultural engagement, and validation), cultural responsiveness (i.e. holistic support and proactive philosophies), sense of belonging, and college satisfaction outcomes.

Methods

This study focused on the lived experiences of queer students participating in a mentoring program at a large urban public university in the Midwest. AQSESS at IUPUI is a faculty and staff mentoring program for undergraduate students that seeks to build community, creates a connection to resources, and focuses on professional development. The program hopes to create a sense of belonging at IUPUI and for the students to ultimately become engaged alumni (IUPUI LGBTQ+ Website, 2019). The research team interviewed students who were current or former participants in AQSESS in order to gain further insight into how mentorship can improve queer students' lives in higher education.

Based on the extant research and using the CECE model as a framework, this study seeks answers to two overarching research questions:

1. How does the AQSESS program impact queer students' sense of belonging at IUPUI?
2. How does the AQSESS mentorship program fit into the greater environment of IUPUI for queer students?

Positionality Statement

Collectively, all the researchers personally identify with being on the queer spectra. We are all "out" to our friends and some of us are "out" to our families. We all identify as cis-men or cis-women. In terms of our race/ethnicity, we have one Chicanx/Latinx person, all others identifying as White. We sought to do this study in order to understand the ways that practitioners can better support queer students, whether formally or informally. We are personally invested in this push because we seek to understand if mentoring programs for queer students are effective and seek to further investigate how they receive holistic support.

Participants & Recruitment

All students interviewed were a part of the AQSESS at IUPUI. The director of the LGBTQ+ Center, who is also the coordinator of the mentoring program, sent out a call for students involved in the program to inform them that there was a research study in need of students who participated in the mentoring program. After an initial recruitment email, the researchers also visited IUPUI to recruit participants face-to-face, as well as emailed a survey to students who preferred not to be interviewed in person. All students are undergraduates, self-identify as queer/LGBTQ+, and had at least one formal mentor through the program.

Data Collection

Qualitative research allows the exploration of lived experiences and capturing the importance of stories (Jones, 2002), through the use of interviews or other qualitative techniques. The research team interviewed three students in-person at IUPUI's LGBTQ+ Center in November 2019. The interviews took place one-on-one with a researcher. The students participated in a 30-minute sit-down interview with questions intended to gauge the presence of CECE indicators in the mentorship program. All the interviews with participants were based on ten main questions; however, the researchers did let the in-person conversations flow naturally and did not necessarily include all questions. The in-person interviews were recorded on cellphone and transcribed by software, then edited for accuracy and coded by the research team. For the data from the other two participants, their information was collected through an online version of the survey and coded by the research team.

Interview Instrument

Participants were interviewed using semi-structured interviewed questions, attached as Appendix A. The questions were developed with special attention to two themes from the CECE Model (Museus, 2014); Cultural Relevance and Cultural Responsiveness. Researchers formed the questions using specific CECE indicators from within the overarching themes: cultural familiarity, culturally relevant knowledge, validating environments, proactive philosophies, and the availability of holistic support (Museus, 2014). With further probing, the questions detailed the way students were being supported in terms of the CECE indicators. For example, students were asked if they had attended any LGBTQ+ History Month events; this question was meant to gauge how the campus implemented a proactive philosophy that engaged queer students. In total, ten questions were created, five specifically focusing on Cultural Relevance, and the other five on Cultural Responsiveness.

Qualitative Analysis

Throughout this research project, content analysis is used as one of the main methods of data interpretation. Content analysis is a systematic and objective way to interpret and classify data, often used to analyze written, verbal, or visual communications (Elo & Kyngas, 2007). For this study it will be used to effectively condense and examine the broad range of input from the various individuals participating in the interviews. The research team used an inductive approach for content analysis. With an inductive approach, concepts of open coding, creating categories, and abstraction were considered. The researchers first read all written transcripts, then created codes to describe the various points and statements throughout the content. The codes were then grouped into categories of higher order to break down the information further and produce a concrete understanding of the information provided. Finally, the qualitative categories were refined into overarching themes from the data that can be used to determine future action steps and any recommendations for the mentoring program at IUPUI.

Results

There were a total of five participants in the study. Participants had a range of identities and used labels such as gay, queer, asexual, and transman – but were not formally asked to disclose their queer identities in the interview process. All of the participants mentioned the importance of the LGBTQ+ Center in terms of a supportive environment and connection with others, while each participant had their own individualized experience with the mentorship program.

Emerging Themes

Researchers discovered three major themes in the data during qualitative analysis which are mentee expectations, commitment & abandonment, and campus microclimates. Two themes deal specifically with the AQSESS mentorship program: first, that undergraduate mentees are entering the program with different expectations and desires for the mentor relationship; and second, that the level of commitment from mentors (or lack thereof) may have severe implications for this student population. The themes relating to AQSESS also addresses the complexity of mental health when working with queer students. The final theme regards perceptions of microclimates for queer students on the IUPUI campus which gives greater context for AQSESS and the LGBTQ+ Center.

Mentee Expectations

Coming from diverse backgrounds and representing a gamut of identities, it is unsurprising that mentees expressed different expectations and desires of the mentorship relationship. For Mac, the ideal mentor would foster his social growth: “Just someone who gets me. Someone who could help me find people like myself. And because I, like I said, the [LGBTQ Student] Alliance was kind of falling apart and there weren't many other places to meet guys.” Bethesda was grateful for guidance on graduate school from their mentor during a peak educational transition. Participants often spoke of mentorship partnerships in terms of their development and growth, even if the key areas of growth differed by individual.

Participants also indicated expecting mentors to fill several potential roles: friend, educator, peer, confidant. Shiom wanted “someone to talk to about my troubles, and an adult who could actually help me with, like, if I was homeless or something, where could I go? Type of serious issues on that matter.” Shiom went on to describe the feeling of disappointment mentees might feel when their expectations of mentorship are not met:

> I was hoping it would help me more than it really did. So maybe like a little disappointing at the end just ’cause I was hoping to get something more out of it, but it is what it is. […] I wanted some more support, I guess that just, yeah, like almost a friend, but more like a family member.

Whether or not these expectations can be reasonably fulfilled by a mentor relationship, it was clear that Shiom entered the AQSESS program with some internalized hopes that were ultimately unfulfilled.

Mental Health

Most participants indicated some degree of stress on their mental health while studying at IUPUI. Bethesda mentioned experiencing trauma and anxiety, Shiom expressed feeling isolated, and Mac noted seeking a mental health counselor who better understood his experiences as a gay man. These statements were made in connection with participation in AQSESS mentorship or with queer culture at IUPUI. No participant explicitly expressed an expectation that their mentorship relationship would have a direct responsibility for mental health improvement. Nevertheless, the prevalence of students connecting mental health concerns with participation within queer campus activities may mean that some students enter the AQSESS program with expectations that might be beyond the scope of the mentorship relationship.

Commitment and Abandonment

Some participants expressed appreciation for the feeling of commitment they felt mentors gave to their relationship – usually noted by the regularity of meetings and the efforts mentors made to provide guidance (i.e. inviting participants to volunteer opportunities or lending a book from a personal collection). Not all mentors, however, displayed this level of commitment to the program. Regarding interactions with their mentor, Skyler noted, "I had only met with her twice. I could never get in contact with her. Sometimes she couldn't show up to meeting times we scheduled." More egregiously, Shiom's mentor vanished without notice. Shiom could not get in contact with the mentor, and when they visited the mentor's office, a new employee had taken over the space. Shiom did not know if the mentorship program had been discontinued fully, but expressed reticence to reach out to the LGBTQ+ Center, since Shiom did not know anyone in the Center intimately:

> [S]ince he just kinda left out of thin air for no reason, I was just kinda like shocked a little bit. And I was, like, well, I know I could go to the LGBTQ center if I ever did get kicked out [of my home] and things, but I don't know any of them, like I do this guy. So that was kind of in the back of my mind.

Shiom and Skyler felt failed by the university-supported mentorship program. Perceived abandonment by their mentors changed the new relationship from potentially beneficial to potentially harmful.

Campus Microclimates

Students interviewed also shared their experiences feeling comfortable as queer students on campus. While the LGBTQ+ Center was identified as one space students felt safe, other areas also provided safe and supportive spaces related to queerness. Trevor, for example, identified spaces within the liberal arts section of campus that they found supported both their queer experience and their queer development. Trevor stated "I didn't actually visit the LGBTQ Center here until I came out last semester because I just hadn't had a reason to[.] Because there's a lot of queer people that work in the writing center. There's a lot of queer people that are in my poetry communities." Another interviewee identified the art department as a space of support, along with seeing patterns in certain other liberal spaces on campus. For these students, their departments factored greatly in finding supportive environments for queerness, even without explicitly being created for queer students.

The campus environment on the whole provided examples of both these supportive and hostile environments. Bethesda stated

> We also have Safe Spaces around campus. I see the stickers outside advisors' offices. I feel supported, but there are always ways to improve and make IUPUI a better and safer place for LGBTQ+ students. For example, whenever I pass by the democracy plaza, I sometimes see derogatory or unsavory remarks.

Several other students identified different climates across campus depending on location based on major or program. Certain buildings were more hostile based on the experiences that students had in the space or representations that students showcased. One student spoke of one building feeling especially hostile because of a poster of transgender celebrity Caitlyn Jenner that used her deadname and had not been removed. Skyler did not feel as if there were opportunities for them to share their experiences and be heard – even when acknowledging feeling comfortable at and appreciative of the LGBTQ+ Center. Depending on the location on campus, students felt differently about the physical or social environments in which they found themselves.

Students also had different experiences relating to the LGBTQ+ Center. Two students mentioned feeling somewhat out of place amongst "regulars" who were often in the Center. Most of the participants discussed the importance of connecting with adult figures such as faculty in their respective schools or staff at the Center, while many mentioned a lack of support from others outside these spaces. Regardless of the space, students were able to find different defined social groups or experiences.

Discussion

Based on the information from participants, both IUPUI in general and the AQSESS Program specifically serve certain characteristics of CECE while expressing areas where additional work can be done. Students expressed the existence of the LGBTQ+ Center and the AQSESS Mentoring Program provided an opportunity for them to have cultural familiarity and access culturally relevant knowledge. The existence of both allows students the opportunity to connect with faculty, staff, and peers who understand and share the experience of queerness, creating a space that encourages success (Museus, 2014). Both programs create an easily recognizable space that is also responsible for creating, sustaining, and increasing knowledge of the queer community through opportunities to attend Alliance Meetings, events, or connect with their mentors, supporting the culturally relevant knowledge piece highlighted by Museus (2014). Several students, however, also expressed their inability to attend events because of being busy or feeling unsafe due to the timing of events – a significant barrier to accessing the Center.

Participants shared an appreciation for the physical space of the LGBTQ+ Center as a culturally validating environment that conveys the values of their population (Museus, 2014); however, this is only one large room in a larger building on campus and does not always extend outside of that space. It cannot accommodate many people at one time, and it is believed that for this reason there are a group of "regulars" who spend time with each other in that space. This made some participants feel as though they could not just drop by at any time; one participant had to be encouraged by a friend to reach out to the center for support. Many students expressed validating environments elsewhere on campus, including other departments or individual friends, family, coworkers, or advisor support, which failed to reach the level of holistic support.

Participants expressed a definite lack in the area of availability of holistic support for their queer identities. Museus (2014) describes holistic support as deeper than simple access, but having "faculty and staff members that [participants] are confident [in] will provide them with the information they seek, offer the help they require, or connect them with the information or support they need" (p. 214). Participants in the study expressed a lack of confidence that their mentors or the LGBTQ+ Center would be able to provide them with the information they were looking for, the specific help they needed (such as resources if they were kicked out of their homes), or the full ability to connect them with other resources on or off-campus. From their responses, it was clear that all the participants felt IUPUI in general could do more to improve the overall environment for the queer community.

One area of Museus' CECE Model that the mentorship program lacked was a proactive philosophy toward queer students. Of the five participants sampled, experiences varied greatly over the kind of support received from their mentors. Two participants had more positive experiences, one had an average experience, while the other two had negative experiences. One student mentioned regular weekly lunches with their mentor to express frustrations unique to the queer experience, describing this time as relieving. Another participant described how their mentor relationship had gone beyond life-sharing and was assisting the student in their attempt to get into graduate school. A student described an "average" experience by having a space to talk and the mentor's general supportiveness, providing the extra effort that can translate into success. Those having negative experiences, however, expressed a lack of proactive philosophies from their mentor which affected their ability to feel the support was accessible. Students whose mentors were inaccessible, either because of skipping meetings or entirely disappearing from the program, not only missed out on extra help that can bolster success, but also internalized their feelings of disappointment that could affect their experience seeking culturally familiar and proactive forms of support.

Limitations

While the data is informative, this study is not free from its limitations. The mentorship program is small to begin with and only a few students responded to our outreach attempts. Our initial study was created with the intention of having a larger number of participants that could be used to produce more generalizable knowledge. Since our study uses the reflection of five participants in one public university in the Midwest, it is not clear how generalizable the results are to all LGBTQ+ college mentorship programs. In addition, due to time constraints, the data were collected from both three in-person interviews and two online surveys, instead of the initially proposed design of multiple in-person interviews. This means while everyone answered the same general questions, the in-person interviews allowed for clarifying questions from the participants and follow-up questions from the researchers – which gave way to greater detail in the answers. It was difficult to collect data and conduct outreach since four out of five of the researchers did not live in Indianapolis where the study was taking place. While five perspectives do not represent the experiences of all possible LGBTQ+ mentees, the study allowed the participants to have their perspectives validated and for the researchers to consider how programs could improve.

Implications

The following section outlines the ways in which data collected can be interpreted to identify and suggest areas of growth for the IUPUI LGBTQ+ center, the AQSESS Mentorship Program, and future research in this area.

For the IUPUI LGBTQ+ Center

Our study was able to conceive some implications for furthering the work of LGBTQ+ centers, queer mentoring programs, and the types of trainings that mentors should receive. Due to the lacking safe spaces mentioned by multiple participants, the LGBTQ+ Center should look for ways to expand their reach more broadly across campus. Queer student hangouts or study groups could be utilized in other campus buildings to provide space outside of the Center. Following data collection, the researchers believe the LGBTQ+ Center could also benefit from creating a campus map highlighting safe or comfortable spaces for queer individuals, while also highlighting the relevant institutional policies. Events should take place at a greater variety of times to give students the opportunity to participate despite busy schedules and restrictions by time of day. Safety can be an even greater concern for this population and considerations should be made in terms of time of day and availability of public transportation.

For the AQSESS Mentorship Program

Multiple participants described a negative impact of participating in the program – or no benefit at all. The AQSESS mentorship program should focus on reliability and training support that would have positive benefits for the participants. The program should seek to create a more transparent program that has a structure rooted in communication that would help mentors and students know the process for ensuring effective notification when issues arise to prevent students from experiencing additional abandonment. In an attempt to alleviate feelings of abandonment, there should be clear lines of communication between the LGBTQ+ Center, mentors, and students. The Center may want to place a larger focus on regular communication with mentees to ensure awareness of their support, while also focusing on promising practices for mentors to collaborate with their mentees.

While it is not believed that any of the mentors intended to cause harm, actions could be taken to reduce the probability of negatively impacting students. The final implication for practice is creating an additional structure for training that includes a focus on mentor expectations, experience of queer students on campus, and mental health first aid. This structure would help mentors know the process for best supporting their mentees. A portion of the training should also focus on the LGBTQ+ Center's role in supporting mentees when issues arise for the mentor. While the training is not a solution for all potential concerns that occur in mentorship, it can be an effective strategy for ensuring knowledge of promising practices to support students.

For Research

In terms of implications for research, our study has pointed to three major areas for further study. First, scholarship must understand how mentoring impacts queer students, specifically the ways that mentorship programs can cause harm by re-traumatizing students. Second, studies should be conducted on which training practices are most important for working with queer students. Third, researchers should analyze the intersection between mental health and queer identity. Further inquiry into effective programming strategies has the potential to have significant impacts on the lives of queer students.

Conclusion

By interviewing queer students participating in the AQSESS program, this study was able to highlight the importance of queer mentorship and its impact on students. The research suggests that much like general mentorship of college students, queer students benefit from a mentorship experience, but require specific practices related to queer community building and mental health that can vastly improve the experience of mentorship. A particular emphasis must be placed on preventing unintentional harm and supporting communities throughout campus for this population. Promising practices should include clear and consistent communication between students, mentors, and LGBTQ+ student centers to ensure that students are able to connect throughout their experience. Additional research is needed into the intersection of mental health and queer identity with students, specifically focusing on the fear of abandonment and mental health concerns. However, our research showcases promising information on queer mentorship as a student affairs practice.

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Assessing the Social Climate for Veteran and Military Students at Indiana University Bloomington

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Abstract

This study analyzes the social climate for student veterans at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB) through the lens of the socially constructed environments framework (Strange & Banning, 2015). Research questions seek to understand the ways in which student veterans utilize the Center for Veteran and Military Students (CVMS) as well as examine the center's ability to enhance this population's personal development and sense of self-enhancement. Through a document review, survey, and individual semi-structured interviews, we identify important themes that summarize the experiences of student veterans at IUB and tie them to recommendations that will improve the experiences of student veterans on campus.

Keywords

Veteran and military students, socially constructed framework, social climate

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Introduction

Since World War II, veteran and military students have become an increasingly common population on college campuses in the United States (PNPI, 2018). As beneficiaries of government tuition benefits through the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (commonly known as the G.I. Bill), these students must follow complex restrictions and regulations in the pursuit of higher education. Veteran and military students represent a diverse population in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, background, and veteran status. Within veteran status, there are veterans utilizing the G.I. Bill, active members of the military, ROTC recruits, the Reserves, and veterans not using G.I. benefits. In terms of other demographics, the average veteran or military student entering college is 25 years of age, 62% are first-generation college students, 47% are married, 47% have children, and 25% are women (PNPI, 2018).

Underneath their shared veteran or military identity, this population has a complex set of needs and challenges as they transition from the social environment experienced in the military to that of a college or university. The number of veteran and military students enrolled in college has increased since September 11, 2001 (Southwell et al., 2016), and further research is needed to examine the ways in which a campus can best support these students. IUB's CVMS works to enhance the experiences of this population. This study will inform the center's staff of their students' perceptions and provide recommendations for improved practice.

Literature Review

To provide contextual background for this research, we will outline the history of veterans on IUB's campus, the environmental framework influencing the study, and present an overview of available research on veteran and military students. It should be noted that much of the literature surrounding high impact practices with veteran and military students comes from the years 2009-2010, bringing additional urgency to the completion of new research surrounding this population. Within the literature review, we have maintained the integrity of the original authors' lexicons regarding their use of the terms "veteran students," "military students," or "veteran and military students" throughout.

Historical Background

IUB has a 200-year history marked by veterans. One of the university's founders, David H. Maxwell, fought in the War of 1812 and many of the residence halls on campus hold the names of veterans (Summerlot, 2018). In 2008, the Director of Veteran Support Services position was created, and the population of veterans has since grown by 200% to 506 as of spring 2019 (Operation Hoosier Promise, 2019). This one-person operation occupied a small office in the Indiana Memorial Union before becoming the CVMS and moving to their own house on Woodlawn Avenue in November 2018. With this recent move, it is crucial to study how the population of veteran and military students interact with the new environment.

Socially Constructed Framework

The framework utilized for this study is Strange and Banning's (2015) socially constructed environments framework. This framework notes that "environments exert their influence on students' expectations, attitudes, and behaviors through the mediated and subjective perceptions or collective social constructions of those who participate in them" (Strange & Banning, 2015, p. 115). The three characteristics of this framework that greatly influence behavior are social climate, environmental press, and campus culture. Social climate is characterized by three social-environmental domains, each with dimensions that contribute to the makeup of the environment. Moos (1979) argues that the three interconnected domains are: relationships, personal growth and development, and system maintenance and system change. These domains "guide the understanding and assessment of key aspects of any social climate" (Strange & Banning, 2015, p. 120) and will be utilized to organize relevant extant literature on veteran and military students.

Though not utilized in this study, environmental press refers to the particular features or characteristics of an environment as perceived by the individuals who live in the environment (Strange & Banning, 2015). Campus culture, also not utilized, can be interpreted through the four levels of culture: artifacts, perspectives, values, and assumptions (Kuh & Hall, 1993, as cited in Strange & Banning, 2015). The scope of this framework is too large for the study to address all these aspects, so the focus of this study will be on the social climate of the CVMS, which best fits the nature of our study.

Relationship Domain

The relationship domain of social climate assesses "the extent to which people are involved in the setting, the extent to which they support and help one another, and the extent to which they express themselves freely and openly" (Moos, 1979, p. 14). For the purposes of our study, these dimensions will be analyzed through the lens of veteran and military students at colleges and universities in the United States.

The first dimension, involvement, can look different based on the environment in which it is occurring. Moos (1979) argues that involvement in a classroom "refers to the attentiveness of students to class activities and their participation in discussions" (p. 14). Since the classroom is one of many settings veteran and military students interact with while in college, it is best to think of this concept through the lens of student engagement and involvement in general. Astin (1984), who created student involvement theory, defines involvement as the investment of psychological and physical energy into a variety of objects that can be highly specific or generalized. Existing literature on veteran and military students highlight some trends regarding this population's involvement on college campuses.

The non-traditional demographics of this population impact the extent of veteran and military students' involvement. Southwell et al. (2018) argue that in comparison to more traditional students, the experience of non-traditional students "are characterized by less involvement with the university environment: less interaction with faculty and peers, less participation in extracurricular activities and use of campus services, and greater interaction with the environment external to institutions of higher education" (p. 397). These claims are supported by data from the 2010 National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE). NSSE's results led researchers to claim that institutions of higher education need to do a better job of engaging veteran and military students in high-impact practices (Lipka, 2010).

The extent to which individuals support and help one another is the next dimension of the relationship domain. In the context of veteran and military students, this can be assessed through student support services available to veterans. Lipka (2010), citing results from NSSE in 2010, found that veterans consistently perceive lower levels of campus support than non-veteran students. Such low levels of support can be addressed with more direct and nuanced interventions. Livingston et al. (2010) formulated a new model for the academic and social transition of veterans which takes into account their military background along with issues of invisibility, support, and campus culture. The article suggests that to better serve these students, professionals need to develop strategies to identify them as they enroll, create a system of veterans across campus who can be a source of support, and create a network of academic advisors and campus partners to connect students across campus (Livingston et al., 2010). However, because most college administrators today have not had military experience or identify as veterans, there should be an additional emphasis on using outside partnerships such as a veteran's affairs office (Rumann & Hamrick 2009). Furthermore, creating effective campus support for veteran and military students requires collaboration across all levels of the university (Pavlik 2019). Offices specifically designed to assist veteran and military students, such as the CVMS, play a key role in this process.

In addition, student affairs professionals need to raise awareness of the experiences and needs of veteran and military students (Rumann & Hamrick 2009). This can be done by designating veteran representatives so that veteran and military students will have a source of guidance and support when on campus (Rumann & Hamrick 2009). Another recommendation is forming committees with the goal of bringing different offices together to promote veteran student success and educating faculty and staff members about problems veterans face (Burnett & Segoria, 2009). Moos (1979) argues that teacher support in the classroom "assesses the personal interest and friendliness the teacher displays toward students" (p. 14). An indicator of this behavior can be how often certain students interact with faculty members. NSSE data from 2010 highlighted that veteran and military students interact with faculty members less than their nonveteran peers (Lipka, 2010).

Further research is needed that specifically discusses how comfortable veteran and military students are expressing themselves openly and freely, which is the third dimension of the relationship domain. A related aspect of this process is balancing both a veteran and a student identity. Borsari et al. (2017) claim that difficulties arise when student service members/veterans (SSM/V) look to be recognized as typical students while also being accepted as an SSM/V. Rumann and Hamrick's (2009) research on veteran and military students introduces the notion of identity re-negotiation and talks about the role of other individuals' perceptions of one's military service. The authors found that "respondents' statuses as servicemembers and veterans also were associated with different treatment by civilians, including strangers" (p. 448), impacting the veteran and military student's sense of identity.

Personal Growth and Goal Orientation Domain

The next domain of social climate involves the extent to which those in the environment personally grow and develop as a result of their interactions with the environment. Moos (1979) explains that this domain measures the basic goals of the setting and assesses where personal development occurs. Veteran and military students matriculate into the college or university environment with specific needs that vary from the broader student population. In reviewing the literature on veteran and military students and the priorities of the CVMS, three dimensions of personal development are consistent with their unique needs as students: academic progress, professional development, and emotional growth. The research team assessed the extent to which the social climate of the CVMS promotes these areas of growth through their academic and career programs, as well as other support services.

Dimensions of personal development. Veteran and military students often face unique barriers and interruptions that can impede their progress towards completing a college degree. Borsari et al., (2017) note that SSM/V may receive degrees at similar rates to other students, but they usually take longer to do so. Veteran and military students may face deficits in their academic preparation for college coursework, particularly in math or science (DiRamio et al., 2008). More than 60% of undergraduates on active duty have at least four risk factors that could cause them to not complete college (Molina & Morse, 2015). These include having at least one dependent, being a single parent, delayed college enrollment, not having a high school diploma, part-time enrollment, working full-time while enrolled, or being financially independent (Molina & Morse, 2015). Support services that assist with overcoming these obstacles in a student's academic career are needed to ensure success.

Another aspect of personal growth that impacts veteran students is professional and career development. After leaving a highly structured military environment, veteran and military students face challenges adapting to more informal environments such as classrooms and civilian work. Veteran students may resist seeking help and face difficulty with completing responsibilities on time, which can negatively influence their ability to succeed in jobs (Borsari et al., 2017). In a study by Hayden et al. (2014), veteran and military students perceive their needs associated with career development to be transferring military skills to the workplace, preparing a resume/CV, and negotiating job offers.

Due to their experience in the military, veteran and military students may be more mature and may have difficulty displaying empathy or understanding the issues other students face (DiRamio et al., 2008). They may perceive themselves as being at a different stage in life and prefer to spend their free time socializing with other veterans (Borsari et al., 2017). In the 2010 NSSE report, one in five veteran and military students reported having a disability, either prior to or as a result of their service, which can impact multiple aspects of their well-being (Lipka, 2010). Additionally, there is a stigma associated with receiving treatment, as former active duty service members may perceive it as weakness or a threat to their future career (Borsari et al., 2017). In considering that the CVMS is an office designed to support this population of students, contributing to the professional and emotional development of their students would be a benefit.

System Maintenance and System Change

The final aspect of Moos's socially constructed environments theory is the system maintenance and system change domain. This domain evaluates how orderly and clear the environment is in its expectations, in addition to how the environment both responds to change and maintains control (Moos, 1979). This dimension deals with how clearly the rules and policies are communicated to students, the organization of the environment, and how polite and considerate the people in the environment are within a group setting. For our study, this refers to the ways in which the CVMS communicates its rules, policies, and expectations to the students through the social interactions of the office.

The clear and straightforward nature of system maintenance and change could be related to the military cultural environment with which veterans are familiar. Redmond et al. (2015) discuss the characteristics of military workplace culture and how they could provide challenges for re-integrating into civilian life. One such aspect is 'good order' which, "refers to the rules and laws required to maintain a society that most people are familiar with, while the discipline aspect gives one service member authority over another" (Redmond et al., 2015, p. 13). In this way, system maintenance is tied to the organization and culture of military ranks. Similarly, military culture emphasizes certain language, values and symbols that become a distinct part of the military experience (Redmond et al., 2015). This emphasis on creating cohesion amongst values, expectations, and order drives the military organization, and upon entering a more disjunctive university environment, could cause dissonance within the veteran or military student.

In discussing the effects of workplace environment on reintegration, Redmond et al. (2015) stress mental health effects while also commenting on the difficulties in job maintenance. One example being that employers become disgruntled when employees must be given clear instructions on each of their tasks. Here, the employer is not understanding the cultural background of the veteran and how this identity affects their work and supervisory style. Overall, there is a disconnect between the military environment and civilian workspace. From the perspectives here, there is a linkage between the system maintenance dimension of Moos's socially constructed environment framework and military workplace culture.

The purpose of this study is to gauge the ways in which veteran students perceive the social climate of the CVMS. As the population of over 500 veteran and military students are being served by a staff of 2.5 people (the Director position is a .5 appointment), it is valuable to determine whether the interactions and perceptions of this environment are achieving the level of support these students need. We have centered this study around a central research question and two sub-questions:

1. How do veteran and military students perceive the social climate of the CVMS at IUB?
   a. How are veteran and military students at IUB involved with the CVMS?
   b. How do services and programs offered by the center enhance this population's personal development and sense of self-enhancement?

Through this study, the CVMS will gain an understanding of how students view the interactions occurring in the new office, whether these be aligned with the campus as a whole, staff and students within the center, or the services provided by the CVMS.

Methods

In this study, we used three distinct research methods: document review, survey, and individual semi-structured interviews. Each of these measures were used to provide the research team with data in order to assess the social climate of the CVMS at IUB.

Positionality

Although our research team is dedicated to improving the social experience of veteran and military students at IUB, none of us have served with any branch of the United States military or are military dependents. Lacking a direct shared experience with this population, the research team does not look to trivialize or tokenize the experiences of our research participants and instead look to use this research as a form of practitioner-based social justice through inquiry. We chose this population in order to better our own understanding of the population, and to fulfill a shared passion to better the experiences of this underserved population.

Document Review

Members of the research team had the opportunity to meet with the Director of the CVMS, John Summerlot, who provided researchers with a copy of the primary document Operation Hoosier Promise (OHP) (2019), a three-year initiative recently launched by IUB in partnership with the CVMS. This document showcases the CVMS's goals for the next several semesters. By reviewing this document, the research team gained a better understanding of the future direction of the CVMS and how this initiative supplements the Center's mission and vision. Furthermore, cross-referencing this document allowed researchers to assess how well aligned the results of this study are with the goals of the initiative.

Survey

This study utilized a questionnaire to answer our research questions as "a characteristic of questionnaires is their extensive standardization" (Flick, 2015, p. 131). This fits well with the aim of this method, which is to receive seemingly comparable answers from every individual participating in the study (Flick, 2015). We used a Qualtrics survey to collect demographic information from veteran and military students at IUB, to learn more about how students use the CVMS, and to recruit students to participate in our interview process. The demographic questions consisted mainly of closed questions with one open question.

The survey's final question asked whether or not the student was willing to participate in a follow-up interview about CVMS and the Center's social climate. If the student was interested, the survey asked for the individual's email, and prompted the student to click on a link for them to self-select an interview time. Students who indicated that they were interested in participating in an interview were informed of the confidentiality of the survey and their responses. This included informing the students that demographic information would only be shared in our research findings if it would not result in the participant being easily identified by readers. Information collected as a result of our survey is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1
Survey Participant Demographic Data

Demographic Data	Number (n = 41)	Percentage (%)
Age		
18-24	12	29%
25-34	17	41%
35-44	10	24%
45-54	2	5%
Gender		
Male	28	68%
Female	11	27%
Prefer to not answer	2	5%
Race		
White	32	78%
2 or more races	2	5%
Prefer to not answer	5	12%
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	1	2%
Black or African American	1	2%
Level of Study		
Undergraduate	15	36%
Graduate	26	63%
Branch of the military*		
Army	17	41%
Navy	7	17%
Marine Corp	8	19%
Air Force	10	24%
How many times have you visited the office?		
0	16	39%
1	5	12%
2	6	15%
3	1	2%
4	4	10%
5+	9	22%

Interviews

Our research aims to understand the subjective perceptions veteran and military students have about the social climate within the CVMS. With this in mind, a qualitative approach grounded in the belief that “participants perspectives are meaningful, knowable, and can be made explicit” was necessary (NSF, 2002, p. 50). To best understand the perspectives of veteran and military students, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Semi-structured interviews focus on gaining the interviewees’ point of view, covering a broad range of meanings in relation to the issue of the study, increasing depth and personal context, and ensuring interviewees are not directed to answer questions in a particular way (Flick, 2015).

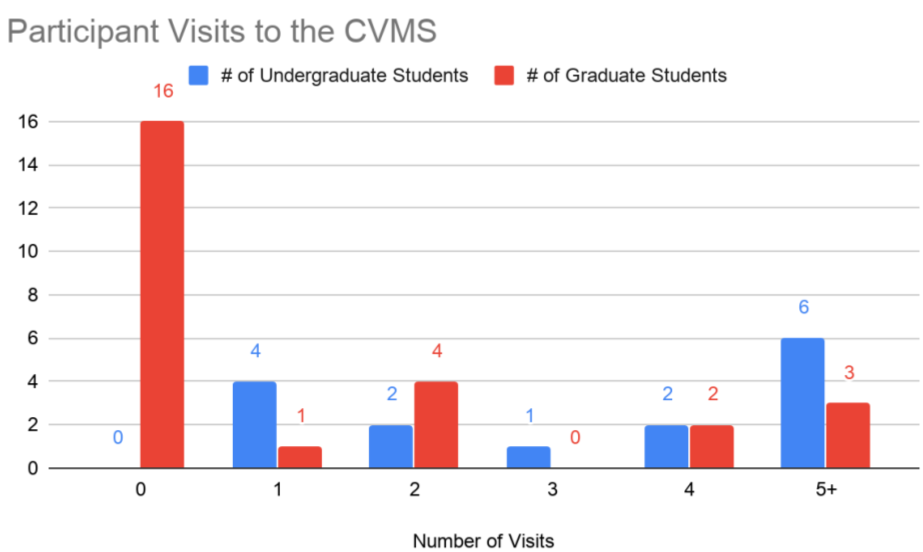
To ensure semi-structured interviews allowed space for personal stories and viewpoints from participants, the research team developed an interview guide. The guide contained open-ended interview questions and suggestions for more focused follow-up questions that highlight areas where interviewers could deviate from assigned questions to encourage participants to engage at a deeper level (Flick, 2015). The interview guide is included in Appendix A.

Participants

For this research, veteran and military students are defined as students who arrive at college after a period of service with the United States military and are classified as active duty, National Guard, or Reserves (J. Sommerlot, personal communication, September 19, 2019). As of spring 2019, there were 506 veteran and military students enrolled at IUB with more than 300 of these individuals being graduate students (OHP, 2019). Veteran and military students at IUB represent many branches of the military including the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines Corps and many of the veteran students at IUB are non-traditional in the context of age, ranging from 18 to 64 (CVMS, 2018).

In recruiting participants for the study, our relationship with the CVMS was utilized to send out an invitation email from their office account. This email was sent to 349 students who are enrolled in on-campus programs. Our sample self-selected to participate by responding to the attached survey, and then subsequently choosing to participate in a follow-up, in-person interview. The email was only sent to students who self-identify as a military or veteran student enrolled at least part-time on campus at IUB. Upon the realization that this email was also sent to students that were enrolled in on-campus programs, but were taking their coursework online, the research team decided to exclude all data gathered from this online population. In total, this study resulted in 41 survey responses and 6 semi-structured interviews. Additional information on participants can be found in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Participant Visits to the CVMS



Data Analysis

For the document review, the team reviewed primary resources like OHP in order to get a better understanding of the office and its function at IUB. For the survey, we utilized univariate quantitative analysis to study demographic information and the similarities and differences among questionnaire answers (Flick, 2015). Themes from interview coding were cross referenced against demographic and survey data to determine if patterns in responses existed.

Following the transcription of our interviews, data were analyzed using open coding. Open coding is conducted through identifying emergent concepts, events, and situations that are similar across participants (Blair, 2015). As existing research regarding the CVMS and veteran and military student's perceptions of the campus social climate is limited, open coding allowed our participants to guide the research through their interview answers. This also prevented our predispositions towards this project from influencing the direction it took.

Results

All three research methods utilized yielded important information regarding the social climate of the CVMS at IUB. In this section, we will highlight the most significant findings from our document review, survey, and interviews.

Document Review

OHP offered a wealth of information on all aspects of the CVMS. While this document provided statistics and demographic information, the most useful information came in the description of OHP's three goals. These goals include increasing the graduation rate of undergraduate veterans, providing coordinated campus-wide support for the population, and reducing the hurdles and barriers commonly experienced by members of this population. This document was useful in coordinating our recommendations with the strategic plan of the office.

Survey

Of the 25 survey participants who have visited the CVMS, the majority (72 percent) had come to discuss their military education benefits and finances. As one of the primary missions of the office, this is to be expected. Following this result, there are many reasons identified as to why students visit the center ranging from general inquiries to student organization meetings.

Interviews

The following section discusses the themes found within the qualitative data that aid in answering our research questions. Six participants were interviewed for this study, and their details can be found in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Interview Participant Demographic Data

Name	Classification	Branch	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Age
Sarah	Graduate	Air Force	White/Non-Hispanic	Female	25-35
Veronica	Undergraduate	Navy	2+races/Hispanic	Female	25-34
Lucy	Graduate	Air Force	White/Non-Hispanic	Female	18-24
Brett	Undergraduate	Marines	White/Non-Hispanic	Male	25-34
Todd	Graduate	Army	White/Non-Hispanic	Male	25-34
Reggie	Graduate	Marine Corps	White/Non-Hispanic	Male	35-44

Themes identified are: relationships–both at the CVMS and the challenges to developing relationships with others on campus, a desire to feel supported, a desire to mentor other students, a need for nontraditional programming, using the CVMS as a resource, representing the veteran community, and connections between military and university life. Figure 3 summarizes the themes.

Figure 3
Theory and Supporting Themes

Dimension of Social Climate (Moos, 1979)	Supporting Themes
Relationships	● Shared experiences
Personal Growth and Development	● Desire to feel supported in their transition from the military to student life ● Desire to mentor other veterans ● A need for nontraditional programming
System Maintenance	● Expectation that the CVMS can connect one to other resources ● Representing the veteran community ● Connection between academic and military life

Relationships

Entering college at a more advanced age than traditional college students, veteran and military students seek relationships with people who share common experiences. There are opportunities for the development of these relationships but also barriers that pose challenges.

Where the relationships are developed. A majority of participants expressed a desire to find others with shared experiences. The CVMS is a space where students can go to meet other veterans, find like-minded people, and share service stories free of judgement. The CVMS is used for various social events where students are able to come share meals and speak with other veteran and military students. Todd expressed that when attending events he often sees students engaging, stating that they would "talk about what their time in the military was like." The CVMS is a space that students are able to visit in between classes, though the numbers of students that stop by have tapered off since the center's relocation.

Only one participant discussed developing relationships with traditional students in an environment other than class. Veronica explained how her involvement in a sorority helped her adjust to the new social environment when stating, "I was able to join a sorority and like, even though they are younger than me, they are very mature, so they honestly don't feel that age difference." Finding this community had a significant impact on Veronica's ability to find a sense of belonging outside of the CVMS.

Challenges to developing relationships. The center's relocation to an outer edge of campus is one of the challenges that has made an impact on the relationships students build within the CVMS. Brett expressed that

> People were here all the time and they used to have snacks and stuff there and just stop in and wait in between classes like 30 minutes or so. Sometimes there won't be anybody that stops in, in a day. Like last semester I used to work like a full day on Mondays and there were legitimately days where nobody stopped by. Like we got phone calls and emails and everything, but nobody would stop in.

When the CVMS moved from the Indiana Memorial Union, it is used less frequently as a place to relax between classes.

Age, marital status, and having children pose challenges in connecting with traditional students. One participant, Brett, compared the freshmen in his classes to new recruits in the Marines, stating that they were similar to "new Marines that were always annoying to me." A few students discussed how political conversations at the CVMS will look different than those they observe in class. Todd expressed that "conservatism is probably much greater in the military than on campus." Brett felt that the political views shared at the CVMS might not be accepted in class, stating "discussions that were going on while I was there [CVMS] don't really jive with the political views of a lot of those students on campus."

Personal Growth & Goal Orientation

Three aspects of personal growth—academic progress, professional development, and emotional development—were highlighted as areas that are discussed throughout the literature on veteran and military students and are also priorities of the CVMS. In analyzing interview data from our study, three themes emerged. Those themes are veteran and military students have a desire to feel supported through their transition from the military to civilian and college student life; veteran and military students demonstrate a desire to mentor other veterans; and veteran and military students have a need for nontraditional programs to facilitate personal growth.

Academic progress and a desire to feel supported. With regard to the academic progress aspect of personal growth, veteran and military students often follow strict rules regarding credit hours and the need to navigate complicated government websites in order to access their benefits. For example, Reggie described needing help navigating GI benefits in order to pay for his classes, struggling with math courses since six years had elapsed since his last math class, and feeling isolated during his transition. Brett describes that it took him about a year-and-a-half to fully transition to IUB, citing issues with others in the classroom. Veronica mentions that she would like to see more events or interactions between veteran and military students as they

> all have similar experiences coming from the military and then transitioning back into college, so it would be nice to have some kind of support or group interaction so that we could share with each other how we're feeling or advice on…what we could be doing better.

With difficulty transitioning to the classroom noted by some, and a desire to develop a veteran support network by another, our data demonstrate that veteran students want and need to feel supported as they navigate their transition from the military to the classroom.

Professional development as mentoring. In line with the professional development literature, the participants in our study discussed a need to transfer skills acquired in the military to their future work. In addition to understanding how their own skills transfer, participants expressed a desire to help other veterans transition their military skills to the classroom and future careers. Sarah describes that,

> It can be hard for them [younger veterans] to communicate how that experience they've had in the military can transition to other career choices or academic pursuits. Services that help them bridge those gaps and kind of see how those connections can be made is really helpful for them to advocate for themselves and for their fellow service members.

Along these lines, Reggie describes the military as a,

> hierarchical structure...you're inundated like too much with mentors, you know? And when you're out of the military, like, oh, you're done and that whole structure is gone, so you're like, what do I do now? And so maybe helping ease people back into that would be really helpful. I like the idea of mentors.

Further exploration is needed to determine whether the desire to mentor others is more closely related to the participants' identities as veterans, or their identities as graduate students. For the purposes of this study, the participants' desire to mentor other veterans validates existing literature that emphasizes a need for veterans to understand how their military skills can fit within other contexts. The role of the CVMS in providing opportunities for mentorship and professional development will be explored in the recommendations section.

Emotional development and nontraditional programs. The last aspect of personal growth discussed in the literature is emotional development. Much like the literature suggests, many veterans are older than the typical college student and can perceive themselves to be at a different stage of life (Borsari et al., 2017). Five of our six participants discussed being older than the average IUB student, validating previous research. One participant, Reggie, described that his age was a larger factor impacting his IUB experience than his veteran identity. Additionally, participants mentioned the demands of having children, spouses, and other responsibilities that fill their free time. As veteran students often have different demands than the traditional student, it can be difficult to attend events and programs that do not include family activities or an atmosphere where kids are welcomed. Sarah mentioned that "if they did some sort of a family style event or something where kids were welcomed...Oh yeah, I'd bring them." Sarah's suggestion will be expanded upon in the recommendations section, but points to the fact that additional, nontraditional programs are needed to facilitate personal growth and offer emotional support to student veterans.

System Maintenance

System maintenance focuses on an environment's ability to communicate its expectations to the students within it. This includes how orderly the office is, how clear its rules and policies are, and how polite people in the setting are perceived (Strange & Banning, 2015). The themes that emerged from our research support the belief that the CVMS establishes a strong connection to this aspect of social climate.

CVMS as a resource. The CVMS website indicates that one of the goals of the Center is to connect students to various resources (CVMS, n.d.). This goal was referenced multiple times in interviews. Todd mentioned that he thought a major purpose of the Center was to answer questions and be a generalized resource. This includes offering assistance with setting up an email account and paying bills. Another interviewee mentioned that the only expectation they had for the Center was to "serve as that linchpin to help connect folks to the various resources that they may need." This same participant noted that one day, "I was just walking by, saw the office name and stopped in to see if they could help me with my financial questions and it turned out they were the three people that I needed to talk to." Participants indicated that they clearly understood this was something the environment offered and did well.

Representing the veteran community. Although not explicitly stated in their mission statement, participants reflected on a feeling that the CVMS staff expects them to be a positive representative of the veteran and military community. When asked about these expectations, Todd responded that "they expect us to be good ambassadors of who we are." He expanded on how students behaving poorly would reflect negatively on the veteran community.

Connection between university and military life. Finally, there is some connection between the orderliness of military service and the academic sphere. Sarah indicated that, "there is a certain amount of structure that is very similar in academic life as you have in military life. That it's a familiar and comforting structure even for me." Redmond et al. (2015) discuss how the move to civilian life can be difficult for those who have been engaged with military culture for an extended period of time. In this quote, Sarah implies that the similarity between the academic and military structure provided a commonality that made the transition less abrasive.

System maintenance lends itself to the more organized structure that has clear goals and expectations. The students involved in the survey clearly understood the purpose of the space and the culture of the environment, meaning that the center has done a good job of communicating this aspect of the environment to its students.

Limitations

The CVMS sent the survey invitation and a follow-up email to 349 students but yielded only 41 responses. Of these responses, few indicated they wished to be interviewed. This relatively low response rate, along with one of the participants serving as a student worker at the CVMS, could result in non-representative data on the experiences of the veteran and military student population at IUB.

A larger limitation is the skew our research took towards graduate students. Moos's theory of social climate originally surveyed on-campus undergraduate students (Moos, 1979), and existing literature on veterans focuses on undergraduates (Burnett & Segoria, 2009; Lipka, 2010; Livingston et al., 2010; Pavlik, 2019; Rumann & Hamrick, 2009; Southwell et al., 2018). As our research drew mostly graduate students, there may be a disconnect between existing literature and our student demographic. Lastly, the fact that no members of the research team are veterans could have limited the types of follow-up questions asked during participant interviews.

Discussion

Going back to our research questions (available for reference on page 6), it is important to highlight the answers our research has yielded and how they relate to the literature discussed above. When framing our recommendations, we looked to connect the themes from the interviews with the overarching themes from the literature. As for our overarching question of how students perceive the CVMS, it is primarily perceived as a place to go to when there are concerns regarding GI Bill benefits or finances. The office is not perceived as a place to socially interact or attend programs.

In considering how veteran and military students are involved with the CVMS, the center is primarily utilized as a place where veterans can share their common experiences, find campus resources, and receive help navigating their federal benefits. This was evident within the survey when 18 out of the 25 students who had indicated they used the center at least once selected that they used the center for information about their benefits. However, it is also important to note that approximately 40% of those who took the survey indicated they had never used the CVMS. This is in line with existing research from Southwell, et al. (2018) who comment that veterans are less likely than other students to utilize campus resources. Since the CVMS can be considered a central resource for veterans, the survey highlights this phenomenon.

In considering the programs and services offered by the CVMS, we found that most participants did not identify the center as a source for personal development or self-enhancement. This finding was most evident in interviews when our respondents frequently could not identify an academic or personal area in which they developed through the CVMS. Tutoring is an important academic service for this population, as the research of DiRamio et al. (2008) found that math is often an area veterans need additional assistance with upon entering higher education. These findings have important implications when considering our framework, providing a basis upon which we discuss our recommendations.

Recommendations and Implications for Practice

The themes that emerged from our semi-structured interviews provide a useful foundation of knowledge regarding the experiences of veteran and military students at IUB. We have utilized our data to develop recommendations to improve two domains of social climate:

relationships and personal growth and development. As our interviews indicated that students clearly understood the expectations and rules aligned with the system maintenance.

Relationships

To improve the relationship domain of the CVMS's social climate, we have two recommendations: a peer mentoring program and consistent programming hosted by the center.

Peer mentoring program

To continue to provide a space and opportunity for veteran and military students to build relationships with each other at IUB, we recommend a peer mentoring program. This once existed within CVMS but has faced recent challenges. PAVE, or Peer Advisors for Veteran Education, "is a grant-funded national program administered through the University of Michigan" (OHP, 2019, p. 12). On a national level, this program is a working partnership between the University of Michigan Depression Center and Student Veterans of America (PAVE, 2019). It is our understanding that the CVMS helped run the PAVE chapter at IUB until recently. PAVE, according to the program website,

> connects incoming student veterans on college campuses with student veterans who are trained as Peer Advisors who can help them navigate college life, address challenges they may face, refer them to appropriate resources on and off campus, and provide ongoing support (2019, para 1)

According to the OHP document, PAVE was unable to secure funding for the program as of March 2019. Based on this development, we fully support the CVMS's decision to continue a peer mentoring program even if it is not under the umbrella of PAVE.

Using the center's work-study students is a great way for these individuals to gain ownership of the program and to increase their involvement in the CVMS. Additionally, veteran and military students enrolled in graduate programs at IUB are a great resource for undergraduates. Several graduate students interviewed would welcome the opportunity to support other students with whom they have the shared experience of serving in the military. The CVMS can utilize master's and doctoral students to oversee and coordinate the mentoring program. A second option is for the CVMS to work with the Higher Education and Student Affairs program in the School of Education to create a practicum position for a master's student.

The main responsibilities of the student coordinator(s) will be to pair all new veteran and military students with a mentor and serve as a resource for the PAVE mentors. One interviewee who formerly served as a PAVE mentor indicated a lack of support after her initial meeting with her mentee. This resulted in a less meaningful overall experience. In order to alleviate this concern, we believe the student coordinator(s) should meet with each mentor once a month.

The continuation of a peer mentoring program will yield numerous benefits for veteran and military students at IUB. A common theme from our interviews is this population's desire to connect with other individuals with whom they have shared experiences. A structured peer-mentoring program will achieve this goal. Furthermore, a mentoring program will provide incoming veteran students with a specific person they can go to with questions. The benefits of this program extend beyond just the mentees, however. Students who serve as mentors will have a great opportunity to develop and grow while serving as role models.

Consistent programming

A second recommendation involves the creation of consistent programming. Throughout our interviews, research participants mentioned different social events put on by the CVMS throughout the school year including football tailgates and barbecues. While many of the participants enjoyed these events, they mentioned the need for more consistent social programs. Based on these findings, we recommend the CVMS implement a weekly coffee hour.

This event will take place each week in the center and will be a time for any veteran student to stop by, enjoy free coffee, and interact with other students and the CVMS staff. This provides an excellent opportunity for undergraduate and graduate students alike to bond over common experiences, which is something in which many participants expressed a desire. While current one-time events like tailgates and barbecues can serve a similar purpose, a consistent program will allow more students the opportunity to attend.

Another advantage of a weekly coffee hour is that it will encourage veteran students to visit the CVMS at its new location at 823 E. 11th Street. Throughout our interviews, we learned that not all veteran students know where the new location of the CVMS is. This weekly program can serve as a method of outreach for the center.

Personal Growth & Development

To assist veteran and military students in their personal growth and development while at IUB, we have two main recommendations for practice. We recommend that the CVMS focus on building and sustaining collaborative campus partnerships to facilitate professional development programming, rather than implementing programs in-house. Additionally, we recommend the CVMS focuses on veteran-centered, nontraditional programs that are family friendly.

Campus partnerships

Student veterans face difficulty transitioning from their military experience to the classroom and professional environment and may have issues articulating skills or taking the initiative to seek out information independently. From the interviews, it is clear that student veterans are not utilizing campus resources and support services while still expressing a desire for assistance and social belonging. Student veterans view the CVMS as their primary source of support next to their individual academic advisors and are missing out on opportunities to develop personally and professionally.

We recommend the CVMS designate a liaison for veteran students within other departments in the Division of Student Affairs as well as within each academic college to assist with outreach and support. Rather than the CVMS using time and resources to develop academic, career, and wellness programs, this will encourage veteran and military students to connect with campus resources, while challenging campus partners to make programs relevant and accessible for veteran students. As many faculty and staff members are veterans, cultivating support from these individuals would be a strong place to start.

Spousal and family programming

The second recommendation is to implement programs or activities that dependents feel comfortable attending. This recommendation is informed by the need for nontraditional programming that emerged during interviews. For many veterans, dependents represent their closest social relationships, so creating spaces where they also feel welcome will support growth and engagement. Depending on the resources of the CVMS, these events could have a small participant fee. The CVMS could also rely on campus liaisons to assist with coordinating these events or securing seating or tickets for veteran families.

Conclusion

Veteran students are an important population within higher education institutions. Utilizing Moos's (1979) domains of social climate, we conducted quantitative and qualitative research to assess the environment at the CVMS. Themes uncovered through interviews suggest that veterans appreciate having the CVMS on campus as it provides them with a group of people with whom to discuss niche shared experiences. Additionally, veterans expressed a desire to feel supported by the CVMS, a desire to mentor other veterans, and a need for nontraditional programs offered by the center. Finally, we found that veterans believe the CVMS has a responsibility to connect veterans with on and off campus services, in addition to their role in supporting veterans as they discover the parallels between military and academic life.

From our themes, we developed a set of recommendations that may yield positive results for the CVMS and similar centers at other universities. Those recommendations include: the development of a peer mentoring program; consistent program offerings; developing strong partnerships with other campus departments; and spousal and family programming. While these recommendations do not serve as a panacea to solving problems in postsecondary veteran education, they offer a place to start in making positive changes on campus and identifying areas for further research in this area.

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Appendix A: Student Utilization of the Center for Veteran and Military Students at Indiana University Bloomington (CVMS) Semi-Structured Interview

Introduction Questions

1. Are you over the age of 18?
2. How would you describe your experience at IUB as a veteran/military student?
    a. Academically?
    b. Socially?
    c. What other resources on campus do you use?
    d. With the Center for Veteran & Military Students?

Relationship Dimension Questions

1. Describe the interactions that you see take place in the CVMS
    a. Personal interactions (with students and staff)
    b. Interactions between students
    c. Interactions between students and staff
2. How would you describe the social atmosphere of the Center for Veteran and Military Students?

Personal Growth and Development Questions

Read students the definitions for personal growth and development

1. How do you see personal development and self-enhancement?
    a. Within the CVMS?
    b. At IUB?
    c. What experiences have you had that have facilitated personal growth?
2. In what ways do the services and programs offered by the CVMS impact students?
    a. Describe the leadership opportunities?

System Maintenance and System Change

1. What, if any, aspects of the CVMS mirror aspects of military life?
    a. What aspects of university life mirror aspects of military life?
2. What, if any, expectations do you feel the center has for you as a veteran or military student?
    a. What, if any, expectations do you have of the center?

Knowledge Processing in an Innovative Field: Cognitive Development of Biological Sciences Students

Jessica Hoopengardner

Abstract

Students studying the biological sciences make up an increasingly large portion of college students, yet limited research exists on their cognitive development. To create a theory on their cognitive development, this article offers a literature review which covers the professional development of STEM students, Perry's Scheme of cognitive development, and the development of students who participate in undergraduate research. Additional context about the college environment of the biological sciences has also been included, showing how women and students of color will experience the field differently than their white, male peers. The theory of cognitive development follows the same outline as the "Central Dogma" of genetics where cells complete transcription, translation, and sometimes reverse transcription. Following the same nomenclature, students follow transcription at first—simply regurgitating material. Then they move into translation, where they create their own knowledge, and then reverse transcription, where they apply their newly discovered knowledge to the field at large. This article argues that to help their students fully develop, professors should implement active learning techniques, work to retain women and students of color, and encourage undergraduate research for all.

Keywords

cognitive development, STEM, biological sciences, active learning

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Knowledge Processing in an Innovative Field: Cognitive Development in Biological Sciences Students

This article constructs a theory of cognitive development for students in the biological sciences. Currently, the literature lacks a unifying theory of cognitive development for this academic group. The National Study for Student Engagement (2018) found that biological sciences students report below average gains compared to their peers in solving complex real-world problems after their undergraduate degree. Biological sciences students also reported average gains when analyzing their critical thinking skills (National Study for Student Engagement [NSSE], 2018). Introductory biology students "tend to adopt beliefs that knowledge and learning involves the accumulation of information and the capacity to reproduce on demand in examinations. Approaches to learning. . . are dominated by rote learning and preference for assessment by examination" (Watters & Watters, 2017, p. 19). Since these students are starting with a fixed mindset and not a growth mindset, they will have less of a commitment to learning and engagement (Cavanaugh, 2018). Therefore, students will then gain less of the skills they need for the field as the 2018 NSSE Report indicates. This cognitive development theory can help faculty members understand how students construct knowledge in the biological sciences, how students' self-efficacy can change based on social identity, and how to promote real-world problem-solving skills within their classrooms. Without a solid understanding of how students in the biological sciences make meaning of the field, faculty and student affairs professionals cannot sufficiently prepare these students for their careers in medicine, research, and more.

Literature Review

In this section the literature review discusses how the professional development of biological sciences students to demonstrate how these students see themselves as professionals over time and what skills they gain as professionals. Starting with this research will provide a basic understanding of how students make meaning in the profession and how they see themselves as professionals. Perry's Scheme of Intellectual Development serves as a foundational paradigm in conjunction with research done on the cognitive development of students who participate in undergraduate research, a common co-curricular activity for biological sciences students (NSSE, 2010). This research adds in the layer of cognitive development to the professional development, combining to paint a fuller picture of how students construct knowledge in the field. All three theories follow a constructivist paradigm. According to Patton et al. (2016), "a constructivist worldview defines 'reality' by specific individual and group experiences, and thus it changes over time" (p. 24). This paradigm underpins the cognitive development of biological sciences students: Not only are students understanding themselves as professionals, they are understanding how the field operates and how new knowledge is processed and understood.

Professional Development in STEM Students

Nadelson et al. (2015) created a professional development theory for STEM students based on Baxter-Magolda's self-authorship theory by interviewing STEM students in post-secondary education. Baxter-Magolda described holistic development of college students, even following some students into young adulthood (1998). In holistic development, students start out defining themselves with external formulas, then they experience cognitive dissonance where they reach a crossroads phase, moving into the beginning of self-authorship and defining themselves with internal foundations (Baxter-Magolda, 1998).

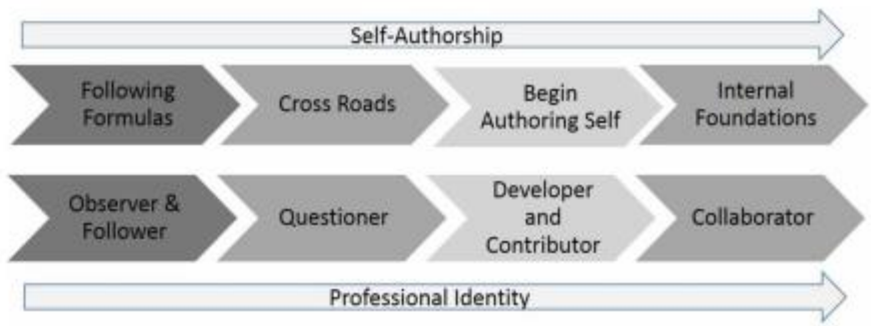
The definition of "professional development" is debated and not defined in Nadelson et al.'s (2015) paper. However, a general definition of professional development is a type of development that stands to "benefit. . . individuals, foster personal development, and produce professionals who are flexible, self-reflective and empowered to take control of their own learning" (Friedman & Phillips, 2004,

p. 362). Figure 1 shows Baxter-Magolda's self-authorship theory aligned with the professional identity development created by Nadelson et al. (2015). Some significant educational events for STEM students contributed to their professional development, like conversations with faculty, engagement in research, and working through ambiguous situations. Through interviews, Nadelson et al. (2015) determined how students identified in these stages and how faculty identified the students in these stages. The stages and codes used to quantify the responses to the question "How do you typically interact with faculty?" are as follows:

1) Observer and follower: . . . distanced, no contact, very limited contact [with faculty]
2) Questioner: Using established means, during regular meetings, respect
3) Developer and Contributor: Seeking communication, building relationships
4) Collaboration: Interact as a peer, contribute equally (Nadelson et al., 2015).

Nadelson et al. (2015) noted that after students participated in experiences similar to what professionals do, they found themselves moving from the observer and follower role to more of a questioner or even a developer and contributor. No students found themselves to hit the collaboration level, but the authors argue that if the students persist in the field they will move to that stage (Nadelson et al., 2015).

Figure 1.
A model of professional identity development (bottom) aligned with self-authorship theory from Baxter-Magolda (Nadelson et al. 2015).



As STEM students interact with faculty more, they become increasingly familiar with the norms and culture of STEM professionals. Faculty-student interaction influences the professional identity development of students. Nadelson et al. (2015) argue that professional identity development in STEM students leads to persistence in the field. If a student does not see themselves in the field professionally or feel empowered to take control of their learning, they are more likely to leave it. Students should see themselves as collaborators—someone who can interact with faculty as a peer and contribute equally to the field. While in the academic environment, students both work through the material while trying to see themselves in the field. Students must simultaneously see themselves as collaborators to process through the field cognitively. Nadelson et al. (2015) was chosen to show how these two processes cannot be teased apart.

Perry's Scheme of Intellectual Development

A common constructivist framework, Perry's scheme of intellectual and ethical development, describes the intersection of cognitive and moral development as students become more complex in their thinking. Moore (2002) in "Learning in a Postmodern World: Reconsidering Perry" summarizes Perry's Scheme and restructures the nine original positions into four digestible categories and includes critiques of Perry. Moore's restructuring shows how Perry's Scheme can align with both Baxter-Magolda (1998) and Nadelson et al. (2015). Positions one and two exist in the category of dualism: there is a "completely unquestioned view of truth as Absolute Truth in stark black-and-white terms" (Moore, 2002, p. 20). Then students move into positions three and four, called multiplicity. Students cope with diversity and "multiples" in learning in these positions (Moore, 2002). Then, students move into the fifth position, categorized as contextual relativism. Here, students see the world as context bound and they must be an active maker of meaning (Moore, 2002). The next category is a deepening of contextual relativism: commitment within relativism (Moore, 2002). Perry keeps "knowledge" as a general concept and does not go further into certain subjects or pedagogies. Some critique the "assumption of universality" as well as the "alleged 'inevitability' of development" (Moore, 2002, p. 25). Perry's scheme can be refined to be understood in the context of biological sciences students, with specific subjects and pedagogies.

Perry's scheme also considers cognitive development and ethical/moral development to be tied together. Using contextual relativism, people can decide for themselves what they consider moral and how to make decisions in a complex world. Moore (2002) defines this last category as "multiple commitments through which one defines his or her values and identity" (p. 22). When applying the scheme to biological sciences students, or even students in general, commitment within relativism has not been studied, as this population often does not reach this level of thinking. Further research studies would have to be completed to understand moral development in STEM students and if it is connected to cognitive development. Though the theory has its flaws, Perry's scheme provides a framework for cognitive development, showing students moving through dualism to relativism. As shown later, students in the biological sciences follow a constructivist paradigm similar to Perry's scheme.

Undergraduate Research and Cognitive Development

According to NSSE (2020), around 8% of first year and 46% of senior biological sciences students participate in research with faculty outside of the classroom. In an ethnographic study of summer undergraduate research at four liberal arts colleges, participating students emphasized their personal and cognitive development (Hunter et al., 2006). Undergraduate research fits a constructivist paradigm of cognitive development because students must integrate their knowledge into new projects and formulate their own ideas (Hunter et al., 2006). Since information in research often challenges what the field already knows, students construct and reconstruct their knowledge continually. To understand the cognitive development of biological sciences, one must understand the development prompted by undergraduate research.

Despite the research projects lasting only a summer, 91% of students found the experience to help them in a positive way, and 36% percent of students found gains in thinking and working like a scientist or becoming a scientist (Hunter et al., 2006). These categories match up with cognitive development and intrapersonal development. In addition, 25% said they gained skills in professional development (Hunter et al., 2006). However, breaking cognitive development down further, most students did not arrive at a level where they could frame their own research question according to faculty (Hunter et al., 2006). Further research would need to investigate if this is due to the length of the research project, type of project, or faculty perception.

Contextualizing the Field of Biological Sciences

Within this article, cognitive development means "accommodating discrepancies between one's thinking and new information to form more complex perspectives" (Piaget, 1932, as cited in Torres & Baxter Magolda, 2004, p. 334). Since the development of processing of knowledge depends on experiences, it was determined that "STEM students" as a whole would be too diverse for a unifying theory. Students in biological sciences, computer sciences, mathematics, and more experience interactions with classes, faculty, research, and their peers in different ways. For example, women make up about half of the graduates in biological sciences and mathematics, but less than 20% of computer science graduates (Cheryan et al., 2017).

The field of biological sciences was chosen as a focus due to the challenge of lumping all STEM students together. The scientific journal *Nature* defines the biological sciences as "encompass[ing] all the divisions of natural sciences examining various aspects of vital processes. The concept includes anatomy, physiology, cell biology, biochemistry, and biophysics, and covers all organisms from microorganisms, animals to plants" (2019, para. 1). The number of biological sciences students has almost doubled from around 83,000 students in 2000 to over 144,000 in 2015 (National Science Board, 2018). Since the population of biological sciences students is growing, faculty and administrators in higher education need to understand how this growing population develops. When researching biological sciences students who persist to a four-year degree, their cognitive development over their time in college should be a focus in regard to the professional career aspect of the biological sciences. Currently, no theories exist that specifically address cognitive development in STEM students as a whole, nor in biological sciences students.

Women in the Biological Sciences

Belenky et al. (1986) created women's ways of knowing, split into five perspectives: silence, received knowledge, subjective knowledge, procedural knowledge, and constructed knowledge. Belenky et al. wrote *Women's Way of Knowing* in 1986, but their suggestions for the field still hold relevance today. To help women build their own voices, educators should place emphasis on connection and not separation, collaboration instead of debate, and understanding rather than assessment (Belenky et al., 1986).

More than half of U.S. undergraduate degrees are earned by women in biology (National Science Board, 2018). However, they are still highly underrepresented in fields like computer science. An analysis done by Cheryan et al. (2017) shows that it is not a lack of skills in women, but underrepresentation is due to the culture of the fields. Women are still underrepresented as faculty in biology, chemistry, and mathematics and continue to face discrimination (National Science Board, 2018). Internal bias can affect women's persistence in the field with "undergraduate women. . . who have stronger implicit male-science associations identify less with science and have weaker science career aspirations than women with weaker implicit male-science associations" (Cheryan et al., 2017, p. 22). When women believe that innate genius is necessary for success in STEM, they are less likely to persist and they face more hurtles when it comes to professional development (Cheryan et al., 2017).

Cognitively, women are on the same level as their male counterparts in the biological sciences (Cheryan et al., 2017). With biology, chemistry, and mathematics widely offered in U.S. high schools, reduced gender disparities in the field are predicted. Prior experiences with bias and discrimination can lead to women having lower self-efficacy than men. Self-efficacy "refers to students' beliefs in their capabilities to regulate their own learning" (Alt, 2015, p. 47). While women are not more likely to do worse in STEM classes, they can have lower self-efficacy in entry level classes (Cheryan et al., 2017). Female students in the biological sciences must go through more work developmentally in personal and professional meaning making due to lack of representation, stereotypes in the field, and lack of prior scientific experiences. Gender could affect the cognitive development of female students in the biological sciences if they did not persist in the field, due to the barriers they face.

Race in the Biological Sciences

Available literature shows that there is a persistence problem in science and engineering for African American, Latino, and Native American students (Huang et al., 2000). Adding in the factor of gender, all women of color, including Asian Pacific American women, earn fewer degrees in STEM fields compared to white women (Johnson, 2012). Of those that do persist in the field, there are certain sources of support and strategies. In a study on Black faculty mentoring students of color in STEM, faculty participants noted that "personal motivation and drive, family members who encouraged their educational goals, a strong sense of intellectual curiosity, and a desire to a make a contribution to their respective fields" facilitated their success in STEM (Griffin et al., 2010, p. 97). Even though they persisted in the field, those same faculty members at predominantly white institutions encountered racist stereotypes and felt the same sense of isolation as some students of color they teach (Griffin et al., 2010).

Issues of persistence and self-efficacy for students of color echo similar issues in female biological sciences students. Due to a lack of representation in the field, students of color seek out faculty of color, seeing them as role models. Faculty of color reported that during their STEM journey, undergraduate professors, graduate advisors, and occasionally older colleagues were primary mentors, even more than friends and family (Griffin et al., 2010). Recognizing the importance of mentors for students of color, an HBCU has implemented a peer mentoring program, matching up freshmen engineering students with upper-class students (Palmer et al., 2010). Having minority or female role models and advisors for students of color created supportive educational environments, leading to higher retention. Again, students of color do not move through cognitive development differently than their white peers, they do however struggle more with issues of persistence. When these students do not continue through biological sciences, they fail to develop cognitively. The following theory will explore how this student population processes knowledge within their academic context.

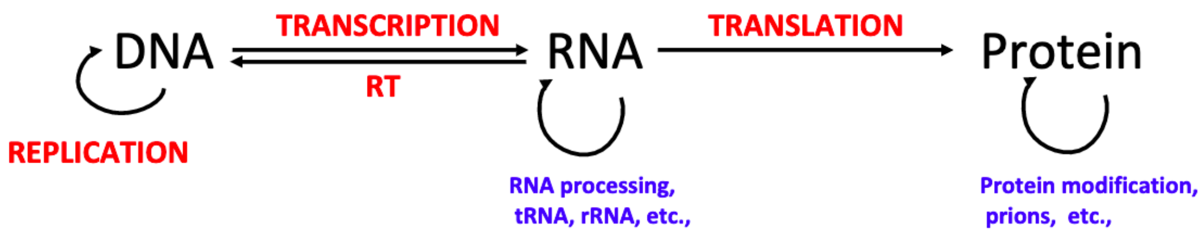
A New Scheme for Cognitive Development in Biological Sciences Students

For this theory, phases were chosen to mirror how an individual cell processes DNA into RNA and then into proteins through transcription and translation. Figure 2 depicts the workflow of information in the cell, which serves as the basis of the naming of the cognitive development phases (transcription, translation, and reverse translation). The phases represent what actions students go through to process knowledge, just like how transcription and translation are utilized to process DNA within the cell. Because these phases are built around actions and behaviors, students can flow between the phases—students are not stationary. Students must continually work to make meaning of the knowledge learned in classes or through research. Figure 3 shows how students interact with knowledge in the three phases. The phases are not time dependent, but they are sequential.

The third phase was specifically named for a protein called Reverse Transcriptase, as the discovery of this protein changed what was considered the golden rule of genetics (Coffin & Fan, 2016). Scientists believed that cells could only create DNA from DNA—not RNA. Reverse transcriptase uses RNA as a template to create DNA (Coffin & Fan, 2016). This discovery not only changed a foundation of the field but created many opportunities for scientists to study the phenomenon. Future research "led to the elucidation of the mechanism of retrovirus replication, the discovery of oncogenes, the advent of molecular cloning, the search for human cancer viruses, and the discovery and treatment of HIV/AIDS" (Coffin & Fan, 2016, p. 29). Reverse transcription is a process of creating and applying new DNA within a cell, just as it is a cognitive process of applying new knowledge in the field of biological sciences.

Figure 2

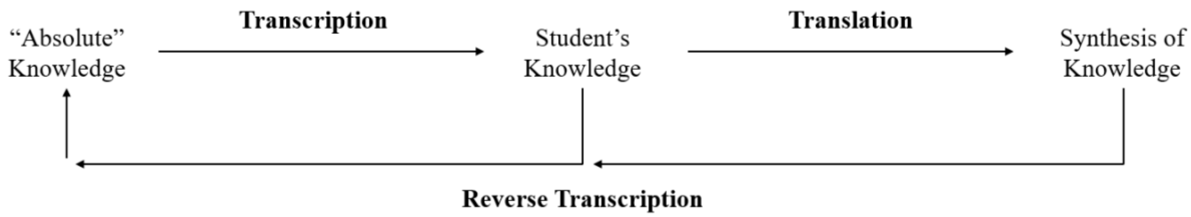
Central Dogma of Molecular Biology



Note. This scheme describes the basics of how a cell processes information using transcription, translation, and reverse translation (denoted as "RT" here). This workflow was used as a basis for the theory's scheme. Reprinted with permission from Dr. Matt Anderson, The Ohio State University (2017).

Figure 3

Phases of Cognitive Development in Biological Sciences Students



Note. This workflow describes how students interact with knowledge during the three phases.

The Phases of Cognitive Development

When developing the phases of cognitive development, Perry's Scheme and Nadelson et al.'s professional development theory of STEM students served as the basis for this theory. Perry's Scheme was used to serve as the constructivist paradigm for the theory and gives guidance on how students make meaning depending on the context. Nadelson et al.'s theory (2015) was used as students who move through Perry's Scheme will also be moving through this professional development. The cognitive development of biological sciences students aligns with their professional development. Students must feel as though they are collaborators in the field to develop new knowledge for the field and vice versa. Hunter et al. (2006) served as a basis to understand how undergraduate research benefits biological sciences students in both their cognitive and professional development.

Transcription

In the first phase, biological sciences students apply external, "absolute" knowledge to their own knowledge, like Perry's dualism phase. Transcription can be reinforced by faculty members through certain pedagogies, like lecturing. If students learn primarily through lectures and exams, they will continue to believe the biological sciences are built on unchangeable premises. When taught in high school or in pre-requisite classes that subjects like physics, chemistry, or biology are immutable, students exist in transcription, especially if they want to have an A in the class. Nadelson et al. (2015) described the first phase of professional development as "observer and follower," which aligns with transcription. Cognitively, if students do not experience dissonance, they will follow the word of teachers and professors. However, when professors start to challenge students to come up with their own research questions and have hands on exercises, students can transition into translation. Students remain in the resting phase unless they experience cognitive dissonance.

Translation

Students understand that there are unanswered questions in the field and apply their knowledge to synthesize new knowledge to fill an unknown. This can first occur when asking a question in class. Faculty members can be honest and say that the field has yet to discover the answer to the students' questions. This honesty challenges the thinking of students in transcription. If knowledge is immutable, it cannot be unknown. However, once students realize there is an unknown, it can help spark interest in activities like undergraduate research or inspire students to go to graduate school. Undergraduate research itself can help push students into translation if they have never before experienced knowledge in this way. Hunter et al. (2006) described the connection between cognitive and personal development for students who participate in summer undergraduate research. Translation allows students to create their own experiments and find themselves in the field. Translation moves away from Perry's next phase, as Perry describes multiples of knowledge (Moore, 2002), while translation describes understanding there can be an unknown. However, both focus on students making meaning of the knowledge (or lack of knowledge) around them.

Reverse Transcription

In the final phase, students not only recognize there is a gap in knowledge about the biological sciences, but also recognize information that is "known" could be disproven. They apply their new knowledge to old, outdated, "absolute" knowledge. Like in Perry, the context of information changes and students can then apply new knowledge in the new context (Moore, 2002). This highest level of development challenges students the most, as they have often spent most of their life in transcription, believing knowledge is immutable as described by Baxter-Magolda (1998). Baxter-Magolda names her first phase as "external formulas," where students define themselves by those around them. However, as students move away from those external formulas, either in defining themselves or making meaning of knowledge, cognitive dissonance occurs. Then, students feel as though they have a stake in meaning making. As seen in Nadelson et al. (2015), students in the biological sciences reach a point where they feel they can contribute equally as a professional. As a professional, they must be able to construct and understand new knowledge.

Implications

Biological sciences students must get to reverse transcription to be effective researchers or practitioners in the field. Many biological sciences students go into the medical field, interacting with real people and real problems. When information is taught in an immutable way, patients can suffer. For example, heart attack symptoms were first researched through a male lens. This meant that medical practitioners did not know that the symptoms for a heart attack in women are different, more flu-like (Yong, 2018). To this day, women are more likely to die of heart disease with a male doctor than a female doctor due to the differences in symptoms (Yong, 2018). When medical doctors are in translation, they can believe they do not know something, but until they reach reverse transcription, they may not realize the knowledge they hold is wrong.

In research, this problem can come up again. Researchers in the 1960s recognized that they did not know why eukaryotic cells have mitochondria or chloroplasts. Lynn Margulis then published her paper *On the Origin of Mitochondrial Cells*, arguing that mitochondria and chloroplasts were evolutionarily their own cells that lost their independence over time (Lake, 2011). This discovery shook the foundations of the field, and Margolis was ridiculed by her peers. Her peers were not able, or willing, to accept this new, ground-breaking information (Lake, 2011). When students or professionals do not see themselves as collaborators or have not reached the reverse transcription phase, then they will not be confident enough to publish ideas like Margulis, nor will they move to understand how new knowledge can change the biological sciences.

Strategies for Biological Sciences as a Field

The classroom provides opportunities for students to develop professionally and cognitively, especially for those who do not have the opportunity to experience long-term undergraduate research like the participants in the Hunter et al. (2006) study. However, since the cognitive development of biological sciences students has been tied to professional development, students must do more than take one class in the field. Utilizing pedagogies that encourage cognitive dissonance for the entire four-year degree, students will start to see themselves as collaborators in the field (Nadelson et al., 2015) and move into the reverse transcription phase of cognitive development. Students must be challenged to learn in an active way, challenged to design their own experiments, challenged to analyze the basic tenets of the field. As professionals, they will be tasked with the same problems.

To become better teachers, Allen and Tanner (2005) lay out methods for scientists to learn about education. By going to science education meetings, faculty can learn from each other about pedagogies that challenge students intellectually (Allen, & Tanner, 2005). Some of their methods are as simple as bringing in a co-teacher or reading from science education journals. The authors curated a list of science education journals for each area of the biological sciences, dividing them into practice-oriented and theory-based journals (Allen, & Tanner, 2005). Allen and Tanner lay out broad approaches for biology teaching, but we can be more specific in what pedagogies are used in the biological sciences.

Active learning pedagogies in the biological sciences are becoming more common yet are still not the most frequent way that students learn. NSSE (2010) highlights that over 80% of biological sciences students' classes emphasized memorization and that 59% percent of the time in class was used for lecture (2010). Lecture has not been found to be effective for students. In fact, students in classes with traditional lecturing are "1.5 times more likely to fail than were students in classes with active learning" (Freeman et al., 2014, p. 8410). Tanner and Allen (2006) argue that faculty must differentiate science instruction by mixing different learning styles in the classroom. As professionals in science education, faculty cannot allow students to accept information blindly through lecture and memorization.

However, work needs to be done outside of the classroom, too. Faculty must also focus on persistence of underrepresented students. In order for students to fully move through the three phases, they must stick with the biological sciences. This onus is not only on the students. Increasing numbers of female faculty and faculty of color allows students to see themselves in the field. Mentorship programs provide students with academic and social support, necessary for students of color to persist in the field (Griffin et al., 2010). Even if a department does not have the resources to add more faculty at the time, there are additional strategies they can use. The department can be encouraged to "invite more women and people of color as colloquium speakers, thus enhancing the networking opportunities for students" (Fassinger & Asay, 2006, p. 445). Creating a diverse and supportive learning environment for students can help them persist through their undergraduate careers.

Faculty should also encourage all biological sciences students to participate in undergraduate research. Hunter et al. (2006) has been cited in this article to show how undergraduate research has cognitive and professional development benefits in general. In addition to Hunter et al. (2006), other research has found that participating in undergraduate research for underrepresented minorities correlates to students going to graduate or professional school (Hathaway et al., 2002). Hathway et al. (2002) suggest

> structuring programs in ways that can increase access to research and promote successful career development for a broad diversity of students, as well as build on students' interests in research upon entry to college, especially for underrepresented students of color whose graduate and professional education aspirations may otherwise lay dormant (p. 17).

Hathway et al. (2002) also found that faculty-undergraduate student interaction led to higher student retention as well as increased the likelihood that the student would persist to a graduate or professional degree. Simply by having students work in their labs, faculty can have a large impact on a student's cognitive and professional development.

Conclusion

To develop a theory of the cognitive development of biological sciences students, the scope of the theory was established, and the experiences of women and students of color were researched. Then a literature review was conducted, consisting of Perry's Scheme of Intellectual Development for a basis in cognitive development, Hunter et al.'s research on development of students who participate in undergraduate research, and Nadelson et al.'s research on the professional development of STEM students. Then, three cognitive development phases were developed to mirror information processes within the cell; transcription, translation, and reverse translation. As students move through these phases, they understand that knowledge in the field is not immutable and that they can build research that shifts the foundations of the field. Without this development, professionals in the biological sciences cannot respond to changes in the field adequately. Faculty need to work towards creating environments for students that promote the development of knowledge, where students can be more critical of the knowledge presented to them. In this environment, students must be active learners, not focusing on lecture (Tanner & Allen, 2006).

Further research should be done on types of pedagogies and how they facilitate development, like what Hunter et al. (2006) did with undergraduate research. Outside of the classroom, further research should be done on the most effective methods of undergraduate research to consider if there are other high impact practices that develop biological sciences students professionally and cognitively. In addition to research on pedagogies and undergraduate research, this cognitive development theory, as well as Nadelson et al.'s professional development theory, needs to be examined through a critical race lens and a critical feminist lens. While this theory was developed to apply generally to biological sciences students, underrepresented students of color or female students may move through the phases differently than a white male student. Ultimately, the cognitive development of biological sciences students, or even STEM students in general, has many areas for growth and research.

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Student Development During the College Application Process

Elizabeth Doyle

Abstract

As seniors in high school apply to college every fall, they enter a new phase of development. However, no current literature discusses what this process looks like for the student in terms of their decision-making processes. In order to address this gap in literature, this paper will use existing theories to examine the student development during this time in the students' lives.

Keywords

College application, high school senior, student development, common application, college choice, college decisions, college enrollment

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Introduction

Every August, incoming high school seniors across the country apply to college. While the process itself looks similar for the majority of applications, the experience widely varies for the individual students. The developmental phases students go through when deciding which colleges and universities to apply to and ultimately attend are the key points that will be explored in this paper. A discussion of relevant terms used in the paper and then a review of current literature will follow, focusing on Jackson's (1982) and Hossler's (1985) models. A new theory will be proposed addressing gaps in current research, using Baxter Magolda's (2001) theory on self-authorship and Marcia's (1966, 1980) theory on ego identity statuses and integrate them with current implications of the common application and its effect on risk-seeking and risk-averse students.

Although there is current literature on the process a student goes through when applying to college, most of it neglects to discuss which student populations take risks when applying to colleges versus which students apply to mostly safety schools. With the introduction of the Common Application in 1975, studies show that institutions have higher numbers of applications and a higher enrollment rate (Gross, 2013). Additionally, it could be useful to view the process a student goes through with an economical lens; identifying opportunity costs and value of risks versus potential gain for the student.

Definition of Terms

Below are several definitions that are relevant when understanding this phenomenon and summarizing it to theory. These terms will be used throughout the rest of the paper, with the most relevant being cognitive heuristics and the terms reach school, match school, and safety school.

Cognitive Heuristics

Cognitive heuristics are defined as "simple strategies or 'rules of thumb' that people use when making judgments (Nisbett & Ross, 1980)" (Smith, 1988, p. 13). Generally, this can also refer to the contents of the search space that someone is using, i.e. what information is able to be a person's brain readily. This theory will be using certain aspects of cognitive heuristics, such as availability and representativeness.

Match School

A match school is a school that is likely to admit a student because their scores, grades, and general characteristics are similar to the student population at that institution (Grove, 2018b). This means that a student can apply to a match school and feel safe about their admission — though this does not mean it is guaranteed.

Reach School

A reach school can be defined as a school that a student could potentially get into, but the student's scores, grades, and other admissions materials are lower than the average admitted student's materials (Grove, 2018a). Here, we can also classify highly selective institutions as reach schools because students who are matches for this institution may still not get in due to low acceptance rates.

Safety School

A safety school can be defined as a school that a student will almost definitely get accepted to because a student's scores, grades, and other admissions materials are significantly above average for the institution's admitted student population (Grove, 2018c). These institutions also generally have high acceptance rates.

Opportunity Cost

Opportunity cost "refers to what you have to give up to buy what you want in terms of other goods or services" (Opportunity Cost, n.d.). Here it can refer to students' time taken to complete an application compared to the perceived value of the application. Perceived value can be affected depending if the school is a match, safety, or reach school. This is seen with the common application, as generally the opportunity cost is negligible when selecting institutions to send an application to.

Risk-averse and Risk-seeking

Risk-averse and risk-seeking refers to people's comfort with risk. Someone who is risk-averse can be defined as someone who prefers to know the risks associated with a decision (Ops, 2014). This could be represented as students who apply to "match" and "safety" schools where they are more likely to be accepted than applying to "reach" schools. Someone who is risk-seeking can be defined as someone who would prefer an uncertain outcome versus ones with expected or anticipated outcomes (Ops, 2014). This could be represented as students who apply to "reach" institutions.

Literature Review

Current literature discusses theories on what students experience when they attend college and then literature on how the common application has affected the admissions process. There is not direct research on what certain populations choose which kinds of universities to apply to, though there is some research that could lead one to ascertain what types of students apply to various universities. Existing theories can be aligned with some of the college application models in order to examine the developmental aspect.

The literature review will consist of existing theories regarding college choice and the process that the student goes through, specifically focusing on Jackson's (1982) and Hossler's (1985) models on college choice. Additionally, I review some current trends of college application systems, such as the common application. Finally, a discussion of current student development theories will be used to connect development to these existing college choice theories.

The Use of Cognitive Heuristics in College Choice

Jackson's (1982) model focuses on how a student goes through the college choice process in three phases: preference, exclusion, and evaluation. The preference phase focuses on what he refers to as "stable" variables, i.e. things in a student's life that cannot be changed. This includes aspects such as race, sex/gender, socioeconomic status, and other characteristics of the student's life. These can develop preferences for certain colleges. The second phase, exclusion, the preferences are weighed and compared to institutions to develop a college list. The final phase is evaluation, and this is where the student starts to develop rankings in the college list. Here, the student starts to compare programs and costs.

Hossler's (1985) model also has three phases: predisposition, search, and choice. Hossler compares the college selection process to a funnel, broad at the top and slowly gets narrower. The first phase in his model focuses on certain student characteristics, similar to the "stable variables" in Jackson's (1982) model that creates a predisposition for the student to attend college. The second phase, search, is when the student creates their choice set by examining college characteristics and comparing them to their own values. The final phase, choice, is when the student decides which college to attend.

In Smith's (1988) article, they discuss how many of the existing theories suggest that students have a rational way of making these decisions, and there are several studies to show that students follow a predictable method when creating choice sets, such as college lists. There are a few theorists that discuss this belief may be too broad. Litten (1982) discusses that models such as Jackson's do not go into detail about evaluation or the student's development when deciding which institution to apply to and/or attend. Additionally, Chapman (1981) believes that a more accurate model of college choice is when the expectation that the student has on college is influential with the choice they choose.

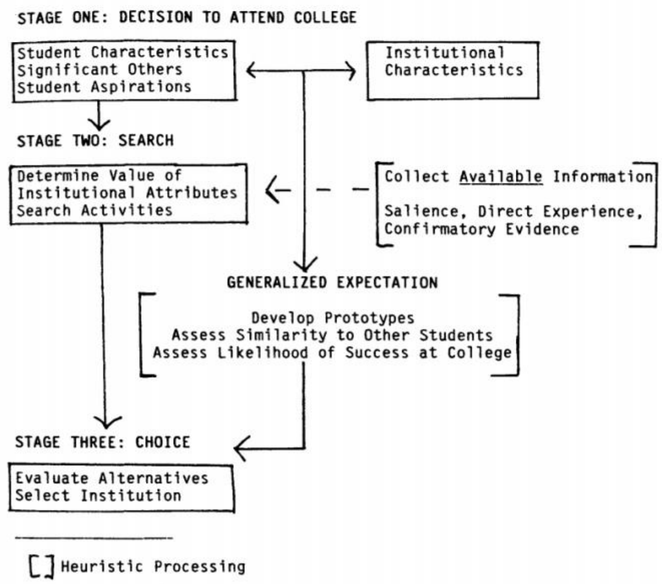
Cognitive heuristics are "frequently used in situations involving complex decisions such as estimating the likelihood or frequency of an uncertain event's occurrence (e.g., success in college, chances of admission)" (Smith, 1988, p. 13). Smith (1988) argues that there are two specific types of cognitive heuristics that could be relevant when discussing college choice: availability (and simulation) and representativeness. Availability heuristics are relevant because they have implications on what kinds of information students may be using when picking colleges, while representativeness discusses suggestions on how information may be applied in the process.

Smith discusses that the availability heuristic "predicts that people will use the information that is most easily recalled or readily 'available' to them as the basis of judgment (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973)" (Smith, 1988, p. 16). Although it may not be fully known what information students use in this basis of judgement, it is known that direct experiences or examples are easier called to the forefront of memory. This could potentially mean that if a student or someone that the student is close to has had a really great or really bad experience with an institution, this could affect their search characteristics as they are still following external formulas.

Representativeness, discussed in Smith's (1988) article, could help to describe what the student places their judgement on and what information is important or unimportant. Since this aspect of cognitive heuristics involves how information will be applied, this aids in the understanding of what information students apply to applications and how they do that. Stereotypes could include expectations about what a typical college student is like, in which a student could compare themselves to this student and make a value judgement on their ability to attend a certain institution. This comes into play when a student is looking at safety, match, or reach schools. Smith (1988) created Figure 1 to show the proposed process of college choice.

Figure 1

Processes of College Choice: Multi-Stage Model, Generalized Expectations, and Heuristic Processing



The College Decision Making Process

Career choice and college choice likely use the same processes within a student's development, as the two are not mutually exclusive and not all that different. Carlson (2001) discusses Parson's (1909) classic "true reasoning" paradigm, saying that this was truly the start of when researchers started to try to develop an understanding of how people go about the career decision making process. In order to examine this, research was done on past decisions — specifically, asking high school seniors about their college choice decision making process and choosing which schools to apply to.

While studying rational decision-making strategies, the studies revealed "two distinct continua entitled Actions of Others and Self-Directedness" (Carlson, 2001, p. 3). Actions of Others is describing how other people affect the decision-making process by providing support, information, or guidance. The Self-Directedness continua is about how the person deciding relies on others during the decision-making process. Additionally, Carlson discusses that "it was suggested by some (e.g., Harren, 1979; Tiedeman & O 'Hara, 1963) that a good decision is reached as a function of progressing through various stages of exploration, identification of alternatives, choice and implementation of that choice" (Carlson, 2001, p. 6). While this is generally based on career choice, it can be applied to college choice as well, especially since the authors focused on that to examine how career choices are made.

The Common Application

The Common Application was launched in 1975 and has changed the way that college admission works. The Common Application affects admissions and yield rate and generally reduces the opportunity cost of students applying to college. It is relatively easy for a student to send applications to multiple institutions, as it does not always increase the cost and amount of work that a student is doing. Despite some colleges requiring supplemental questions with the application, there is still a gain in number of applications.

Although institutions that are members of the common application had a small decrease in mean SAT scores, there was a large increase of applications from students of color. Not only has the number of applicants increased, but the number of students that enroll in the college is increased as well. Some institutions take advantage of this increase in applications, as it can create a lower acceptance rate — boosting the prestige of the school.

It was found that Common Application membership increased applications by 5.7% (Yung-Hsu Liu et al., 2007). Additionally, it was shown that "that institutional membership expands the applicant pool but draws in some applicants who are less likely to enroll if admitted" (Yung-Hsu Liu et al., 2007, p. 14-15). Interestingly enough, the authors showed that "membership increases applications more at lower SAT institutions, perhaps because applicants apply to more 'safety' schools once the cost of doing so decreases" (Yung-Hsu Liu et al., 2007, p. 16), continuing on to say that these institutions have had issues attracting students in the past.

This may mean that students who are now applying to these institutions using the common application found the school to be unreachable in the past or not worth applying to for other reasons, suggesting that the common application has mitigated these issues by lessening the opportunity cost. A counselor quoted in The Washington Post claimed that the "common app reduces the stress students feel because there is less paperwork. '. . . it's given [the students] more of a comfort zone and . . . they haven't had to think as much about time management . . .'" (Gordon, 2010). This could also mean that students who are more risk-averse may have fears alleviated by creating an easier way to apply to college.

Baxter Magolda's (2001) Self-Authorship Theory

Baxter Magolda (2001) created a theory called The Path to Self-Authorship. In this, she defines and identifies four stages that young adults go through while starting to find themselves. The first phase is entitled Finding Formulas. Baxter Magolda defines this as when young adults are simply following external formulas that certain authorities have laid out for them — this includes careers and personal lives (Baxter Magolda, 2001). In this phase, young adults do not have a clear sense of self defined and rely on others to define a formula for them.

The second phase, Crossroads, is where people start to see that the need for defining themselves and that the formulas created by others may not be their own ideas (Baxter Magolda, 2001). They start seeing the need to figure out who they are. The third phase is called Becoming the Author of One's Life. In this phase, individuals start to choose their own beliefs and values and stand up for these beliefs in the face of a conflicting external viewpoint (Baxter Magolda, 2001). The final phase, Internal Foundation, individuals are grounded in their own values and belief system (Baxter Magolda, 2001). They have found and are comfortable with their sense of self.

Marica's (1966, 1980) Ego Identity Statuses

James Marcia created a theory dealing with the identity development of young adults. He creates four identity states, called Foreclosure, Moratorium, Identity Achievement, and Diffusion.

Foreclosure is where individuals are in a no crisis state with commitment. This is generally where an individual accepts the values given to them by authorities and have little crisis because of this. Individuals can remain in this status if they are never encouraged to challenge the status quo and if these authoritative figures in their lives remain consistent. Marcia (1994) explains that this is the most common identity status and typically happens before other statuses (Marcia, 1966).

Moratorium is when individuals are in crisis with no commitment. They are in the process of challenging their identity while exploring new possibilities of themselves. Marcia describes this status the most engaging status as individuals are starting to challenge their prescribed values but are not committed to forming a new identity (Marcia, 1966).

Identity achievement is when individuals are in a state of crisis with commitment. While an individual here is open to new opportunities and possibilities, they have made a commitment to their identity that was previously challenged. This comes after the individual has experienced a period of crisis and have commitments with an identity formation that they have recently explored. Individuals are in crisis because they are stable enough with their commitment to be able to challenge other options. Marcia (1980, 1994) describes this as the healthiest psychological status (Marcia, 1966).

Identity diffusion is when individuals are not in a state of crisis and do not have any commitment. They are almost in a state of limbo, with no commitment to identity and no exploration. These individuals basically go with the flow and are generally uninterested in the exploration of their life preferences.

Limitations and Gaps in Research

There is currently little research on the developmental process that students go through when they apply to college. Additionally, there is little research on exactly how a student determines their selection criteria. This leaves us to assume that students are likely following external formulas and relying on their cognitive heuristic search to determine which colleges to apply to. Furthermore, there is little research on what happens when a student does not get admitted to any college that they applied to.

Another gap in literature is the effect of the Coalition Application on the admissions process, as the Coalition Application was recently introduced in 2015. Although this might have similar effects as the Common Application, this lessens the monetary cost aspect of college applications as the Coalition Application is free of any cost. Overall, there is a lot more research to do in order to create a thorough model of student development during the application process.

Model of Student Development Through College Applications

In order to combine these two models and two theories, it is necessary to look at how the current theories fit together. Although Jackson’s (1981) and Hossler’s (1985) models vary, they have similarities that are important to combine. Additionally, the Common Application alters the way students applied to college previously in that it changes the cognitive heuristics. The search parameters are widened in that there is one place where students are able to apply to numerous institutions with lessened opportunity cost. These aspects are important to discuss in a theory that measures how a student goes about the process of applying to college. Baxter Magolda’s (2001) and Marcia’s (1966, 1980) theories will be also combined with the models mentioned previously to create this new theory.

When looking at current literature and existing theories, it is possible to combine them to reflect the effects of the common application and risk-taking theories. A new theory should be created, existing in four phases — Exploration of Preferences, Exclusion of Options, Evaluation and Implementation, and Enrollment Choice.

The Four Phases

Using phases in this model aligns with Jackson (1981) and Hossler's (1985) models and is representative of how a student moves through the application process, going from one phase to another. It is unlikely that the student will move back and forth between the phases, as they are generally in a sequential order. Additionally, there is a certain timeline that needs to be implemented as there are certain deadlines for applications that students must meet. This causes the student to move through the phases in addition to their cognitive development that is already happening.

Exploration of Preferences

This phase is similar to the preference phase in Jackson's (1982) model and Hossler's (1985) phase of predisposition. Although Jackson and Hossler define this phase as developing certain aspects of a student's life that creates opportunities or preferences for attending certain colleges, this can be expanded. As discussed in Smith's article, the availability heuristic predicts that people use the information that is at the forefront of their mind and is most easily accessed. This may come from the perspectives of students' that attended college or the specific colleges they are looking at. Because experiences are likely at the top of a student's mind when thinking about college, this is extremely relevant in this stage. Student's perceptions of college and of a specific institution will affect which schools they ultimately decide to apply to and attend.

This phase would also incorporate Baxter Magolda's (2001) first phase of self-authorship, Finding Formulas. Baxter Magolda defines this as when individuals are following external formulas that have been laid out for them — here, we can interpret this to be a parent or other authority figure setting up an external formula for the individual to seek higher education. This can affect what kinds of schools the individual selects to apply to and what kind of experience they are seeking, based on others' external formulas laid out for their ideal kind of college experience.

Exclusion of Options

This phase is similar to Jackson's (1982) exclusion phase and Hossler's (1985) search phase. Here, a student creates their choice set by comparing college characteristics to their own values. Additionally, the student's preferences created in the previous model would be weighed to match what kind of identity they are starting to create in this phase. This would also incorporate Baxter Magolda's (2001) Crossroads phase. The student would start to see that they need to define their own preferences and figure out what options are best for them — not what others have prescribed for them previously. In Marcia's (1966, 1980) theory, this would be considered identity moratorium. These students are able to start weighing options because they have moved into this state.

Evaluation and Implementation

In Jackson (1982) and Hossler's (1985) models, this is when students develop rankings in the college list and when they start aligning their morals. Here is where Actions of Others, Self-Directedness, and representativeness come into play. Actions of O PAVE, or Peer Advisors for Veteran Education thers affects how a student may rank, as other people provide their input and thus may influence the student. Similarly, Self-Directedness can come into play but gives the student more control over what aspects of the decision-making process others have an effect on. Finally, the representativeness heuristic helps the student decide what aspects and expectations are important to them, such as what a student looks like in a certain institution. As students start to choose their own values systems, they start to decide what aspects of a college they are looking for. They are no longer relying on the external formulas as they were in stage one — they now have their own formulas to rely on. Identity moratorium still continues to exist, as these students are still in crisis with no commitment.

Final Choice

The final stage of the model, where students end up making a final value judgement, consider the options, and decide which institution to attend. Even though this phase involves a student committing to an institution, there are still several choices being made. The student must decide what they will major in, and this will likely continue to be a theme throughout their college career. This phase also affects students that were not admitted to any universities they applied to or for whatever reason decided not to attend a higher education institution.

Using Marcia's (1966, 1980) ego identity status theory, it can be assumed that the student is in the identity achievement status. They are in crisis in that they are likely open to options of their values and beliefs, however, they have committed to an institution and system of beliefs. The crisis also involves the uncertainty that remains in the college enrollment process, even though the institution is confirmed.

Recommendations for Practitioners

It is clear that students are more likely to apply to schools that could be considered "reach" schools if there is little opportunity cost. Evidence suggests that students are more likely to check the box for a reach school if it requires little to no extra work and/or has no application fee. The common application has shown that this is the case and has also shown that it created a more diverse pool of applicants and accepted students, though does not discuss the yield — meaning the number of students who are accepted that end up enrolling in the institution. Additionally, since there is more detail on the developmental phases a student is going through when applying to college, new systems of support can be created for these students. Ultimately, it is the practitioners' job to expand access and diversity within institutions, and it seems like creating equal access and lessening opportunity cost and mitigating causes of students having a risk-averse mindset is where we should begin.

Additionally, admissions counselors and other professionals can help the parents support their students using this framework, as the developmental process is recognized and is thus acknowledgeable. Part of this is having the parent recognize that their student is following external formulas likely provided by the parent, and then discussing how the parent can create an environment where their students are able to create their own individual thoughts. It must also be realized that students need, to some extent, these external formulas to create their own formulas — we cannot just eliminate them.

Conclusion

Since there is no current literature discussing the development that a student goes through while applying to college, it makes sense to create a new theory that compiles previous literature to create a succinct idea of student development. This theory can change the way that practitioners and admissions officers approach students entering the college application process. The theory will need adjustments as there continues to be updates in the way college admissions operates and when more research is provided, such as the implications of the coalition application or other application systems. It is also important to remember, in general, that a student can decide at any time that they do not want to attend college and fall into the "Final Choice" phase, where they will require different systems of support. Overall, the application process is fluid, but there are key aspects that demonstrate a student has moved from one phase to another.

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The Development of Gay College Men in Traditional Fraternities

Alexis Fuentes

Abstract

Given the heteronormative environment that exists across the United States, there are few visible appropriate socializing forces for gay college men; therefore, they make their own decisions and actions that lead to their individual development (D'Augelli, 1994). Because fraternities are seen as a heteronormative and homogenous environment, there has been little research conducted on the experiences of gay college men in fraternities. This paper addresses the relationship between gender and sexual orientation that gay college men develop and navigate in fraternity environments. In a combination of several student development theories – *Cass's Model of Gay/Lesbian Identity Development*, *D'Augelli Model of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Identity Development*, and *Connell's Theory of Masculinity* – and common themes in the literature – hegemonic masculinity, homophobia and femininity, and overachievement – a theory emerges on the development of gay college men in traditional fraternities. This theory serves as a model for students who have this intersecting identity and as a framework for student affairs professionals to better serve this student population.

Keywords

Fraternities, sexual orientation, gender, masculinity, homosexuality

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Introduction

"To better the man" and "making better men" - both of these mottos are examples that represent the values and beliefs of two traditional fraternity brotherhoods. Since 1776, traditional fraternities, defined as social organizations of male students designated and recognized by Greek letters, have been a part of the higher education experience nation-wide (Windmeyer & Miller, 2012). Social groups within college and university communities have a high impact on the development and socialization of college students (Rankin et al., 2007). Phi Betta Kappa, for example, created a common and shared college experience and tradition (Windmeyer & Miller, 2012). Like other fraternity brotherhoods, this group shares the interest in the promotion of friendship, literature, and morality. Traditional fraternities are characterized by their organization's motto, secret handshake, and an initiation ritual that is highly secretive from the public (Windmeyer & Miller, 2012). Over the past 200 years, fraternity men have been the standard for measuring all other college men.

College fraternity culture is a traditional heterosexist cultures in society (Windmeyer & Miller, 2012). The culture in fraternities promotes the "assumption of heteronormativity" on a college campus (Rankin et al., 2007). The assumption that fraternity men are heterosexuals is never explicit but always active in maintaining a brotherhood (Yeung et al., 2006). Fraternity men are a highly researched college-male subgroup that stand out as unsafe, dangerous, stigmatizing, dominant, and homogenous (Syrett, 2009). Because of this environment, gay college men are not always depicted and included in the research. The development of gay college men is essential because they navigate two different levels of identity: sexual orientation and gender, particularly masculinity. This issue is vital because gay men are becoming more visible in fraternities and the community is more supportive (Rankin et al., 2007). In their study, Rankin et al. (2007) found that 86-90% of participants who were gay, regardless of their current status, found to have "very supportive or supportive" members of their chapters. This article explores the various ways that gay college men develop their sexual orientation and gender through their experiences in fraternities.

Although there is student development literature on gender and sexual orientation theories in higher education, there is minimal related research with the focus on fraternity environments. Very little theoretical literature exists on the relationship between the development of gay college men and college student development theories. As a response, a new student development theory must be created in the context of the established theories and the findings of the most common themes of fraternity experiences. A new connection needs to be established that offers a more complex understanding of masculinity and sexual orientation in the development of male students. There is little to no formal analysis of gay students who are or were members of college fraternities (Case et al., 2005). O'Neil and Casper (2011) argued that the lack of current programming and service delivery models for gay fraternity men in college is a consequence of the administration's lack of theory to practice connection. A combination of both gender and sexual orientation analysis needs to be further developed to provide a more accurate representation of gay men in fraternities.

By focusing on the ways in which gay men develop their gender and sexual orientation during and after joining a fraternity, I aim to shed light on their experiences with a focus on the relationship between their identities and the environment. This article explores one main question: *How do gay college men and their experiences develop their gender and sexual orientation in a fraternity environment?* This will be answered by looking at the ways that fraternity men choose to express their gender and sexual orientation. By researching the lived experiences of this student population, student affairs professionals and current fraternity members will be able to better serve and provide this population with resources to further their development.

Literature Review

In creating a new student development theory for gay college men in fraternities, existing literature and theories around gender and sexual orientation were examined to provide an understanding of this student population. Within the literature review, this paper focuses on hegemonic masculinity, homophobia and femininity, and overachievement. This is complemented by sexual orientation and gender identity theories that are prevalent to the development of gay college men. These topics are salient to the creation of a new theory because these are the main themes that were found within current research. The proposed student development theory was developed with the existing literature in mind.

Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity in the United States is a prevailing narrative of masculine experiences that is seen in men's daily practices, behaviors, and actions (Kimmel & Davis, 2011). The stress of masculinity affecting boys does not end when they arrive at college; instead, they are often compounded in "Guyland" (Kimmel, 2008). College brotherhoods are independently established as an institution designed only for young men. Hegemonic masculinity has been used mainly as a social structural concept to explore the legitimization of masculinities through social organizations and institutions (Jewkes et al., 2015). Men who do not measure to the hegemonic definition of masculinity—white, heterosexual, abrasive, assertive, competitive, athletic, and of affluent class—are compared with women and thus feminized (Yeung et al., 2006). Heterosexuality is a central element in the development of hegemonic masculinity, and to a great or lesser extent, hegemonic masculinity is established as a gender position that is as much "not gay" as it is "not female" (Jewkes, et al., 2015). Homosexuality is a primary challenge to the standards of heterosexual, hegemonic masculinity that is represented in all-male groups (Rankin et al., 2007). Gay men who navigate their identity in fraternities witness hegemonic masculinity and see the environment with masculinity depicted by the brothers.

From the beginning, fraternity brothers have emitted a form of hegemonic masculinity that they have used to enable each other. They do this while dismissing others, and in so doing, fraternity brothers have not only structured their own lives, but also the lives of other students (Syrett, 2009). Fraternity men are those who perpetuate the cycle of hegemonic masculinity and keep the masculine-focused environment alive for students who are interested in joining a fraternity. Hegemonic masculinity in America explains what it means to be a "man" in society and nonconformity from this behavior is regularly met with conflict (Kimmel & Davis, 2011). Fraternities are an environment that produce hegemonic masculinity through a traditional, gender-segregated, racially limited, sexist, and highly homophobic masculine peer culture (Ross, 1999). Hegemonic masculinity focuses on the image of a man and defines manhood for all men; regardless of background or experiences.

Homophobia and Femininity

Homophobia is a dominant organizing principle for the cultural description of manhood and the assertive discourse. While no official policy bars gay men from fraternity membership, gay men are often reluctant to reveal their sexual orientation to avoid harassment (Yeung et al., 2006). They are careful about their language and behavior because they fear that they could reveal their sexual orientation (Rankin et al., 2007). If a potential new member was rumored or perceived to be gay, chapters were found to be less likely to offer them a bid to join their fraternity (Lambda 10 Project, 2003). Even when homoerotic rituals are customary in fraternities, they are merely tools to humiliate new members or pledges that reinforce a brother's sexuality, serving as a passage ritual to real manhood (Yeung et al., 2006). The Lambda 10 Project found that more than 70% of participants encountered homophobic attitudes through the form of derogatory jokes or comments (Lambda 10 Project, 2003). Gay brothers often experience homophobia in different ways and have to be aware of how they express themselves to others.

The process of men-making is ingrained in the traditional model of stigmatizing homosexuality and building a particular philosophy toward women and femininity (Yeung et al., 2006). "Femininity performance" functions in fraternities as a form of embarrassment and mistreatment to members, often as part of hazing during the pledging and initiation process (James, 1998). The performance of femininity in fraternities often plays an iconic role in the "manhood test" which defines the rite of passage to the brotherhood. In informal interactions, heterosexual fraternity members also impersonate femininity in mockery (James, 1998). Heterosexual students perform femininity because they see it as degrading and humiliating as they are acting against their manly behavior. Gay men navigate their sexual orientation through these type of gender dynamics and have to choose how they want to behave in a variety of situations.

Overachievement

Gay students join brotherhoods for reasons similar to those of heterosexual students: friendship, social activities, and a feeling of belonging (Rankin et al., 2007). One of the areas gay fraternity members seemed to be involved with that differ from their heterosexual peers was in-chapter leadership (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). More than 80% of gay men in their chapter held at least one of the following executive positions: president, vice president, treasurer, new member educator, or a chair position. Over 20% of the men served as president (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). Hesp (2006) discovered that the majority of gay male participants held at least one leadership position in their fraternity. This tendency toward overachievement may reflect a desire for validation and acceptance by the group (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). Once gay men are in a fraternity, they tend to be heavily involved in different leadership positions.

The Cass Model of Gay/Lesbian Identity Development (1979)

According to Cass (1979), people go from a state of confusion about sexual identity to tolerance, and eventually acceptance and feelings of pride, for a total of six stages. Stage 1 is identity confusion. It is characterized by feelings of confusion and questions about the previously held assumptions of one's sexual orientation. Stage 2 is identity comparison which discusses the feelings of alienation through the process of accepting the possibility of being gay. Stage 3 is identity tolerance. This stage characterizes feelings of uncertainty by searching for other gay men but keeping one's public and private life separate. Stage 4 is identity acceptance. It talks about the process of legitimizing one's sexual orientation. Stage 5 is identity pride which involves feelings of pride, anger, and activism in which one immerses oneself in the gay subculture and rejects non-gay institutions and values. Finally, Stage 6 is defined as the synthesis of identity. It is feelings of clarity and acceptance in which one moves beyond the dichotomized worldview to incorporate one's sexual orientation as an aspect of a more integrated identity. The way a student goes through these stages is linear, so once a student completes a phase they can move to the next.

D'Augelli Model of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Identity Development

D'Augelli's (1994) sexual orientation theory describes lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) identity as influenced by one's social environment and the level of support one receives while beginning to conceptualize their sexuality. The LGB Identity Development model was created to counter the model of sexual orientation created by Cass's Theory in 1979. D'Augelli argued that the development of an understanding of one's sexuality is not linear but rather a complex evolution that occurs over one's life span. It focused on the interaction between people and their environment, including the developmental influence of family and friends. D'Augelli (1994) outlines five-interactive processes: exiting heterosexual identity, developing an LGB identity status, developing an LGB social identity, developing an LGB intimacy status, and entering an LGB community. Students often arrive in a higher education institution still in the examination period of sexual identity (Evans et al., 2010). It is important to examine how the fraternity and sorority community promote appropriate environmental conditions for gay men. Identity development is a process that is affected by the campus environment and interactions with other people. Therefore, the hegemonic environment fostered by fraternities can have a large impact on the college experiences and overall development of gay men.

Connell's Theory of Masculinity

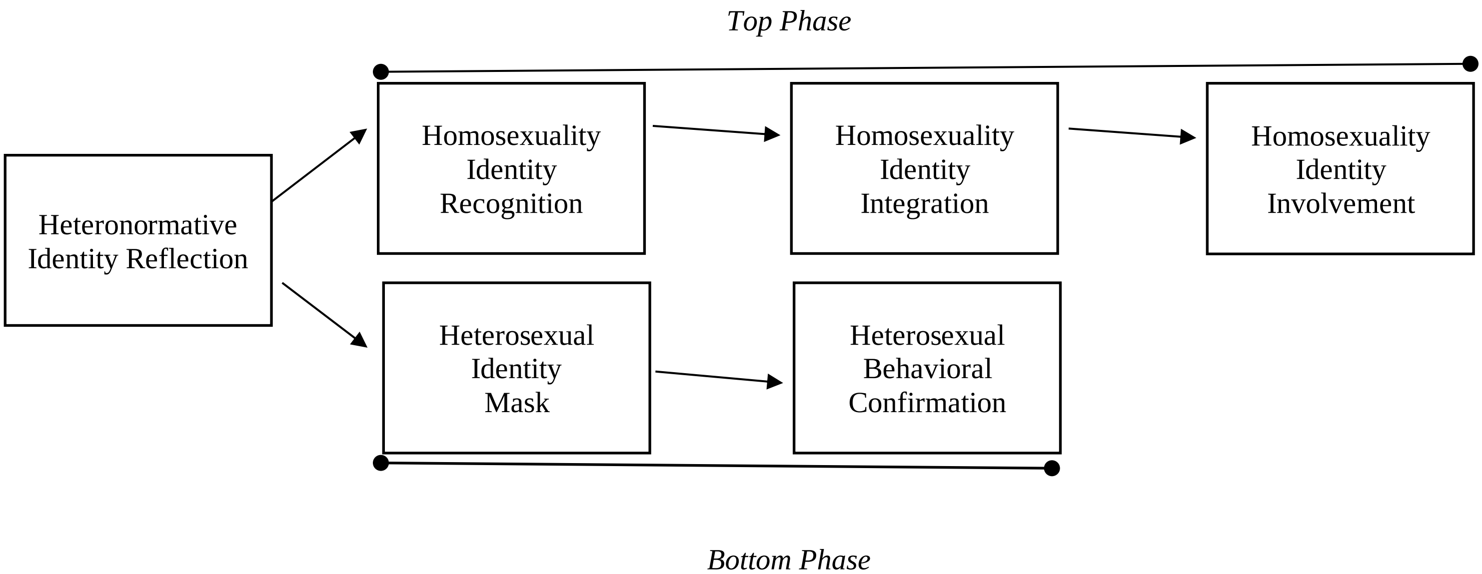
According to Connell, hegemonic masculinity is a "cultural idea" that civil society continually promotes through the production of exemplary masculinities constant with the output of patriarchy (Demetriou, 2001). In Connell's position, a central element of modern hegemonic masculinity is that one sex (females) live as a possible sex object, while the other sex (males) is rejected as a sexual object (Demetriou, 2001). These masculinities are subordinated not because they lack a definite apparent and historical quality or because they are inherently inferior to others, but because the habit configuration is incompatible with the presently accepted strategy for the subordination of women (Demetriou, 2001). Homosexuality is subordinated to the hegemonic model as its object to sexual desire undermines the foundation of heterosexuality, which is of prime importance to the patriarchy's reproduction (Demetriou, 2001). Men who do not correspond to the traditional hegemonic definition of masculinity, because of their sexual orientation, are often marginalized as are the different versions of masculinity developed by these groups (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The subordination of gay masculinity is, therefore, a prerequisite of the strategy for the patriarchy's reproduction through the institution of heterosexuality. A traditional hegemonic conception of masculinity posts a patriarchal social system, including how the identity of individual men perpetuates and reinforces the patriarchy (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Thus, the conventional hegemonic definition of masculinity not only oppresses women, but it marginalizes and limits all men.

Development Theory of Gay Fraternity Men

The Development Theory of Gay Fraternity Men only discusses men who have accepted their feelings about being gay and have self-defined their sexual orientation. They may not self-identify as *queer* or *gay*, but they recognize that they do not identify as heterosexual. For this analysis, the term *gay* will be used to identify the men who will be discussed. The environment surrounding this theory is before, during, and after the pledging process. It is focused on the coming out process within a fraternity context. Once a gay man has decided he wants to go through the recruitment process, he has to visit the fraternity houses and analyze the environment. As the student is visiting the different houses and meeting the brothers, he is witnessing the hegemonic masculinity that is encouraged in fraternities (Yeung et al., 2006). They may get asked questions, like "Do you have a girlfriend" or similar ones relating to heterosexual tendencies. At this point, the student will reach the heteronormative identity reflection phase and have to decide how they want to address questions and topics about their homosexual or heterosexual experiences. In certain fraternities, the student may realize the heteronormality that exists in all male-organizations, especially fraternities, and will choose if they want to immerse themselves in this type of environment. Rogal (2019) argued that Greek life runs on a gender binary which makes inherent heteronormativity that can be seen through the exclusive language and practices. The heteronormative language and policies in fraternities can impact whether gay men want to be a part of this experience.

One of the two options in figure 1 after analyzing the fraternity environment is the top phase. One of the choices a gay man has is to acknowledge their sexual orientation to themselves and the fraternity brothers by stating that they are not heterosexual (Floyd & Stein, 2002). Phrases like "I actually have a boyfriend" or "I am gay" will show the acceptance he has for himself and the recognition he desires from the fraternity members. A student showing these types of behaviors demonstrate that they have reached the homosexuality identity recognition phase. The student can reach this point because he has given his sexual orientation a higher importance and a priority than the fraternity. The student is confident with their sexual orientation identity and they are not looking for approval from anyone other than recognition for who they are.

Figure 1
The Development Theory of Gay Fraternity Men



By allowing the student to reach this point, they will continue to the homosexuality identity integration phase. This phase discusses the integration the male student has with his sexual orientation into his behavior, language, and experiences (D'Augelli, 1994). This means that students can discuss their same-sex relationship with their fraternity brothers and can ask for dating advice from other men. The student discusses their same-sex attractions just like everyone else and it becomes normalized among the fraternity. Because the student feels that they can be who they are, they will get more involved in their fraternity, leading to the homosexuality identity involvement phase.

When students feel like they can be who they are, they become more involved in their fraternity. This integration of their identity with their environment as a fraternity brother leads to the homosexuality identity involvement phase. In this phase, they genuinely feel like they are one of the members and feel affirmed by the rest of the fraternity brothers (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). When students are in the homosexuality identity involvement phase, many of them get involved in leadership positions and serve on their executive board. They believe they can represent the fraternity and their fraternity values. The leadership positions are done through a vote from the chapter, so the rest of the fraternity feels the same way. Once students have reached the Homosexuality Identity Development Phase, they have reached a sense of fulfillment and pride. They have a feeling of purpose and care from the fraternity.

If a student decides that they do not want to reveal their homosexual identity, they can reject it and will be on the bottom phase as seen in Figure 1. If a student chooses this, one of the first phases he will encounter is the heterosexual identity mask phase. This phase involves putting on a performance, like a mask, to cover up their homosexual thoughts and behaviors. They want to present themselves as a heterosexual man to other heterosexual men. According to Edwards and Jones (2009), putting on a mask covered aspects of a person's true self that did not meet society's expectations and presented to society an image that did fit the expectations. These men will be depicting behavior like the sexualization and objectification of women around other fraternity members because they are imitating the behavior of heterosexual men (Jewkes, et al., 2015). Gay men are pretending to "be heterosexual" by repeating language they have heard from their heterosexual male peers when discussing women or making excuses for not having a girlfriend.

Once they have reached the heterosexual identity mask phase, they will move on to heterosexual behavioral confirmation. Under the heterosexual behavioral confirmation phase, gay fraternity men often perform femininity amongst each other. This type of behavior is playful and does not require the engagement of women, but it allows fraternity brothers to contest gendered meaning in a traditional institution (Yeung et al., 2006). The result is a process of making men that is common in traditional fraternities that reflect the hegemonic relationship of men over women (Jewkes et al., 2015). Parodying femininity provides opportunities for laughter, perhaps even serving to diffuse the threat of homosexuality. Gay college men in the Bottom Phase will not reveal their homosexual identity and will continue with their heterosexual identity mask throughout college, confirming the heteronormative behaviors that are encouraged in fraternities.

Limitations

This proposed student development theory is based on reviewed literature on gay fraternity men. This theory is based on a linear path once a student decides whether or not they should be public about their sexual orientation. This theory may not be applicable to all gay men once they decide to join a fraternity as it does not address if a student was already open about their sexuality, nor if a student reverses to a different phase. The theory and research were based on gay, White, fraternity men and did not take into account other identities. For men of color, their race or ethnicity is often the salient identity and their experiences may be different. There is often a stigma associated with sexuality and sexual orientation within communities of color with a higher stigma around men of color.

Implications

By understanding the experiences and differences of gay, Greek men, student affairs professionals, the fraternity/sorority community, and other campus partners have the opportunity to better serve this population. Fraternities are not the only single-sex student organization on a college campus; therefore, this theory will help student affairs professionals learn about single-sex environments that develop a marginalized student community. Sexual orientation is a spectrum and it is constantly evolving. It is important for practitioners to be educated and knowledgeable about the effects that fraternities can have on their gay men.

Conclusion

In traditional fraternities, gay men navigate their sexual orientation and male gender identity in a masculine-heavy environment. Student affairs professionals could investigate this population further by surveying and analyzing the experiences of gay college men in fraternities; specifically focusing on students who both have "come out of the closet" and "stayed in." Both of these concepts can be seen in the Development Theory of Gay Fraternity Men that was presented. While it can be difficult to find male participants, who identify as gay in fraternities or who are comfortable sharing their experiences, it is essential to have these identities discussed and represented in higher education research. Their stories and experience will help university professionals recognize the intersectionality within prominent social organizations on a college campus and the different resources these particular students need.

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Latina Activist Development Through Service Learning

Valeria Hernandez

Abstract

The Latina student body population is increasing every year in colleges and universities, specifically at predominately White institutions. Student development through service learning, as well as Latina self-authorship have been studied, but never in an intersecting manner. By taking Baxter-Magolda's self-authorship theory, critical race theory, Kolb's experiential learning model, and Break Away's active citizen continuum and combining them, the Latina Activist Development Continuum is developed. This continuum illustrates how Latina students develop as activists through community engagement, beginning with structured service-learning opportunities through volunteering, to independent and autonomous activists while finding a sense of belonging at their institution.

Keywords

Latina, activism, community service, service learning, student development

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Introduction

Students identifying as Latina and as women enrolled in predominantly White institutions (PWIs) enter and navigate an environment in which they hold at least two visible minoritized identities—their gender and ethnicity. While there are a variety of institutions that enroll Latinx students, such as Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) or Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), the "majority of the [Latinx] population attends PWIs" (Robertson et al., 2016, p.716). The hardships posed by being a visible minority in an institution can be detrimental to a student's development if they do not have the tools to make meaning out of the hardships they experience. High impact practices in higher education give an avenue for better engagement. That connection in turn provides students with tools to address hardships, such as service learning. Colleges and universities actively promote different service-learning initiatives, which includes community service. According to Dote et al. (2006), "colleges provide the administrative, organizational, and cultural supports for volunteering, encourage the inclusion of service-learning in academic courses, have expectations that students will serve, and provide pathways to connect students with their surrounding communities by identifying local volunteer opportunities" (p. 4). Community service provides a positive avenue in which Latina students develop leadership skills. The practice's ability to "develop critical group-related skills, deepen personal commitments to specific issues, build resilience for working in complex systems to create change, and disrupt assumptions about social systems and how they operate" (Dugan et al., 2013, p.15) serve as a foundation for the education and development of activism.

In order to explore how Latina students develop as activists through community service, Baxter Magolda's theory of self-authorship (2001), the overarching application of critical race theory in education, Kolb's experiential learning model (1984), and Break Away's Active Citizen Continuum (2014) are used to frame and propose the Latina activist development through service learning theory. This theory will allow student affairs professionals working at PWIs on how to best support and provide experiences for Latina students to not only experience high impact practices but develop as activists and find a sense of belonging at their institution and community beyond the university.

Literature Review

While there are several theories that come into play when synthesizing the Latina Activist Development Continuum, not enough scholars have researched the development of activism, much less within the Latina population. The nature of advocacy and activism is difficult to measure as it varies in style depending on the social issue being addressed. For example, activism to challenge socioeconomic inequities in schools looks different from activism that challenges climate change in urban areas, whereas the former is emphasized more in smaller group-setting debates and the latter focuses on widespread public protests in the streets (Cohen, 2016; Rubin & Silva, 2003). The way Latina students develop through this continuum in PWIs, however, can be generalized to apply to most social issues. In order to address this gap in literature, the population and relevant terms will be defined and studied within the realm of PWIs. This will be followed by a discussion of student development theories and models relevant to Latina activist development through community service.

Latina Students and Activism

For the sake of this analysis, the term "Latina" will be used in reference to the ethnicity of students "of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (Grieco & Cassidy, 2000, p. 1) who concurrently identify as women. The term "Hispanic" will be used interchangeably based on the language of different sources, however "Latina" will be the primary terminology used. One in five women in the United States is a Latina, and it is predicted that by 2060, "Latinas will form nearly a third of the female population of the nation," (Gándara, 2015, p. 2). Due to the increase in the overall population size, these students will inevitably become a greater part of the potential student population as well.

While Latinas are making strides in increasing their presence on collegiate campuses, the discrepancies in completing their degrees remains. In a study conducted in 2013, "almost 19 percent of Latinas between 25 and 29 years of age had completed a degree, compared to 23 percent of African American women, 44 percent of white women, and 64 percent of Asian women" (Gándara, 2015, p.10). These women are actively facing discrimination, racism, and misogyny concurrently while attending PWIs. Traditional models of retention and engagement tend to focus on assimilation to provide an engaging experience, whereas Latinas desire their cultural heritages and an engaging academic experience in order to thrive in the PWI environment (Crisp & Nora, 2010).

The term activism is defined as "the use of direct and public methods to try to bring about esp. social and political changes that you and others want" (Cambridge University Press, n.d.). Universities in the 1990s saw a rise in student optimism and involvement with community service; volunteerism is typically followed by a rise in student unrest and activism once they have seen the injustices through their service (Levine & Hirsch, 1991). When college students feel an influx of powerful negative emotions once they experience inequalities, these feelings are expressed in political and social activism which lie in "challenging the status quo by creating or responding to current events, social problems, and community needs" (Levine & Hirsch, 1991, p. 126). These students experience the shift from feeling to action when navigating the different social issues after being exposed to the inequities that different communities face. The way the action manifests itself may vary per individual and can range from challenging inequities within a conversation to active grassroots organization and public protesting. It is crucial to define Latinas and activism in order to accurately understand the context of the theory.

Baxter Magolda's Self-Authorship

Latina women come from a wide array of backgrounds. Some Latinas were raised in an incredibly diverse environment where they were not the minority, while others were raised in an environment where it was predominantly white (Patton et al., 2016, p. 138). Once they arrive at a PWI, these women will have to simultaneously interact with stereotypes on Latinidad[1] and womanhood and react based on their own understandings of themselves and their identities.

With this theory of self-authorship, most students enter the collegiate sphere relying predominately on external formulas to make meaning of what they experience. With following formulas, "young adults follow the plans laid out for them by external authorities about what they should think and how they should accomplish their role" (Baxter Magolda, 2001, as cited in Patton et al., 2016, p. 366). The following phase involves a cross-roads where students realize that the external formula they have been using is not universal. Whether this cognitive dissonance stems from behaviors that no longer work or a perception of the self that is no longer satisfactory, students need to find a resolution between what they believe others expect of them and what they expect of themselves (Baxter Magolda, 2001). The final phase is characterized by the ability to choose their own personal beliefs despite an opposing or conflicting external formula. Individuals become aware that situations can be contextual, and they have the ability to shift their perspectives.

[1] Latinidad is a flexible concept that relates to a plurality of ideologies of identification, cultural expressions, and political and social agendas (Rojas, 2004, p.147)

Latinas and Self-Authorship

Looking at self-authorship through the Latina lens, it is crucial to emphasize the development of the intrapersonal (in this case, ethnic) identity. According to Torres and Hernandez (2007), Latinx students perceive their ethnic identities to be defined through negative societal stereotypes, the geographic definition of their identity, and the ideologies their parents and sources of authority project onto them. In the study, when asked "Who am I?", one student stated that they did not realize their purpose in being enrolled in college, just that they wanted to fulfill their deceased parents' wishes and make their family proud (Torres & Hernandez, 2013).

Once a student experiences the cognitive dissonance that there are more definitions of being Latinx than those they were initially exposed to, students shift to the crossroads stage. Here, they recognize stereotypes and certain ideologies as racist and reflect those in conjunction to their own identities as Latinxs. An example would be the concept of colorism and how lighter-skinned individuals are not viewed as stereotypical Latinx; however, they must grapple with their own identity and societal expectations.

The final shift to self-authorship demonstrates itself when students have the ability to integrate cultural significance to their own identity, whether it means truly understanding their self-imposed labels (e.g. "Chicana") or challenging/integrating their personal perception of Latinidad unto themselves (Torres & Hernandez, 2013). Latina students are also able to look at the context regarding their own identity perception, for example if they are a minority in a PWI as opposed to being in a HBCU. Taking into account the historical power structures of their identities and their counterparts allows the students to create their own meaning for their identities and differentiate between knowing when they can step up to challenge those stereotypes with their peers and recognizing that is not their sole duty or responsibility to educate others. In order for Latina students to begin advocating for another community, they must first learn to understand and advocate for themselves.

Critical Race Theory

Patton et al. (2016) defined critical race theory as "a perspective that emphasizes the centrality of race and racism and challenges white supremacy in the law, education, politics, and other social systems" (pp. 26-27). It is important to note that there is a difference between race and ethnicity, and not all Latinas share the same race. However, 78% of Hispanic adults believe that being Hispanic is part of their racial background (Parker et al., 2015). With this information, the assumption will be made that Latina students will not be considered "white." Critical race theory can apply to Hispanic and Latina students in the way they navigate a PWI and challenge white supremacy. This theory has the ultimate goal of challenging and disrupting structures that perpetuate racism and racial oppression. There is an emphasis on asserting an activist agenda for more social justice as well as encouraging students to analyze their own race and how that intersects with their social identities to move forward with activism (Patton et al., 2016). When looking at Latina students, a cultural term used to describe them is marianismo, "commonly defined as female gender role socialization that encourages women to prioritize family to the point of self-sacrifice (Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Ginorio & Martinez, 1996)" (Cerezo et al., 2013). This is predominately related to Latina students' interactions with their families but emphasizes the interaction between ethnicity and gender within their culture.

Through critical race theory, Latina students need to come to terms with not only their familial values they will be bringing into the new white space, but also reconcile how that plays a role in terms of their cultural fit at their college (Cerezo et al., 2013). By reconciling this, Latina students will get the experience and exposure to social issues deeply rooted in racial and ethnic inequities at a personal level.

This will provide a level of empathy when experiencing service learning to critically challenge and analyze the root cause of inequities and how to address them.

Active Citizen Continuum

Originating from Break Away, the Active Citizen Continuum is used to illustrate the development students have as citizens during their service-learning trip. This model begins with students in the stage of *members* not being concerned with their roles in a specific social problem. In order to shift from this stage, the Break Away program focuses on the "Pre-Trip Transformation," where students focus on education and pre-reflection of their role in society regarding that social issue. The continuum then moves to *volunteers*, students who have good intentions but do not have enough education regarding social issues. To move past the volunteer stage, students attend the service experience, examining the root causes of the social issues through direct service they can educate themselves on the role they play within their community (Break Away, 2014).

Students transition to *conscientious citizens*, students who want to ask why social issues are occurring. Through conversations after the service occurs, active reflection, and membership in community organizations regarding the social issue, students become *active citizens*, where their community becomes a priority in their lifestyle and values (Break Away, 2014). While this is in the context of alternative break trips, the transition from each stage stems in education regarding their service trip, beginning before the experience, as they move through the experience, and once the experience has ended.

Depending on the social issue, students can be on different parts of the spectrum. For example, a student well-versed in racial inequity issues might be an active citizen in that specific area, whereas that same student might be a member for issues regarding religious freedoms. These phases are not static, and students are able to shift forwards and backwards depending on how active they are with the specific direct service pertaining to that social issue (Break Away, 2014). The concept of the continuum plays a role in the Latina Activist Development theory by showing the sequential nature of service learning regarding knowledge, exposure and a call to action.

Kolb's Experiential Learning Theory & Service Learning

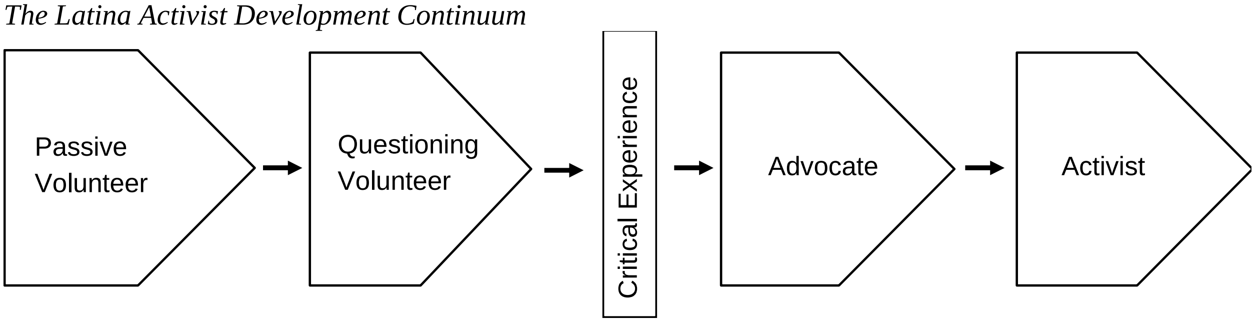
Kolb (1984) focuses on experiential learning as a holistic process that "[describes] the central process of human adaptation to the social and physical environment" (p. 31). When it comes to adapting to different environments, learning through experience is at the core. Experiential learning is a cyclical four-stage model, beginning with *concrete experiences.* These are typically experiences to affirm what one has learned in and outside of the classroom, followed by *reflective observations*, which are characterized by a feedback process (Kolb, 1984). From these reflections, individuals can form their own abstract concepts and ideologies regarding the service, whether it be changing an aspect of the experience or enhancing it. From this point, students test their implied concepts in new situations, therefore repeating the cycle with new concrete experiences (Kolb, 1984).

Service learning is experiential learning through the lens of community service where one can apply what they have learned in their classroom regarding social phenomenon and how to address it. According to Eyler and Giles (1999), service learning increases students' desires to include service in their career plans, want to incorporate diversity into their lifestyles, as well as feeling connected to their communities. These are all aspects of self-development in which Latina students must come to terms with when navigating a PWI. In addition to this, service learning provides an enhanced sense of self-identity, assists with relational development, and awareness of structural inequalities (Teranishi, 2007).

Integration and Development

The Latina Activist Development Continuum (LADC) illustrates the development of the Latina activism through service learning (see Figure 1). It takes into account the intersecting identities of womanhood and Latinidad, and how those play a role in personal development through service learning. When looking up high-impact practices that contribute to positive leadership development, community service and membership in off-campus organizations seemed to be the most positive predictors of student engagement for students of color, specifically Latinx students (Dugan et al., 2013). Due to its positive impact on personal development, the primary lens used service in off-campus organizations to view how Latina students develop as activists for whichever cause their service is oriented.

Figure 1.
The Latina Activist Development Continuum



Phases of the Latina Activist Development Continuum

The LADC compromises of four different phases, the first two occurring before a *critical experience*, and the latter two following the experience. Given the transient nature of the continuum, the term *phase* is used to demonstrate that an individual can be in between two different phases simultaneously; however, the movement through the continuum is sequential. The continuum is fluid and students have the ability to shift back and forth between the phases, but students cannot move forward into the state of Advocate without first having had a critical experience. The four phases are Passive Volunteer, Questioning Volunteer, Advocate, and Activist. The continuum is influenced by self-authorship alongside critical race theory, allowing Latinas to critically analyze and challenge white supremacy and social inequities as they develop their own personal identity through service.

Passive Volunteer

When looking at the primary phase, Passive Volunteer, Latina students are characterized by being passive in their role within the service and the community, intersecting the concepts of the Active Citizenship Continuum's member phase in addition to the external formula stage of self-authorship theory (Break Away, 2014; Patton et al., 2016). Latina students may not feel empowered or educated enough to think critically about the service they are doing or need for it. They go through the motions of the concrete experience (Kolb, 1984), but are passive in their critical analysis of it.

Questioning Volunteer

With more experience with service learning, Latina students begin to question the need and purpose of the service they are doing, while still maintaining that role in the concrete experience. However, due to the exposure, they are able to reflect on their service and make observations on their experiences (Kolb, 1984). During this experience, Latina students cross over into the Questioning Volunteer stage. This stage takes elements of passively looking into the external formulas and continuing to follow through with them without actively challenging what is going on. The stage is defined by the reflective nature of Kolb's experiential learning model in conjunction to the Active Citizen Continuum's volunteer stage, where one has good intentions, but not enough education or context to fully make active social change (Break Away, 2014; Kolb, 1984).

Critical Experience

In order to transition from volunteer to advocate, Latinas need to have a critical experience, whether it be negative or positive involving the service they are doing. This critical experience takes components of Baxter-Magolda's self-authorship theory when looking at the beginning of the cross-roads experience (2001). The critical experience challenges Latina students' current external formula regarding their own racial/ethinc identity, their role in the service, their role within their institution, and their role in the community. This experience can occur in a personal sphere, through service, or an external event occurring in the community; however, it must be connected to the social issue in which the continuum and service is associated. Without a critical experience, students would continue to go back and forth within the previous two stages. Nevertheless, it is important to re-emphasize that the continuum placement varies on social issue and service engagement, meaning that while a student might have found a critical experience while volunteering at a domestic violence shelter and has transitioned into the state of advocacy, they may still be a passive or questioning volunteer with food insecurity (Break Away, 2014).

Advocate

Transitioning to post-critical experience, the following phase of advocate emphasizes Latina's ability to critically challenge systems of oppression through the community issue they are facing. Incorporating a deeper understanding of the social issue at hand as well as their own Latinidad through the service (Teranishi, 2017), Latina students begin to form their own abstract thoughts and opinions (Kolb, 1984). Through critical race theory, they can challenge oppressive institutional practices in their thoughts and words and are able to speak out and recognize injustices present due to systems of oppression that perpetuate the need for the service they are performing (Patton et al., 2016; Teranishi, 2017). According to Teranishi (2017), "all of the students indicated that they were focused on exploring and attaining their educational and career goals, and this [service] program heightened their awareness of the structural inequalities that may create barriers to their educational and occupational access and mobility," (pp. 67-68). This phase is characterized by good intentions and vocal condemnation of inequalities, but a lack of organizational action.

Activist

The final stage in the continuum is that of the activist, focusing on the active organization to create social change. This phase takes the abstract thoughts and reflections from their previous stages and incorporates them into active experimentation for the social issue (Kolb, 1984). The stage of activism focuses on a sense of self-authorship in terms of the Latina students' ability to create their own understanding of their roles and their capabilities of being agents of social change. Similar to the Active Citizen position, the activist phase focuses on having the well-being of the community being served at the core of their lifestyle (Break Away, 2014). Viewing issues with a critical lens and reflecting on how to dismantle the systems which root from white supremacy (Patton et al., 2016), students in this stage begin taking tangible action through active experimentation of activism, whether it be an innovative program beyond the community service they are being told to do, or viewing a branch of the social issue from a new angle. This differs from advocacy by emphasizing direct action and innovation to create social change as opposed to vocal condemnations. Advocacy is always a part of activism, but activism is not always a part of advocacy. Some examples of activism include but are not limited to civil disobedience, organizing campaigns and movements, boycotting, attending meetings, and so forth.

Limitations

As given for any work with identities, there is the subjective nature of not having a universal definition for certain terminologies. For example, some academics might define Latinidad differently, some use the term "Hispanic" and "Latino" interchangeably, etc. Therefore, doing research on these topics can be limited when similar terms sample different populations. In addition to this, there were difficulties finding already developed theories on explicit student activism. Another limitation would be the author's identity as a Latina student who attended a Predominately White Institution for undergrad, leading to potential unintentional biases.

Conclusion

As colleges and universities continue to become more accessible and diverse, the Latina population will inevitably increase at Predominately White Institutions. In order to help them find a sense of belonging and find meaning in their collegiate experience, student affairs professionals should have a better understanding on how they can provide experiences to help these students develop as activists while engaging in service learning opportunities. By looking into Baxter Magolda's Path to self-authorship, critical race theory, Kolb's experiential learning model, and the Active Citizen Continuum, the LADC was created. Institutions and communities should celebrate students achieving the advocate phase as many do not reach it due a lack of a critical experience, much less the activist phase. However, by being intentional with the high-impact practices that positively influence Latina students (Dugan et al., 2013), faculty and staff can provide more opportunities for Latina students to have a critical experience and move towards advocacy and activism. By looking into studying more Latina students and their identity develop through engagement in service outside of their PWI, universities can cater better programming to help further support these students in feeling a sense of belonging in their communities and institution.

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Creating Equitable Stem Environments for Black Students in Higher Education

Christen Priddie

Abstract

Black student participation in STEM majors is a widely discussed issue in higher education that institutional stakeholders have worked to improve. However, current examinations of their participation must dive deeper to understanding how institutional inequities are preventing their increased participation. Four inequities (interest-convergence, dissonance between STEM and diversity concepts, faculty of color burden, and lack of racial/ethnic minoritized representation) are analyzed to understand why the Black STEM student participation and persistence remains low. This analysis leads to recommendations for how STEM departments can work to start addressing inequities to improve Black STEM student experiences.

Keywords

Black Students, STEM Environments, Equity

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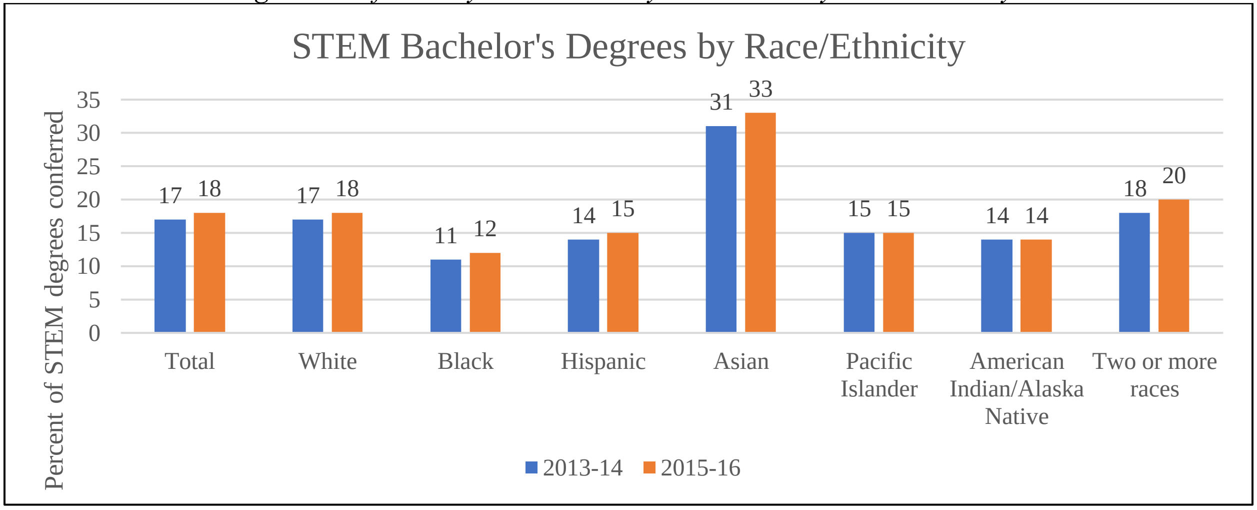
Introduction

Participation in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) fields have been a national concern for decades. Interest in STEM fields greatly increased in the 1940s when national security was at stake. The federal government increased funding and resources for scientific research to ensure the United States was on the forefront of scientific knowledge and innovation (Hutcheson & Kidder, 2011). Over the decades, the desire for higher education to provide more opportunities for students to get involved in STEM has increased, as well as the amount of resources provided to colleges and universities for STEM innovation.

In recent years, there is an increased interest in racial and ethnic minoritized student's participation in STEM majors. A major desire for this increase in STEM is the idea that underrepresented racial/ethnic minoritized students could help maintain the United States' global competitiveness in science and technological knowledge (Graham et al., 2013; Hernandez et al., 2017; Wang, 2013) and this sentiment is reflected throughout research examining this population. In 2016, the overall graduation rate for STEM undergraduate students was 18%, with Asian students recording the highest STEM degree conferral at 33% and Black students having the lowest STEM degree conferral rate at 12%. While there was some increase in degree conferral over two years, there is still a relatively low number of racial/ethnic minoritized students graduating with STEM degrees (Figure 1).

Figure 1
STEM Bachelor's Degrees Conferred by Postsecondary Institutions by Race/Ethnicity



Note. From U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education System (IPEDS), Fall 2014 and 2016

Numerous researchers explored possible explanations for why racial and ethnic minoritized students are not persisting in STEM fields. Pre-college characteristics, such as pre-college development and academic performance (Allen et al., 2008), family socioeconomic status (Niu, 2017), SAT/ACT scores, high school GPA, and high school percentile (Reeder & Schmitt, 2013) were shown to relate to STEM major declaration and first year performance. However, some arguments highlight the significance of the college environment in college students' STEM performance and persistence (Espinosa, 2011). On a larger scale, institutional agents creating humanized educational environments, having commitment to targeted support, and assumed responsibility for racial and ethnic minoritized students' performance can influence their STEM success (Museus & Liverman, 2010).

On an individual level, college environment experiences such as, peer engagement and support (Espinosa, 2011; Hurtado et al., 2010; Meador, 2018; Palmer et al., 2011), mentorship (Foltz et al., 2014; Hernandez et al., 2017; Kendricks et al., 2013) and participation in STEM-related activities (Espinosa, 2011; Palmer, et al., 2011) are shown to promote their STEM success. On the other hand, competitive and hostile racial environments (Hurtado et al., 2010), feelings of isolation and lack of sense of belonging (Johnson et al., 2017), and psychological processes, such as a lack of confidence (Grineski et al., 2018; Litzler et al., 2014), science identity (Carlone & Johnson, 2007), and motivation (Hurtado et al., 2010) were all found as factors that can decrease the success racial and ethnic minoritized students have in STEM majors.

A review of previous findings indicate that STEM environments can be a vital place for racial and ethnic minoritized students' engagement and can either promote or inhibit success in their STEM majors. When researchers disaggregated data to provide more information regarding Black students' engagement in STEM majors, many of the same concepts mentioned above still appear and are sometimes heightened due to the reported hostility and competitiveness in STEM environments. Nevertheless, Black students still remain interested in STEM majors. Herrera and Hurtado (2011) reported over half of their Black college senior sample retained their STEM interests from their freshmen year. Other studies also show that Black students enter their STEM majors at similar rates with their peers and with similar amounts of interests in STEM (Anderson & Kim, 2006; National Science Foundation, 2009). This information suggests that access to STEM may not be the primary issue, but rather understanding what experiences they are having while in STEM majors should be the bigger concern. Furthermore, this point supports reasoning for why my argument does not necessarily focus on Black student access to STEM majors but zeroes in on the inequitable practices they face while in STEM environments that are factoring into their STEM departure.

One of the main issues with the literature surrounding Black students' STEM involvement is that it tends to be void of conversations regarding how inequitable STEM environments have been. Investigations into whether the STEM programming initiatives, pedagogical practices, curriculum, and resources are equitable have recently developed but this has not been a primary point of departure in examining Black students' experiences in STEM. Therefore, it is imperative that institutional stakeholders are understanding and reflecting on how STEM environments currently operate to promote Black student success in STEM.

The purpose of this paper is to examine inequitable practices that are inhibiting Black students from further succeeding in STEM fields. I highlight four challenges that are currently reproducing inequitable practices in STEM fields on college campuses. To be clear, I am not suggesting that these inequitable practices are the only ones that exist or that they are the most important ones to focus on. However based on current conversations among STEM educators (Dewsbury, 2017; Fairweather, 2008; McGee & Bentley, 2017; Patton, 2016), these inequitable practices may be the biggest contributors to the lack of progress made in increasing participation and performance for Black students in STEM and should be examined more closely if higher education stakeholders hope to solve issues of underrepresentation in STEM. The paper concludes with recommendations for research and practice for stakeholders to continue to address how institutional agents can work on each inequitable practice visible across institutions nationwide.

Factors Influencing the Creation and Maintenance of Inequitable STEM Environments

To further understand Black student experiences in STEM environments, the following section examines four inequitable practices and how they contribute to Black students' performance and persistence in STEM fields.

1. **Interest-convergence and reasoning for why STEM fields want to increase racial and ethnic minoritized student participation.**

Much of the literature examining racial and ethnic minoritized students' participation in STEM fields address the notion that an increase in their participation is needed to increase workplace diversity. Diversifying the STEM workforce to maintain the health of our economy and the nation's global competitiveness is often noted as the main motivation for increasing ethnic minoritized participation in STEM (Espinosa, 2011; Foltz et al., 2014; Meador, 2018; Palmer et al., 2011). However, implying that their needed participation in STEM is primarily for national interest falls under the idea of interest-convergence. Interest-convergence, stemming from Critical Race Theory (CRT), explains how much of the property and experiences that are considered important are primarily in the interest of white people (Patton, 2016). In conversations surrounding STEM, an interest in diversifying STEM for national significance can be seen as fulfilling a white interest, as less attention is given to understand how racial and ethnic minoritized STEM student participation benefits them.

McGee and Bentley (2017) created the equity ethic framework, which suggests that Black and Latinx STEM students are highly interested in giving back to uplift their respective communities. They emphasize worldviews and discuss how a collectivist worldview is tied to desires of wanting to give back to their communities, a worldview Black people tend to hold (McGee & Bentley, 2017). Their work also shows that Black and Latinx students get involved in STEM largely for social justice reasons, to financially give back to their families, and to create changes in science and technology that have frequently disadvantaged communities of color. Their study is important to the examination of interest-convergence in STEM because we can begin to see a different perspective of why Black students are interested in STEM majors, as well as how their motivations and experiences are inherently different.

Black students holding collectivist orientations can find major difficulty in STEM environments where individuality, competition, and meritocracy are dominant because their worldview perspective desires a more community-based approach. Literature supports this idea, as we have seen the benefits of communal support in Black students' affirmed identity development and persistence (Harper, 2013; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Guiffrida, 2003). If we start to conceptualize how Black students may not be going into STEM for a national, white-supporting interest, it may become more apparent on how institutions can meet the needs of Black students in STEM environments. Furthermore, when researchers state that diversity is needed for national competitiveness, we ignore the more personalized reasons for why STEM is an option for Black students.

Continually acknowledging the need for diversity in STEM for national interest also ignores the history of Black people in higher education and the nation at large. Society has historically not prioritized the needs of the Black community, especially in higher education. The historical lack of support of the Black community is seen very early on with the documentation of Black slaves working at higher education institutions (Wilder, 2014), as well more recently with the 1960s social movements where Black students helped make the nation aware of the mistreatment experienced in higher education (Barlow, 1991; Hevel, 2017; Menges & Exum, 1983). This justification for STEM diversity can come off as if Black student engagement in STEM is only at the benefit of white interest and does not emphasize the way their STEM involvement can intentionally benefit the Black community. Institutions emphasizing the need for diversity can be perceived as just rhetoric without actually addressing the inequities, power, and privilege that led to the need for diversity in the first place (Baber, 2015). Black student success in STEM is beneficial for a diverse STEM workforce because their contributions can greatly improve the lives of their own communities. However, until institutions recognize this as a possible primary motivator and address the historical inequities this argument perpetuates, institutions may never reach the "diversity" they say they are seeking.

2. **There is a perceived dissonance between STEM content material and culturally relevant knowledge.**

The content taught in STEM subjects is known to operate under positivism and objectivity, in which STEM content can be taught without understanding the conceptual connections to social and political contexts (Zeidler, 2016). The use objectivity creates a focus on determining if students arrive at the right or wrong answers. However, there is less attention on how students approach the answers. This is where culturally relevant and culturally responsive teaching practices are necessary. Culturally relevant pedagogy encourages schools to develop students' critical consciousness while having a willingness to support cultural competence through their academic development (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Brown-Jeffy and Cooper (2011) posit that through culturally relevant pedagogy, teachers should be inclusive of cultural backgrounds to be effective facilitators of learning. Gay (2002) examined culturally responsive teaching and how teachers can be more effective when they use cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of diverse students, which can lead to a more welcoming classroom environment.

More recently, researchers and practitioners have investigated how these culturally relevant pedagogical practices fare in STEM college learning environments. There is a push by researchers and STEM professional societies to improve STEM faculty teaching practices and STEM students' learning experiences (Fairweather, 2008). Faculty who have an inclusive mindset are more likely to incorporate inclusive teaching practices (Moriarty, 2007). However, there seems to be bigger challenges that prevent inclusive teaching practices from gaining momentum in STEM classrooms. Some STEM faculty do not see how equity, diversity, and inclusion concepts blend with STEM concepts and believe it fits more with other disciplines (Haynes & Patton, 2019). Also witnessed in the high school context, students are finding that STEM environments are not congruent with their racial identities and that the "most rigorous academic spaces were not easily accessible to students of color" (Nasir & Vakil, 2017, p. 388).

Researchers have highlighted how faculty training can play a role in this inequitable practice. Jett (2016) discusses their personal experiences with teaching mathematics to Black college students, naming deficit-oriented ideologies and discourse built into pedagogical training and practices as reasons for the widespread perceptions of Black students' academic deficiencies. Furthermore, faculty discussed the difficulties faced in incorporating a more inclusive approach to their classroom, stating the lack of time they have to develop this type of curriculum (Moriarty, 2007), the lack of pedagogical training that provides this information (Dewsbury, 2017), and the lack of reward structures in place for focusing on inclusive teaching practices (Fairweather, 2008; Haynes & Patton, 2019). This can lead to a lack of buy-in on why STEM faculty should view culturally relevant pedagogies as important (Fairweather, 2008).

I consider this lack of interest in incorporating culturally relevant and inclusive teaching practices an inequitable practice in STEM because this can decide and reinforce whose knowledge and perspectives are valued in those fields. This ties into interest-convergence because the continued use of dominant ideologies and curriculum have historically only served white students and when faculty are encouraged to consider methods that could help students with varying identities, there is a lack of buy-in. For Black STEM students, this can mean that it will continue to feel like their experiences are not valued in their STEM classrooms. Connecting this to their collectivist worldview, it can appear that holistically, their

STEM environments were not designed for them and will not work to acknowledge their experiences. This is a troubling thought, especially since there are a series of initiatives to attract more Black students to STEM fields. If institutional agents are not willing to interrogate why culturally relevant, responsive, and inclusive teaching practices are needed for the persistence of Black STEM students, the inequities perpetuated in STEM fields will continue to exist and those environments will continue to be exclusionary.

3. **There is a burden on faculty of color to incorporate diversity-related experiences into STEM classrooms.**

In addition to the efforts of increasing student racial and ethnic representation in STEM, there is also a push to create a more diverse faculty in STEM fields. On a larger scale, faculty of color are more likely to be advocates of diversity, but faculty in math and science departments are not as likely to be diversity advocates (Park & Denson, 2009). More specifically, faculty of color in STEM fields were found to be beneficial for racial and ethnic minoritized STEM students. They tend to recognize the alienation faced by students in STEM and see the importance of giving back, which can be by way of providing mentorship (Griffin et al., 2010). This may also stem from a cycle where faculty of color felt they did not receive adequate mentorship in their education and want to ensure that does not happen for students coming after them, which relates to the equity ethic mentioned above (Griffin et al., 2010). It is important to know that faculty of color can be a major key in incorporating diversity in STEM fields and providing a support system for racial and ethnic minoritized students. Nevertheless, the underrepresentation of STEM faculty of color can put major pressure and strain on the current STEM faculty of color who may overextend themselves to help (Schwartz, 2012).

A preliminary study found that STEM Asian, Black, and multiracial faculty were more likely to incorporate inclusive teaching practices than their STEM white and Hispanic/Latino faculty counterparts (Ribera et al., 2018). These results help show that faculty of color are often the primary ones incorporating diversity and inclusive content into STEM classrooms and supporting students of color. However, if they do not make up the majority of STEM faculty members, this can imply that they can become the “diversity workers” in STEM, while white faculty get a pass. This also ties into interest-convergence because faculty of color may feel that they were recruited and hired to become the faculty members who cover the diversity content. It also suggests that white faculty are not consistently confronted by institutional agents on how their lack of instructional change further perpetuates inequities.

The pressure institutions can put on faculty of color to be the primary spokespersons for diversity in and out of the classroom is inequitable because it does not hold white faculty to the same standard. There are not consistent rewards in place to acknowledge the support faculty of color provide students of color and how much effort they put into creating inclusive classroom environments. Referring to the equity ethic, faculty of color may feel obligated to be the support system for racial and ethnic minoritized students because they recognize that students may come to them solely on the fact that they share the same racial and/or ethnic identity, but they are rarely acknowledged for this role they play at their institutions. In this case, Black students may be more inclined to seek out support from faculty of color because of the support systems they provide, but Black students should not feel that faculty of color are their only avenue of support. If white faculty show efforts to make their curriculum more inclusive and support more students of color, the burden can be released from faculty of color. This points to the need for STEM departments to reevaluate their environments to assess who is providing support for Black students and why Black students may not feel supported by their white faculty.

4. **There is the belief that the lack of racial and ethnic minoritized students in STEM classrooms means that there is not a pressing need to address diversity, equity, and inclusion issues.**

As discussed throughout this paper, racial and ethnic minoritized students and faculty are underrepresented in STEM classrooms. Because of the lack of racial representation in these classrooms, STEM faculty may feel that there is less of a need to focus on incorporating culturally relevant and inclusive knowledge in the curriculum. Park and Denson (2009) discussed how faculty may not be as likely to be advocates of diversity if there are not as many students of color present in the classroom. This continues in a cyclical nature, as the lack of racial and ethnic minoritized students in the STEM classroom is used to justify STEM faculty's excuse for not incorporating diversity-related content in their courses. It can continue when the lack of culturally relevant experiences become one of the main reasons Black students are not persisting in STEM majors. This cycle becomes a "chicken or the egg" dilemma when trying to understand which issue is more pressing to address to solve this problem.

Another part of the issue with faculty not being motivated to incorporate diversity-related curriculum into STEM classrooms is that this implies that racial and ethnic minoritized students are the only ones that can benefit from this type of experience in classrooms. Diversity-related classroom conversations are beneficial for white male college students as well (Vianden, 2018). For both white faculty and white students, having discussions related to diversity, equity, and inclusion may also mean that they would have to recognize and confront the privilege and power they have, which may be an uncomfortable position (Lawrence, 1997; Vianden, 2018). Moreover, white faculty who do not work to interrogate their whiteness are not as prepared to help white students do the same (Haynes & Patton, 2019). However, white teachers who have a more developed racial identity are more likely to be successful implementing a multicultural curriculum (Lawrence, 1997), which can show that white faculty and students confronting their whiteness in STEM classrooms can be beneficial for them and their engagement with diverse student groups.

For Black STEM students, it can be frustrating to want other students and faculty members to understand and respect their experiences. However, if faculty do not feel that their presence is enough to warrant a pedagogical shift, then there is a larger inequity that is not being addressed. This furthers the explanation for why Black students are not persisting in STEM fields. The lack of care and attention being given to Black students in STEM spaces can be disheartening and can become the motivation they need to not continue. Tying in interest-convergence and the lack of institutionalized support systems, we can begin to understand why other fields may be more appealing for Black students to feel supported throughout their college journeys.

Recommendations for Research and Practice

After examining four ways that inequitable practices permeate STEM environments and make it difficult for Black STEM students to engage and feel welcomed, I conclude that there are several ways that faculty members can take steps to address the inequitable practices above. The following section includes recommendations for research and practice that address how institutional agents can begin to change the inequitable practices stated above. These recommendations were not designed to be exhaustive, but to help continue the conversation on how higher education can address inequities in STEM education.

Recommendations for Addressing Interest-Convergence

Scholars should work to use more culturally relevant frameworks and analytic lenses to examine Black STEM students' experiences. Research continually shows that Black students are having different types of experiences in higher education than their counterparts (Cokley, 2000; Love et al., 2009, Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002; Winkle-Wagner, 2009) which suggests that using widespread approaches may not be the most beneficial. Cedillo (2018) offers a new way of studying Black student experiences in STEM by suggesting anti-Blackness as an analytical and conceptual tool. Another way this is done is by McGee and Bentley (2017) through examining the equity ethic framework, where we can highlight specific reasons for why Black students get involved in STEM that do not always play to the interests of white people. Moving in this direction, more research is needed using frameworks and tools that specifically articulate the Black student experience. If researchers begin to adopt this framing, we may continue to uncover the nuanced participation of Black students in STEM.

There is also a need for more disaggregated information to specifically understand Black STEM student experiences. Oftentimes, studies utilizing quantitative methodologies aggregate racial and ethnic minority student experiences together for analyses due to sample size issues while comparing the entire minority group to white students. This approach can justify the use of white students as normative while racial/ethnic minoritized students are displayed as different or unusual because of their lack of alignment with the majority group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998). If scholars begin to move away from this model and acknowledge that not every minoritized student shares the same experiences, research can move toward amplifying and centering specific voices.

A recommendation for practice is that STEM fields/departments should reevaluate why they aim to increase minoritized student and faculty representation in their field. This reevaluation can be the first step in STEM fields uncovering the true reasons why they want to increase representation and whether these interests actually benefit minoritized populations. If through this evaluation fields recognize that their recruitment and retention efforts for representation are to meet diversity quotas, then their practices need to be reexamined to acknowledge inequities. This practice should also lead to the creation and maintenance of reward systems that acknowledge and appreciate educators who work to create more equitable environments. Again, this can begin to mitigate interest-convergence by rewarding the folks who are dedicated to finding equitable solutions for minoritized populations in STEM.

Recommendations for Addressing Dissonance Between STEM Content and Culturally Relevant Knowledge

Scholars should continue to identify which faculty are using culturally relevant and inclusive pedagogy. Researchers (e.g. Dewsbury, 2017; Haynes & Patton, 2019; Moriarty, 2007; Nasir & Vakil, 2017) contributed to conversations about incorporating more inclusive teaching practices in STEM classrooms that helps highlight which faculty are doing this work. However, more work is needed on which STEM faculty are incorporating diversity-related experiences in their pedagogical practices and how this specifically influences the performance and persistence of Black students.

A practice recommendation is that STEM faculty who see the importance of diversity, equity, and inclusion in the curriculum should be working with faculty who are not buying-in. STEM fields making educators aware of who is buying-in to creating more equitable STEM environments and who is not can continue some measurement on how far we have come. Haynes and Patton (2019) describe this concept as moving from racial resistance to racial consciousness which fits this context because the primary question is how do we get more STEM faculty to buy-in to transformative practices. If there is clear departmental interest in improving pedagogical practices, faculty who do buy-in should band together and discuss ways that this practice can be implemented across the board and should hold other faculty accountable. This accountability may also take the form of faculty using the privileges they have to reiterate the importance of this pedagogical shift.

Recommendations for Addressing Faculty of Color Burden

Scholars should continue to identify the messaging Black students are receiving from their STEM departments. This ties to inequitable practice because Black students may be getting clear messaging that some faculty, particularly faculty of color, actively make efforts to incorporate culturally relevant experiences while other faculty do not. Griffin et al. (2010) highlight this point by articulating how Black professors stated that giving back mentorship and guidance to students of color was particularly important to them. The negative messaging may even be seen at the departmental level when Black students are able to decipher how much their department wants to create change. Understanding how Black students perceive their department and the educators who do the extra work can help focus on ways to decrease the burden on faculty of color.

A practice recommendation that STEM faculty should begin and/or continue is to document the support they give racial/ethnic minoritized students. As noted previously, faculty of color are often the most helpful when students of color are seeking support from individuals who understand their experiences (Griffin et al., 2010). Although this extra support provided is not widely shown to count as additional service for tenure and promotion processes, possibly a self-tracking system presented to departments may jumpstart conversations on who is providing support and how much support is being given. It is acknowledged though that if this, or any other, system does not hold all faculty accountable, it can place even more burden on the faculty who continue to demonstrate their underappreciated efforts. Still, this can push departments to start to see and acknowledge which faculty members are being the champions for their racial and ethnic minoritized students in their STEM departments.

Another practice recommendation is that STEM faculty at large should work on providing support for their faculty of color. For the faculty members (junior and senior) who do acknowledge the time and energy faculty of color provide to support students, they should be working to protect these faculty members. This evaluation can look into how white STEM faculty are being supportive, emphasizing the critical role faculty of color play in racial and ethnic minoritized student experiences and working through how they use their privilege to ensure faculty of color are not continually burdened with this responsibility. Taking this a step further, departments can institutionally support these efforts by setting up some acknowledgement for the faculty who are being champions of support among their colleagues.

Recommendations for Addressing Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in STEM Classrooms

More information is needed to understand why STEM faculty are hesitant to incorporate culturally relevant and inclusive pedagogy in their classrooms. Mentioned previously, there is some understanding as to why STEM faculty are not buying-in to the need to change pedagogy (Fairweather, 2008; Park & Denson, 2009), but there can be more work done to uncover some concrete reasoning for why this issue remains. Furthermore, additional work is needed highlighting strategies of successful departmental transformations toward inclusive and equitable environments. Concrete reasoning and success stories can help scholars and practitioners focus on more intentional ways to bring pedagogical change to STEM classrooms.

A final practice recommendation is that white faculty must reexamine the inclusivity of their pedagogical practices. Haynes and Patton (2019) note some of the work faculty can do to reflect but this reflection must be reinforced by the institution at large. If we are aiming to improve STEM environments, there must be accountability from all levels on who is culturally competent enough to fully support Black STEM students. Additionally, if there are reports of faculty members who are continually named as individuals who are resistant to this change, there must be accountability from the department and institution to acknowledge their lack of willingness to improve.

Conclusion

Researchers and practitioners alike are making progress by choosing to examine the racial/ethnic minoritized student experience in STEM. However, we must become more critical of the work currently being done to assess why inequitable practices still exist and how institutions continue to perpetuate these inequities. My analysis of four inequitable practices that contribute to why STEM environments are not culturally relevant nor inclusive is just one piece of a puzzle that is designed to find solutions. Shifting these conversations toward understanding and addressing inequities can be the push needed to continue creating more equitable environments for Black students in STEM.

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International Student Enrollment and Budgetary Challenges

Katie McClure

Abstract

International students bring both cultural and financial benefits to American higher education institutions, but in recent years there has been a marked decrease in their enrollment. Historically these students have been used to fill gaps left from in-state tuition, but with fewer international students there is pressure on universities to increase enrollment. This discussion frames the enrollment issue in terms of internal factors related to the changing immigration policies, higher tuition prices, and an unwelcome environment. The external factors that contribute to other countries attractiveness such as more lenient immigration policies, easier pathways to citizenship, and changing factors at home and abroad. Recommendations for universities to utilize to attract international students are discussed.

Keywords

International students, international enrollment, immigration

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Introduction

International students are a highly coveted population for higher education institutions all over the world. Universities know that in addition to the financial benefit of admitting high paying students, having a diverse class of students brings a variety of perspectives and promotes a greater understanding of the world. However, in recent years the growth of this group in the United States has slowed due to a number of internal and external factors, leading universities to struggle to fill the gaps in tuition revenue. International students, many of whom pay full tuition and at higher rates than in- and out-of-state residents, are often used as an enrollment strategy to cover costs when domestic enrollment drops or there is a recession. Both of these circumstances are at play in the U.S. To remedy this, this paper will discuss the history and cause of this crisis within university finance, explain the internal and external factors causing the drop in international enrollment, and suggest ways in which the U.S. government and individual universities may address the problem.

Historical Context

The current state of international enrollment shows that of the 4.6 million students studying internationally in 2017, approximately 24% of them are studying in the United States (Zong & Batalova, 2018). The United Kingdom and China follow in line, with 11% and 10% respectively (Zong & Batalova, 2018). At the master's and doctoral levels at Purdue University, international students are a dominant population, between 50-60% of students in doctoral programs are international students (Hegarty, 2014).

The United States' percentage of international student total enrollment has gone down in recent years; in 2001 they comprised 28% of the total enrollment, but in 2018 that number had dropped to 24% (Zong & Batalova, 2018). Spring of 2018 showed that there were 1,169,464 students enrolled in the United States, which is down from 1,201,871 the previous spring (Redden, 2019). During this time there was a 2% decline in Chinese students, and a 1.2% decline in students from India, the third largest population. The population of international students from South Korea fell by 7.6%, and Saudi Arabia, which fell by a staggering 17.1% (Redden, 2019). Overall, 45% of colleges and universities have reported a decline in the growth of international students at their institutions at an average drop of 7% (Ross, 2017). These numbers can be debilitating for schools.

As domestic enrollment has plateaued and begun to decline, universities have turned to the robust international student population to fill in the budget gaps left by fewer domestic students. Just in 2018, the number of high school graduates dropped by 1%, and is expected to only increase by 0.2% over the next nine years, whereas growth in the previous nine years was 6% (Krislov, 2019; Saul, 2018). Until recently, universities did not have much reason to be concerned with the future of their international students, showing ease in the expectation that the lure of American higher education would not be challenged. Between 2001 and 2015, the number of international students rose from 2.1 million to 4.6 million, and it was only within the last three years that those growth rates took a turn (Institute for International Education [IIE], 2017, p. 3).

The Great Recession, state budget cuts, and decreased domestic and international enrollment has resulted in budget shortfalls not easily recovered. It is expected that Midwestern colleges and universities will be the hardest hit by these decreases, as well as second-tier institutions with less international notoriety. At the University of Central Missouri, international student enrollment dropped by 37%, resulting in a budget loss of $14 million (Saul, 2018). They are scrambling to find other ways to make up for the lost enrollment. The Recession and state budgetary cuts to higher education translated into increased efforts to recruit international students. For example, at the University of California, Berkeley, “the number of international freshmen enrolled in Fall 2011 increased by 50% as compared to the previous year,” (Choudaha & Chang, 2012, p. 6). Public universities in Colorado were subject to an out-of-state enrollment cap, but since international students were not included in this, many of the Colorado schools became new destinations for international students (Choudaha & Chang, 2012).

In addition to the budgetary incentive these students bring to colleges and universities, the economic value of international students to the United States cannot be overlooked. Through tuition revenue, rent, living expenses, and travel, international students added upwards of $40 billion to the U.S. economy (Fischer, 2018). They also have either created or supported 450,000 jobs (Zong & Batalova, 2018). With this impact on higher education and the economy, it is crucial to understand the reasons that international student enrollment is falling, and options to consider addressing the problems.

Internal Factors

There are many reasons attributed to why the international student numbers are not at the levels seen in previous years. Certainly, the “American First” policy equivocated by President Trump has resulted in a frosty atmosphere, but the last three years do not account for the students from countries not targeted by the president’s negative immigration policies. Instead, there may be more internal factors relating to the American context that pull students to other countries, or even to stay within their home country.

Changing Immigration Policies

The current political climate towards immigrants and foreign nationals is certainly having an effect on the enrollment of international students. Rhetoric surrounding “America First” and new immigration policies have resulted in fewer visas being issued and more difficulty entering and exiting the country. Some students mentioned the fear of not being allowed back into the country if they were to go home for summer or winter breaks (Lee, 2008). Others said they had friends who intentionally did not come to the United States because of the lengthy and overall humiliating visa process (Lee, 2008).

China is the number one country of origin for international students, with one-third of all international students coming from this country. However, the United States as early as 2019 has tightened the requirements for Chinese students to be admitted into some STEM fields (Altbach, 2019). It has also begun limiting the duration of visas for Chinese students, making it more difficult to enter the country, and resulting in students having to reapply annually (Fischer, 2019). With Chinese students contributing $12 billion per year to the U.S. economy, this is not only debilitating to universities, but the country as a whole (Fischer, 2019). Chinese students are also the largest group of international doctoral students and are often in areas of study that do not attract very many American students (Fischer, 2019). These conditions are in addition to the increased vetting of Middle Eastern exchange students, who after September 11, 2001 have consistently faced difficulty in applying for admittance to the United States. This chilly political environment makes coming and staying in the U.S. increasingly difficult, and that is even if they can afford it.

Rising Tuition Costs

It is a common misconception that international students come from the wealthiest families abroad, and therefore they are more willing and able to field the brunt of tuition hikes. Universities see these students, especially the bachelor's degree seeking students, as a stable, long-term revenue stream, as most of them are funded independently and not through financial aid (Choudaha & Chang, 2012). Still, international students are not immune to price increases. Tuition is staggeringly high for these students:

> In 2016, the typical foreign student attending a selective American college paid $23,500 in tuition and fees, more than three times the price a U.S. citizen paid. Tuition for international students increased by nearly $5,000 since 2012, while tuition for Americans went up only $450 (Cooper, 2018, para. 3).

These tuition increases not only close gaps in enrollment and in-state tuition caps, but are often used, "to invest and subsidize the education of the lower-income students, which is part of their mission, by attracting more full-pay students from abroad" (Jastrzebski, 2018, para. 12). The problem is that roughly 60% of international students report having financial difficulties in paying for their American education (Sherry et al., 2010). Colleges and universities offer few scholarships for these students, and therefore the question on the minds of international students when deciding between which countries to study in is whether the university is looking to support and educate a global citizenry, or are they being used for the financial gain for the school? If the university does not consider it in their mission to support these students and show that they are welcomed then they will go elsewhere, which is being seen in today's numbers.

Unwelcoming Environment

It is not purely the logistics and visa nuances that push students away from the United States, but the environment they encounter once they arrive. Lee and Rice (2007) report that international students are more likely to face discrimination, with students from the Middle East being most at risk. These students face different trials based on their backgrounds, with students from English speaking countries being less likely to report instances of racism than their counterparts. Students who have experienced discrimination are less likely to exhibit destination loyalty, resulting in them being less likely to stay at those institutions and be more likely to speak poorly of the country and institution (Jamaludin et al., 2018).

While there are certainly issues of discrimination and bias in the countries that compete with the United States for students, the recent uptake in anti-immigrant rhetoric has brought out greater feelings of fear amongst students. The COVID-19 outbreak has been one such incident that has escalated this speech and resulted in increased incidents of discrimination against people of Asian descent. STOP AAPI HATE is a reporting center specifically for coronavirus-related discrimination cases. In its first month of reporting beginning March 19, 2020, almost 1500 cases of verbal harassment, shunning, and physical assault have been reported (STOP AAPI HATE, 2020). 58% of these cases occurred in New York and California, which are also the top two states for international students (IIE, 2019; STOP APPI HATE, 2020). The campus and political environment, along with the financial strain of coming to school in the U.S., makes it increasingly hard for international students to wish to come here.

External Factors

In addition to the unwelcoming environment of American colleges and universities, the rising cost of attendance, and the difficulties surrounding the visa process, there are many factors related to other countries' attractiveness that are causing the U.S. to lose its competitiveness as a destination for international students. The changing conditions of higher education at home, greater options for citizenship, and more lenient immigration policies have resulted in students choosing to move away from the U.S. as the dominant player in international student education.

Changing Factors at Home and Abroad

One of the original draws for students to come to the U.S. for university study is the superior quality of American institutions compared to their home country institutions, but as circumstances change within the U.S. and in students' home countries, this is no longer the case. One of the most common reasons students from China provide is that there is a, "growing supply of high school graduates whose families can afford a U.S. education and the unmet demand for high-quality education at home" (Choudaha & Chang, 2012, p. 10). However, enrolling in an institution abroad can have unhappy consequences. The lack of information, along with losing one's support network, a new language and culture, and discrimination, makes staying at home an inviting option (Lee, 2008). Additionally, the United States also does not have the economic hegemony it once enjoyed. India and China have been making higher education a priority, investing in this area in order to keep more students at home (Mooney & Neelakantan, 2004). They also have a rising middle class, with strong economies to support high paying jobs (Mooney & Neelakantan, 2004). With these positive indicators, more students are beginning to weigh the benefit of education in their own countries.

Other countries have not been immune to the fall in international student enrollment, better quality higher education options in student's home countries are taking students away from countries like Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom as well. In 2008, Central Queen's University in Australia dismissed 200 faculty and staff members and Melbourne University had to deal with a $5 million budget deficit caused by the fall in international student enrollment (Hegarty, 2014). What changed for these countries was the investment in the recruitment of students following these drops. The United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and some Asian countries have all placed an emphasis on the recruitment of new students, putting government money into the initiative (Alberts, 2007). With the patterns of enrollment changing, countries are looking for alternative ways to draw students to their country and universities.

Paths to Citizenship

In the United States it is important to note, "international students are non-immigrants having a permanent residence abroad as defined by the Department of Homeland Security and are expected to return to their country upon the completion of the purpose of their stay" (Hegarty, 2014, p. 224). The implication of this policy is that students coming into the U.S. are expected to not have any desire to become legal permanent residents (LPR) or citizens, and expressing any indication that one is not planning to leave the U.S. should not be said in an interview with the U.S. consulate when applying for a student visa. It is therefore less attractive for an international student to come to the U.S. to study when they know that the government discourages long-term stays and makes it more difficult to establish residency.

In this realm, other countries are attempting to lure students from the United States with more straightforward paths to long-term residency. In November 2016, Canada adjusted its immigration process to better retain international students in the workforce, by giving additional points to applicants for residency who hold job offers and whose degrees were obtained in the country (Hemmadi, 2016). China did something similar, giving international students more options for internships and easier ways to obtain residency permits (IIE, 2018). Australia, one of the main U.S. competitors for international students, has created a fast track for international students in currently skill-deprived industries to obtain citizenship (Ziguras & Law, 2006). With the U.S. having conflicting visa policies regarding study and citizenship, students looking to work abroad following graduation have incentives to go to locations other than the U.S. with more flexible policies.

More Lenient Immigration Policies

Within the United States, international students are highly restricted in the kinds of work they are able to do while a student and limited in the kinds of opportunities they may pursue before and after graduation. Other countries have worked diligently to facilitate the education and mobility of these students, offering easier options to transfer between schools, and better options for staying in the country post-graduation:

China, Japan, and South Korea […] have solidified mutual exchange agreements and joint education programs through a collaborative initiative, known as the Collective Action for the Mobility Program of University Students (CAMPUS Asia). Initiated in 2011, CAMPUS Asia launched its second pilot round in 2016, facilitating undergraduate and graduate regional mobility through academic credit transfer agreements, dual degree and joint degree offerings (IIE, 2018, p. 6).

The U.S. is notorious for students having difficulty transferring students between schools, and that is not even considering options between states or other countries. The ability to transfer credits between countries and earn joint degrees is an opportunity not commonly utilized in American higher education.

For many students, some of the perks of attending school in one country over another is the opportunity to stay and work as a benefit of student status after graduation. For students in the U.S., the Optional Practical Training program is one reason students choose to come. After the implementation of the program, participation grew from 29,340 in 2003-2004 to 76,031 in 2010-2011 (Choubaha & Chang, 2012). Today that number is roughly 154,000 (NAFSA, 2017). This program has a complex application process and many restrictions and reporting requirements. The United Kingdom, in an effort to draw in more students, loosened its requirements and has allowed for up to two years of stay following graduation and allowed additional time for students to pay back loans (Hegarty, 2014). For non-EU students attending school in Germany, they are allocated an entire 18 months just to find a job in order to be allowed to continue residing there, and many will take advantage of that (IIE, 2017). For comparison, the U.S. allows for 90 days while on Optional Practical Training before students must leave the country or pursue other educational opportunities. Australia, where many universities have incredibly high international student percentages and are highly reliant on this population, has implemented many liberal policies to recruit and retain students after a period of conservatism that hurt enrollment and sent institutions riling to make up budgets. Australia has experienced similar turns towards liberal immigration policies and have seen the number of visa applications jump significantly following their implementation (Choudaha & Chang, 2012). Australia, and many countries like it, have found that friendlier immigration policies have had a positive effect on their international enrollments.

Recommendations and Implications

The one commonality underwriting these phenomena is that other countries around the world have governments that actively support the training, mobility, and residency of international students. They put money towards increasing the quality and number of students in their countries. With this in mind, there are a number of policies that have the potential to increase international student enrollment.

Increased Recruitment Efforts

Underway at many universities, effort must be put into contacting and recruiting international students and targeting specific populations that are currently experiencing growth. Due to the importance of international students in tuition revenue streams, 62% of universities have increased their recruitment efforts, with 31% specifically targeting China (Hilts, 2018). With Trump's new policies towards this population causing the number of visa issuances to decrease from the previous year, institutions might wish to turn focus to other countries on the rise such as Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Nigeria. As these countries are not being as vetted as the Middle East or China, there is greater possibility for students to have an easier time being issued visas and paving the way for students.

Creating More Inclusive, Supportive Environments

As the United States has gotten a reputation for being less hospitable to international students and immigrants in the last few years, universities will have more difficulty recruiting students if they do not address issues of discrimination and bias on campus, as well as better assisting their students find community. Requiring cross-cultural communication trainings, webinars on the needs of international students, and greater opportunities for cross-cultural engagement between domestic and international students can assist with building better environments for students. As international students largely learn about opportunities by reputation and word of mouth, ensuring that current students feel welcomed and included on the college campus will impact later enrollment numbers.

Immigration Changes

Finally, key to the success of international students is the support of the government for policies that will assist students being admitted and remaining within the United States. The current academic culture has resulted in institutions that are hinging on international students to fill out their budgets. While not ideal for the financial security of the university, a government immigration policy that facilitates the mobility of these students helps the stability of universities. Until the current immigration policies change, the best option that universities have is to employ a strong international student service office to help students navigate the complex regulatory environment the country is currently in. More positive policy and support would make it easier for international students to contribute to the wider campus community, and the economy as a whole.

Conclusion

The days of America being the unchallenged destination for students looking to study abroad is over. Despite the knowledge of the diversity of thought and expertise that international students bring to campus, too often they are considered in terms of the tuition revenue they bring to a struggling university budget. The impact of international students on the U.S. cultural landscape and economy make it so that the government must consider ways in which to continue to attract students. But the current political climate, harsh immigration policies, and an unwelcome university culture and climate have made the United States a more undesirable place to study. Adding to this are other countries competing for students, combining increased recruitment efforts and better in-home higher education options with more hospitable immigration policies and paths to citizenship. In this difficult and competitive time, the United States must create policies and environments that are inviting to these populations. With declining domestic enrollments and decreased state funding for public education, international students will continue to be viewed as high paying sources of revenue, and so steps will need to be taken to improve the recruitment process and experience of international students. Improving the culture of higher education is a long process, and government policies have the potential to change every four years, but it is critical to support these students or else lose out on not only a solid revenue stream, but an increasingly globally minded student population.

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Comprehensive Internationalization and International Branch Campuses: The Case for More

Jayson J. Deese

Abstract

Institutions across the United States have made a push towards globalization and international education. More recently there has been a push towards comprehensive internationalization, which makes the commitment of ensuring internationalization occurs through all areas of an institution. As the global competition of higher education has risen, U.S. institutions should incorporate comprehensive internationalization and establish international branch campuses in order to remain competitive, increase international student enrollment, diversify the student population, and enhance global and multicultural learning.

Keywords

Internationalization, international branch campuses, globalization, international education

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Introduction

Institutions across the U.S. have made a push towards globalization and international education in recent decades. New terms such as internationalization, intercultural awareness, interconnected world, and global society are now commonly seen in university strategic plans, mission statements, and vision statements. More recent is the emphasis of comprehensive internationalization, a term popularized by the American Council on Education (ACE) (Hudzik, 2011). This new approach brings a holistic look at internationalization and incorporates cross-sector and interdisciplinary units to serve all students. When implemented well, comprehensive internationalization encompasses nearly all areas of an institution and becomes an integral component of an institution. Comprehensive internationalization forces institutions to move beyond simply recruiting and admitting international students. It requires incorporating students, staff, faculty, and administration on the move towards comprehensive internationalization because it must affect all areas of an institution: from student affairs to academic affairs, from the textbooks and classroom to the curricula, and from policies to practices. The ACE has divided it into six interconnect parts: 1) articulated institutional commitment, 2) administrative leadership, structure, and staffing, 3) curriculum, co-curriculum, and learning outcomes, 4) faculty policies and practices, 5) student mobility, and 6) collaboration and partnerships (ACE, n.d.).

Though some may believe that comprehensive internationalization is only about increasing international student enrollment, comprehensive internationalization is much more than that. It is important to note, however, that comprehensive internationalization does not comprise of just one model. There are many approaches to internationalization, and institutions should implement comprehensive internationalization as best as they can. In order not to limit the scope of comprehensive internationalization nor mischaracterize its intention, it is important for institutions and stakeholders to understand the scope of the definition of comprehensive internationalization:

> Comprehensive internationalization is a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise. It is essential that it be embraced by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students, and all academic service and support units. It is an institutional imperative, not just a desirable possibility.
>
> Comprehensive internationalization not only impacts all of campus life but the institution's external frames of reference, partnerships, and relations. The global reconfiguration of economies, systems of trade, research, and communication, and the impact of global forces on local life, dramatically expand the need for comprehensive internationalization and the motivations and purposes driving it. (Hudzik, 2011, p. 6)

For many institutions, internationalization has meant a focus on the recruitment, admission, and enrollment of international students. In fact, the pool of international students willing to pay tuition at U.S. institutions expanded remarkably in the last two decades (Bound et al., 2016). The increase in international student enrollment was not only a result of internationalization, however. It was also a result of the decreasing state appropriations provided to institutions. States have reduced state appropriations for several years not only in its share of total budgets for institutions but also in the total state dollars. In the 2007/08 academic year, it was approximately $89.7 billion but had declined to $74.8 billion by 2011/12, though there has been a slight increase in recent years (State Higher Education Executive Officers Association, 2019). Bound et al. (2016) argued that between 1996 and 2012 there was a 10% reduction in state appropriations, which resulted in an increase in international enrollment of 12% at public research universities, and approximately 17% at "the more restrictive AAU and Flagship classifications" (p. 16). They argued that many public research institutions could have been severely impacted by the cuts in state appropriations had it not been for international students who often pay full tuition, partially offsetting the loss in appropriations.

This article includes arguments in favor of comprehensive internationalization and, more specifically, of the enrollment of international students. Furthermore, it makes the argument that investing in international education and international students is investing in all students. The second section in this article focuses on the need for U.S. institutions to be globally competitive in a time where global competition in higher education is becoming tougher. Higher education is already extremely competitive, and institutions are also competing on a global scale for students, faculty, administrators, funding, and grants. The third section discusses the practice of international student enrollment cross-subsidies to avoid the crowding out of domestic students. This section provides a counterargument to the argument that international students take away the enrollment of a domestic student. This article ends with a discussion on how international branch campuses can facilitate comprehensive internationalization and provide U.S. institutions a competitive edge.

Global Competition

For decades, students and scholars around the world viewed the U.S. as the heart of scholarly work and higher education (Alberts, 2007; Freeman, 2010). International students from around the world have sought high-quality academic work from U.S. institutions for many years, but this view has lost prominence in recent decades. In 2001, the U.S. enrolled 28% of the 2.1 million globally mobile students in higher education (Institute of International Education (IIE), 2018a). By 2017, the number of globally mobile students had doubled to 4.6 million, but the U.S. only enrolled 24% of those students. When looking at total enrollment and shares of worldwide enrollments in higher education, the shares of world enrollment does not look as promising for the U.S.

The quality of higher education around the world is improving, and other countries are increasingly more competitive in the global academic arena during a time students and scholars view the U.S. as less competitive than in prior decades (Freeman, 2010). In fact, Freeman (2010) argued that the U.S. will continue to lose its competitive edge, including in the fields of science and engineering, which have been an area of focus in U.S. higher education. In the 2017/18 academic year, international student enrollment at U.S. institutions saw its smallest increase in over 10 years, an increase of only 1.5% from the year before (IIE, 2018b). Since 2014/15 the annual percentage change has been smaller each year, and it is expected to continue. The United Kingdom has a different story. Between 1994/95 and 2011/12, the total number of international students studying in the UK quadrupled (Machin & Murphy, 2017). The UK is one country among many that has been far more active than the U.S. in seeking international students (Freeman, 2010).

IIE (2018a) reported that Canada, Germany, Japan, and China have all initiated policies that recruit international students and aim to retain them in the labor workforce upon graduation. Canada aims to enroll 450,000 international students by 2022; Japan, 300,000; Germany, 350,000; and China, 500,000. Over time, universities around the world will continue to improve their institutions of higher education and seek to retain their in-country students. All these efforts are making it more difficult for U.S. institutions to recruit the best and brightest international students from around the world. Ultimately, U.S. institutions are being challenged to maintain the status as the world leader in quality higher education, despite increasingly competitive institutions outside the U.S.

Why International Student Enrollment?

Many institutions throughout the U.S. have increased their international student enrollment. The reasons for this are likely quite varied, and discussing all of them is beyond the scope of this article, but it is important to discuss a few reasons. First, comprehensive internationalization has become integral for many institutions because of the very nature of the globalized world in which we live. We are living in times where we can easily access the "global market of products, services, and ideas" (Hudzik, 2011, p. 8). In fact, many countries and economic sectors exist with a reliance on what exists beyond national borders.

Regarding higher education, it has become an obligation to prepare students for this global world. Our future leaders and workforce must be globally minded and ready for the globalized world and the global workforce, and comprehensive internationalization is a response to the impact of globalization (Knight, 1999). Many universities have acknowledged the importance of intercultural and global understanding such that they have become embedded in strategic plans and curricula. In this global world, it is imperative that students engage in crucial intercultural and global understanding, discussion, and collaboration. Therefore, it is necessary for institutions of higher education to facilitate this engagement and transformative learning. Comprehensive internationalization integrates aspects of student engagement and transformative learning perfectly.

Institutions already have international elements in their curricula, and an increase of international students in classrooms makes the topics being discussed more meaningful to all students. A diverse student body expands cross-cultural knowledge and understanding (Hudzik, 2011) and raises awareness of new or different ways of perceiving and living in a world full of diversity. This is a start, but U.S. institutions must incorporate comprehensive internationalization into their strategic planning and missions.

Institutions can further implement comprehensive internationalization into their curricula in several ways, and ACE has provided a framework for institutions (ACE, n.d.). First, institutions can continue to offer courses that they have identified as fulfilling internationalization efforts as requirements. This may include regional, global, or topic issues or studies. Many institutions require three to six credit hours of a foreign language. Other institutions may require students to enroll in a course or courses that focus on global or regional issues. Secondly, institutions can create or increase the offerings of courses that have a global or international focus within each academic discipline. This not only responds to the impact of globalization on higher education, but it also provides students the necessary and relevant academic knowledge for the ever-globalizing world in which we live. Third, curricula and co-curricular efforts are integral aspects for institutions. These recommendations by ACE, along with the others, can provide institutions a starting point to integrate comprehensive internationalization into their academic goals, objectives, and outcomes of curricula. Overall, the academic benefit is just one means towards comprehensive internationalization.

Internationalization: Outcome or Means?

Those who do not fully understand internationalization or those who do not fully buy the concept of internationalization likely see it as an outcome. They might consider the goals of internationalization to have been met when the study abroad participation has reached a certain percentage, or when the number of international students surpassed the target goal. As Hudzik (2011) said, though, internationalization "is not an end but a means to many ends" (p. 8). One of those ends is a very important one for U.S. institutions: recruiting the best faculty to enhance the university in order to enhance the prestige of the university.

This is an important topic because high-quality faculty members are highly sought and valued, and quality academic and scholarly work from faculty and researchers not only contribute to new knowledge and scholarship but also make U.S. universities more competitive to domestic students, international students, and even international scholars. Due to an increase in the quality of higher education throughout the world, researchers and professors have an expanding number of options outside the U.S. where they may seek employment, making it increasingly difficult for U.S. institutions to compete (Freeman, 2010). The best professors and researchers are not only sought after by universities, though. They are also sought after by students. International students, like many domestic students, may pay close attention to university rankings, which often incorporate faculty publications as a metric in their ranking. An increase in undergraduate student enrollment may increase the international student enrollment in graduate education. Thus, international undergraduate students may be more likely to contribute to the U.S. demand for graduate education by remaining in the U.S. and possibly remaining in the country to work (Freeman, 2010). Where international students decide to enroll is also an important economic issue.

Tuition and Financial Implications During and After University

The reduction in state appropriations has forced institutions to seek other sources of revenue. Most international students pay full tuition, which is often nearly three times the amount of in-state tuition (Borjas, 2004; Bound et al., 2016; Shen, 2016; Shih, 2017). In fact, international students contributed nearly $40 billion to the U.S. economy, supporting or creating over 455,000 jobs in the 2017/18 academic year (NAFSA, 2018). In California alone, international students contributed $6.6 billion. A decrease in international students will lead to Americans losing jobs and impact the U.S. economy at macro and micro levels. It is crucial this source of revenue continue to rise because a decrease in international student enrollment may have compounding effects across the U.S. On the topic of finances, many international students, however, are increasingly attending universities outside the U.S., notably due to the more economical costs of these institutions. U.S. higher education is one of the costliest in the world (Martin, 2017).

Furthermore, it is not necessarily true that international students are getting an American education in order to return to their home countries to then compete against the U.S. and American companies. Over half of the international students who received a doctorate in the U.S. in the 1990s stayed in the U.S. (Finn, 2010). Freeman (2010) argued that students recruited for undergraduate education and even high school education are more likely to remain at U.S. institutions and even remain in the country for work, continuing their contribution to the U.S. economy. For the most part, international students receive less financial aid, if any, when compared to domestic students (Shen, 2016). In fact, Shen (2016) cited that nearly 75% of international students fund their education through their family funds or funds from their home country.

Additionally, the enrollment of international students improves the quality of U.S. higher education. According to Shen (2016), the influx of international student enrollment “has increased U.S. admission standards, measured by SAT scores” (p. 2). This increase in the number of students in the applicant pool heightens the admission standards for universities, allowing them to select higher quality students. This does not address a contentious issue when discussing international student enrollment, however. Many of those not in favor of international student enrollment argue that international students take the spots of domestic students or “crowd-out” American students. This next section addresses this contentious issue.

Crowding Out or Cross-Subsidizing?

As the number of international student enrollment has increased across the nation, several researchers have looked into the question of whether international students crowd our domestic students (Borjas, 2004; Machin & Murphy 2017; Regets, 2007; Shen, 2016; Shih, 2017). Shih’s (2017) analysis reported that each observed “study contains at least one estimate suggesting that international students actually increase the enrollment of some domestic students” (p. 171). Of course, it is important not to assume this is the case for all types of institutions across all parts of the U.S.. Borjas (2004), however, found the same conclusion that on aggregate there is no evidence of any crowding-out of domestic students. On the contrary, Shen (2016) found that there exists a crowding out of domestic students at higher-ranked research universities, but the results were not found to be statistically significant.

Shen (2016), however, did find evidence that favors international student enrollment. For example, Shen found that international student enrollment increased the amount of non-discounted tuition since international students are more likely to pay full tuition. The revenue generated from international students also allows universities to provide additional grant aid for domestic students, which Shen stated may have a positive impact on domestic students’ academic and post-graduation outcomes.

Shih (2017) made an even more compelling case in favor of international student enrollment. Not only does Shih rule out the idea of international students taking the seat of a domestic student, but Shih also found evidence that international students increase domestic enrollment. The primary findings indicated that “10 additional international students increase domestic enrollment by roughly eight” (Shih, 2017, p. 172). Regets (2007) found similar results: “an increase of 1.0 foreign students is associated with an enrollment increase of 0.33 for white U.S. students, an increase of 0.02 for U.S. underrepresented minority students, and a decrease of 0.07 for U.S. Asian students” (p. 11). It is important to note, though, that Borjas (2004) and Shih (2016) did find some negative correlations between international students and white domestic students.

This overall positive impact, Shih (2017) argued, is a result of international students completing master’s degrees. They noted, though, that these positive impacts are most noticeable at public universities, “which prioritiz[e] enrolling domestic students, pric[e] tuition below costs for state residents, while also charging foreign students tuition rates between two and three times higher” (p. 172). From a broader perspective, Shih (2017) argued that “during the boom, inflows of international students raised domestic enrollment” and that “[d]uring the bust, declines in foreign students lowered domestic enrollment” (p. 177).

All-in-all, there is significant evidence that international students do not crowd-out domestic students and in fact cross-subsidize domestic student enrollment. What has not been discussed, however, is the contribution international students make to the campus, the classrooms, and the campus communities, most of which cannot be quantified as easily as tuition dollars. International students bring to U.S. institutions new languages, cultures, viewpoints, rituals, traditions, beliefs, religions, ideas, values, and more. International students provide domestic and international students’ exposure to international, comparative, and global content to the personal lives of all students, more so than any textbook might. Cross-cultural conversations, discussions, and collaborative and scholarly work beyond a homogenous or typical setting can exist. They provide domestic students who are unable to study abroad opportunities to experience something new and interact with students from various parts of the world and from all walks of life. The benefits far exceed what can be written in this section and go beyond the scope of this article. This last section discusses additional revenue for institutions that are devoted to comprehensive internationalization.

International Branch Campuses

International branch campuses (IBCs) are campuses in a host country managed by an institution in another country. U.S. institutions have always been competitive at a national level, but now more than ever U.S. institutions must remain competitive internationally. The U.S. is trailing behind other countries, particularly in comparison to the UK and Australia, in the number of IBCs around the world (Freeman, 2010). Case in point, British universities have more IBCs in other countries than American universities, notably in Commonwealth countries (Freeman, 2010).

The creation of an IBC is an innovative and aggressive strategy that not only works to support the institution's comprehensive internationalization efforts but also works to continue growing an institution's global brand. This is extremely important for large research-intensive and flagship institutions. A global presence goes beyond marketing. It also increases the visibility of the institution to researchers and faculty members around the world. This is an important tactic in recruiting the best researchers worldwide while enhancing the quality and prestige of the institution. Similarly, IBCs generate and foster growth and collaboration among institutions and governments. They counter the silo-ing of the nation that currently exists and create an environment for the sharing of experiences, resources, techniques, knowledge, and cutting-edge scholarly work.

As IBCs generate additional collaboration, they also promote diversification of faculty, staff, and the student body. As mentioned earlier, this is extremely important for domestic students in their preparation for a global workforce. What IBCs also bring to domestic students are unique opportunities to study abroad. A primary reason students do not study abroad is because of financial reasons. Partnerships from IBCs may provide economic opportunities for students to gain educational opportunities abroad. Additionally, this can allow for easy credit-transfer for students since it will be institutional credits and curricula.

Continuing the discussion on students, IBCs create an international student pipeline to the U.S. institution, and they reduce the costs of international recruitment and travel. Institutions have a range of options on how to attract international students to their home campus. Options range from 2+2s (two years on the IBC and two years on the main U.S. campus), 1+3s, conditional admissions, exchanges, distance learning, language, certificate, dual, or online programs, among others. Giving international students the opportunity to study at an IBC can make the experience more economical for them, while providing them the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the American university system. This may even bring down the costs of some of the services provided for international students since they will be more acclimated to and knowledgeable on the expectations of American higher education.

Opening an IBC is not very costly and offers a good return on investment. Many countries want, invite, and encourage U.S. institutions to open IBCs in their countries. In fact, many current IBCs currently receive external funding from host countries. For example, Qatar has invested in facilities for IBCs to host U.S. institutions. China has even offered land and a $100 million loan for a U.S. institution to open an IBC there (Dessoff, 2007). U.S. institutions should seek similar opportunities that will enhance the institution's presence abroad, particularly when countries may be eager for the presence of U.S. higher education institutions in their countries.

Furthermore, host countries also benefit. IBCs may hire local citizens for employment at the IBC, they may provide students additional or even new and unseen opportunities to study at a college or university, and as Shams and Husman (2012) argued, students might be encouraged to obtain an international degree from the IBC while living and contributing to the host country's local economy. The creation of an IBC is not only about a focus on the U.S. institution's presence and gain. It is a collaboration that requires cooperation and participation of stakeholders at the host and home countries of the IBCs. These collaborative efforts greatly benefit many stakeholders. Without a doubt, IBCs not only dramatically increase an institution's presence, but they also make U.S. institutions more competitive at the global level. This is integral to supporting the institution's comprehensive internationalization efforts and growth for the institution's global brand and presence.

Conclusion

During a time in which the U.S. is losing its competitive edge and international student enrollment is decelerating (Alberts, 2007; Freeman, 2010; IIE, 2018a/b), it is imperative that U.S. institutions seek ways to remain competitive nationally and globally. IBCs can aid in internationalization efforts, enhance global and multicultural learning, and increase international student enrollment. More importantly, though, IBCs foster transnational and global collaboration that can ultimately lead to new knowledge and scholarship. Furthermore, IBCs may open doors in ways that go beyond education. The recruitment and enrollment of international students directly benefits domestic students (Regets, 2007; Shih, 2017) and the academic quality of U.S. institutions (Shen, 2016). International student tuition directly benefits domestic students and raises aid money available for domestic students (Shen, 2016). This then benefits the institution and makes it even more competitive. Institutions, though, are always seeking new ways to remain competitive, and as the world becomes more interconnected and interdependent, students, families, and American citizens will be expecting institutions to foster comprehensive internationalization. By educating some of the best students in the world, U.S. institutions will graduate great students and contribute to national economic gains, ensuring that U.S. higher education and the country as a whole remain competitive in a global world (Freeman, 2010).

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With "All Deliberate Speed": The Creation of the Groups Scholars Program at Indiana University

Jessica Esch

Abstract

As a result of the national, social and political climates that culminated in the 1960s, University administrators across the United States began to engage in conversations about increasing educational access for low-income and minority students. In 1968, Indiana University (IU) established the Groups Scholars Program (Groups) as a means to create educational access for Indiana's "disadvantaged youth." Although University Administration dragged their feet, Black students at IU advocated for changes to be implemented and pushed the development of Groups forward. Through historical analysis, this article addresses the national debates and policy reforms of the 1960s, describes the Black student experience at IU in the 1960s, highlights the key events where Black students pushed educational access forward at IU, discusses the proposals of the Groups program, and synthesizes the national debates alongside the Groups story.

Keywords

Educational access, disadvantaged youth, Black student protests

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Introduction

In the mid-1960s, the rhetoric of the "War on Poverty," the Civil Rights Movement, and Black Campus Movement caused a dramatic shift in the national conversation about education in the United States. Education became increasingly central to social and political policy as leaders and citizens embraced the idea that the public had a responsibility to help "disadvantaged youth" escape the throes of poverty. While the public debated the topics of poverty, civil rights, and education on the national landscape, the Indiana University (IU) administration assembled to discuss creating better educational opportunities for these disadvantaged youth.

In 1968, the Junior Division of Indiana University established the Groups Scholars Program (Groups) as a “radical” (Schwartz, 1967, p. 2) means to take in poverty-stricken youth at risk of becoming high school drop-outs; the program assumed the financial and social risks necessary to acclimate them to university and prepare them to be successful college students (Gray, 1968; Schwartz, 1968; Farmer, 1968; Correspondences). Today, the Groups Scholars Program continues to increase college attendance among first-generation, low-income and underrepresented students at IU. Since its inception fifty-one years ago, it has provided more than 13,000 students with the academic, financial and social support to help them attain a bachelor’s degree from IU (Groups Scholars Program, 2018). This article seeks to describe the context of the creation of Groups in 1968. It will overview the major national debates and policy reforms of the 1960s, describe the Black student experience at IU in the 1960s, highlight the key events and people who pushed the agenda for educational access for disadvantaged youth at IU, discuss the proposals of this program, and synthesize the national debates alongside the Groups story.

The National Scene

Indiana University administrators explored ideas from the earliest conversations about disadvantaged students in the United States as they developed the Groups Scholars Program and its precursors. These IU initiatives not only stemmed from the national conversation but continued to fuel political debates regarding social issues throughout the 1960s.

The “War on Poverty” & “Disadvantaged” Communities

In nearly two decades of unprecedented prosperity after World War II (Miller & Rein, 1965), American optimism and patriotism grew, carried by the widespread belief that pre-war issues had dissolved. However, these disillusioned beliefs that continual and sustained economic prosperity would mean the end of poverty, class conflict, and the need for socialized welfare came to a halt when sociologists published findings of “pockets of poverty” in the 1960s (Silver & Silver, 2006). Poverty, of course, was not new to America, nor was the search for remedies through educational and social means.

The national conversation about the “disadvantaged” stemmed from the National Education Association’s 1962 publication on Education and the Disadvantaged American, which shaped ideas and debates about cultural, linguistic, social, psychological, educational and economic deprivation. Between 1940 and 1965, millions migrated to cities in search of jobs, but the cities could not sustain the migration, resulting in urban ghettos (Silver & Silver, 2006). Although these ghettos consisted of both Black communities and white migrants from Appalachia, educational conversations regarding “disadvantaged students” from these communities referred more to Blacks (D. Gray, Personal Communication, Dec 6, 2019). The public saw poverty as impacting all areas of these disadvantaged students’ lives, but education by far played the largest role. Without an education, they argued, students would be “caught in a cycle of poverty, condemned to remain in poverty, and destined to raise their children in poverty” (Sanford, 1966 as cited in Silver & Silver, 2006).

In an attempt to eliminate poverty, expand educational opportunities, and increase social aid to disadvantaged populations, the Lyndon B. Johnson administration launched the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the subsequent Higher Education Act of 1965. These acts brought an enormous range of developments into education, including the federal TRIO programs: Upward Bound (1964), Talent Search (1965), and Student Support Services (1968), which all sought to provide supplementary academic support to low-income and historically under-represented students (Swail, 2000). This marked a new level of government involvement in education, not only in funding, but in commissioning research, promoting discussion, and preparing and disseminating materials (Silver & Silver, 2006). Each of these ideas, policies and financial resources would become fundamental components and catalysts to the conversations and programmatic efforts that IU would enact by the end of the 1960s.

The Civil Rights & Black Campus Movements

As conversations about the disadvantaged gained attention on the national stage, enormous political, social, and economic changes in racial relations in the 1950s and 60s were set off in 1954 when the Supreme Court rejected the principle of "separate but equal" in the *Brown v. Board of Education* of *Topeka*, requiring the removal of segregated spaces across America. The *Brown* decision had a tremendous impact on the country's realization of racism and established a revolutionary principle in a society with an overtly racist history. However, the proclamation of anti-segregation principles was separated from the commitment to implement them, and the implementation process was slow moving (Orfield & Eaton, 1996). *Brown II*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955) attempted to define how and when school desegregation would be achieved, but the Supreme Court ruling set no standard or timeline for desegregation to occur, only stating that desegregation should occur with "all deliberate speed" (p. 2). In the case of American society, "all deliberate speed" would mean that localities, cities and universities would drag their feet, and issues of desegregation and equal rights would be pervasive throughout the next few decades.

After the rise of the civil rights movement, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned segregation on the grounds of race, religion or national origin in public places. The Civil Rights Act stressed that desegregation must be accomplished by removing structures of unequal opportunity (Orfield & Eaton, 1996), and education became central in the debates and conversations of equality. These laws provided Black advocates the legal justification to seek equality and integration into the Ivory Tower.

Black students who enrolled in the mid-1960s often sought not to assimilate to predominately white universities. As urban uprisings shocked white America, Black students took inspiration from the civil rights and Black Power movements and applied their rhetoric and methods to fights for campus equality. Demonstrations took many forms and the responses from university administrators varied. At some institutions, student activism took more militant or violent forms and university administrators involved police: at Cornell, some militant Black students carried rifles for self-defense; and at Columbia, students attempted to take a Dean hostage (Bradley, 2018). Yet, on other campuses, like Dartmouth, Black students acted on their own behalf and altered traditional policies via small but effective campaigns (Bradley, 2018). While administrators resisted, they often relented to the demands of their students in order to avoid the kinds of destruction they observed happening off campus and on other campuses around the nation.

Most university administrators were unwilling to accommodate the more progressive ideas outside of the Ivory Tower even though the changes coming to college campuses in demographics and culture would be inevitable (Bradley, 2018). A New York Times editorial argued that universities were partially to blame for the uprisings that occurred on their campuses in the 1960s, because too many administrators waited until the student uprisings took place before they would implement any real change

(Bradley, 2018). By the end of the 1960s, there was no university left unchanged by the infectious social movements of the civil rights movement, regardless of geographical setting, history, or leadership.

Black Student Experience at IU in the 1940s-60s

As racial tension rose across the United States during the Civil Rights Movement, Indiana University-Bloomington was considered more racially tolerant in comparison to other Midwestern universities of the time (Wynkoop, 2002), but Black students did not have equal rights or representation at the university. University president Herman B. Wells implemented significant shifts in campus policies around racial equality starting in the mid-1940s. The University began integrating Black students into on-campus housing spaces in 1940, desegregated the Indiana Memorial Union eating spaces by 1942, and began recruiting Black students for collegiate athletics in 1947 (Hinkle, 2001). Wells ushered in an administration that understood the effects of racism on one's ability to achieve intellectual excellence and sought to "shake off our previous university practices that discriminated against Black students" (Wells, 1980, p. 214, as quoted in Hinkle, 2001). Despite these gains, racial discrimination and tension persisted at IU over the next few decades due to the influence of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and Bloomington's roots in southern culture (Wynkoop, 2002).

Thus, Black students at IU found themselves in a rather abstruse position both before and during the 1960s. They had come to IU to improve themselves and to serve as leaders in their communities, but being minoritized meant they faced discrimination every day, not only in predominately white classrooms but all throughout Bloomington. Discrimination—in both overt and discreet forms through KKK propaganda and violence; racist institutional, organizational and community policies; racial slurs; and general attitudes of white superiority—led to half of IU's Black students dropping out before graduation (Wynkoop, 2002). In the mid-1960s, Black students comprised about 2% of the student population and IU had still fewer than ten Black faculty members and no Blacks in administration (Wynkoop, 2002). This lack of representation left many Blacks feeling isolated, in spite of IU being touted as a progressive and more racially tolerant university in its day.

IU's administration did not completely ignore the issues faced by Black students and the lack of representation of people of color on campus, in spite of what appeared to be very slow-moving progress. It created at least two committees by the 1960s to address Black issues on campus: The Education Opportunity Committee and the Student Discriminatory Council. When IU leadership learned of the incredibly low enrollment rates from Indiana's Urban communities in the early sixties, President Elvis J. Stahr selected Professor Don Gray to serve as chair of a new diversity committee oriented toward "opening up the university to students who were not using it" (D. Gray, Personal Communication, Dec 6, 2019). Originally unnamed, the committee's name evolved through several variations of the "Education Opportunity Committee" throughout its existence. In 1961, Professor Gray created a proposal stressing the importance of initiating plans and a strategy to recruit disadvantaged students (Barksdale, 1998). President Stahr received this initial proposal with enthusiasm, but it failed to gain traction among students and faculty and the idea died off without a dedicated administrator or department to bring it to life (D. Gray, Personal Communication, Dec 6, 2019). Because Black students made up the "disadvantaged student" demographic, this inaction meant that there was no reparation of the social issues that Blacks faced at IU in the early 1960s.

The mid-1960s brought conversations on disadvantaged students back to the forefront of IU's administration, eventually laying the foundation to create the Groups Scholars Program in 1968, but not without further delay. In March 1965, a group of administrators compiled from the Junior Division, the Education Opportunity Committee, and the Office of Undergraduate Development assembled to address the “problem of Negro perception at Indiana University” (Snyder Correspondences)[1]. In an attempt to solve the challenges surrounding disadvantaged Black students, these groups of administrators split into two subcommittees. Professor Benjamin Peery led a sub-committee focused on issues of equality on campus, and proposals from this sub-committee sought to address how programs may be able to break students out of their segregation behaviors (Gray, 1967). The second sub-committee, led by Professor Donald Gray, focused its efforts on considering how regional campuses could be more productive in student outreach and recruitment of low-income college students (Gray, 1967). Although the committee split in order to increase productivity, its members accomplished very little between 1965 and 1967, partially due to competing priorities with the Upward Bound Project. In a correspondence with President Elvis J. Stahr, Donald Gray reflected on the poor progress of these committees, citing his own distraction and unproductive meetings that failed to recognize the urgency of the issues presented (Gray, 1967).

While the University administration was distracted by their own unproductivity, peaceful dialogue about issues of race and discrimination among the student population at IU was shattered. Operation Dialogue, a regular meeting between white and Black students, was originally created as a safe space for Black students to share their narratives and experiences at IU (Ford, 2018). The group discussed matters of race in America, regularly screened films about racism, and hosted speakers to talk about race relations. Their conversations and debates were usually peaceful, until the group’s last meeting in 1966.

Early in 1966, Pete Montague, an IU Black student, wrote a series of essays entitled: “Racial Discrimination at Indiana University: A Report of Fraternities and Sororities” discussing how Greek organizations propagated racist ideology within their by-laws, and outlined an event in 1961, where Sigma Chi continued to exclude minority students even after the deletion of the racist clause from their constitution (Ford, 2018). Two IU Professors, Mary J. Rouse and Larry Kantner, published an open letter in response to Montague’s essays in the Indiana Daily Student newspaper about “how a ‘certain black leader’ shouldn’t ‘threaten’ action against sororities and fraternities based on discrimination, and how this student should have done more research before making such a public statement” (Ford, 2018). The Black Student: Organ of the Office of Afro-American Affairs was published in response, arguing that discrimination did not have to take overt forms to qualify as discrimination, and it could still be recognized in so many ways in the daily experiences of Black students at IU (Ford, 2018). Black students believed that because of their lived experiences, they understood the nuances of race relations far better than faculty ever could (Ford, 2018). The incidents surrounding these publications revealed a startling divide between faculty and students when it came to minority issues at IU, and Operation Dialogue was canceled out of fear that peaceful conversation would no longer be possible.

After the events surrounding Operation Dialogue, Black students became increasingly vocal about their experiences with racism at IU and voiced their discontent with the administration's lack of action. In response, the Board of Trustees published a statement stating that the University Administration needed:

> to take such steps as may be necessary and desirable to accelerate the final elimination of such vestiges of discrimination as may still exist, based on race, creed, or national origin, from all phases of University life including official employment and other personnel policies and participation in campus activities and organizations.
> (Minutes, 19 May 1967).

The Board of Trustees intended to hold the administration accountable by requiring them to report back on the status of these matters (Minutes, 19 May 1967). While several campus departments and administrative offices produced conversations, meetings, proposals and resolutions toward campus

[1]The Junior Division served as the freshman division of the university, initiated relationships with prospective students, and provided academic services to undergraduates (Davis, 1968); thus, concerns regarding minority groups fell within their purview.

inclusion and Black student recruitment, some conversations lacked productivity, and the groups did not propose any large-scale solutions. As a result of inaction by the administration to address racial discrimination throughout the early- to mid-1960s, IU's Black student population grew increasingly discontent and continued to advocate for themselves. Their advocacy would begin to shift to real change on IU's campus by the end of the late sixties.

Key Events Instrumental in the Creation of Groups

This collaborative action of Black students in the late 1960's culminated in Indiana University taking swift action to increase minority representation, recruitment and resources, and their advocacy pushed the creation of the Groups Scholars Program to term. Though the Black students' complaints grew louder and louder, they fell on deaf ears and "almost nothing happened until things blew up in the late 1960's" (D. Gray, Personal Communication, December 6, 2019). The Spring of 1968 would provide that explosion and change the priorities of the university for years to come.

Black Student Protests & the Little 500 Sit-In

While Black students at IU were not early assemblers for the Civil Rights Movement, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4th, 1968 provided a catalyst for Black students to organize and fight for further racial equity on campus. On April 6th, several Black students assembled outside of President Stahr's lawn in peaceful protest to demand that the University respond with "action not words" (Action Not Words, 1968). The students had several demands including the abolition of the "so-called" Committee on Discriminatory Practices so that a new joint committee involving Black student and faculty voices could be created to address discrimination on IU's campus; the recruitment of more Black faculty and students; a revision of the curriculum to include contemporary Black history, art, and literature; and an end of Greek and off-campus housing discriminatory practices (Action Not Words, 1968).

On April 11, administrators Michael Schwartz and John Snyder[2] responded somewhat disgruntledly to the students demands. The day before the protest, Michael Schwartz had compiled sixteen points demonstrating IU's efforts to aid Black students ("Efforts to Aid Black Students", Schwartz, April 5, 1968). His report of sixteen points included his "Increased Opportunity for Disadvantaged Secondary Students" proposal[3], the creation of the Committee of Discriminatory Practices, the Junior Division's work to give special academic counseling to Black students, an increase of Black student summer semester enrollment, the development of the J100 course, increases of pictures of Black students in University publications, the President's requirement of Greek organizations to remove discriminatory barriers lest their approved campus housing contracts be removed, the hiring of a Black administrator at the Indianapolis campus, and the direction given for deans to develop Black culture courses, among others ("Efforts", 1968). While Schwartz and Snyder commended the Black students for their peaceful demonstrations, students were invited to elect two representatives to the Committee of Discriminatory Practices and encouraged them to bring issues up to the committee, Schwartz and Snyder's involvement in the several efforts made to improve Black student matters at IU made them less receptive to the students' legitimate complaints.

On May 8th, 1968, Black students assembled once again, frustrated by the administration's tendency to sidestep their demands. United by the leadership of the head of the Afro-Afro-American Students' Association Robert Johnson and Sociology Graduate Student Clarence "Rollo" Turner, the

[2] Recall, Schwartz and Snyder have been working on issues in relation to Black student experience and educational access since 1961 and were on the "Committee on Discriminatory Practices".
[3] This proposal is described in the next section.

students took a more public stand by organizing a sit-in of the Little 500 bicycle race (Ford, 2018). The Little 500 annual bicycle race is a keystone event for Indiana University, created by the IU Foundation to raise scholarship funds for needy students. Its popularity draws thousands of people to Bloomington for one of the world's greatest college weekends (Wynkoop, 2002).

The nearly 50 students who participated in the protest called for President Stahr to take a stand on the discriminatory clauses written in the constitutions of many Greek organizations and to address the previous demands raised by Black students (Black Student Demands, 1968). A news release from the United Anti-Racist Movement on May 11, 1968 revealed the motivations behind the selection of Little 500 for the protest, citing both the publicity of the event and its relations to Greek-life on campus:

> Perhaps the university will not want to change in favor of racial justice. Perhaps they will prefer to curry the favor of rich former-greek bigots who dominate the money-raising ceremonious bureaucracies which serve themselves by 'serving' IU. If so, the university will pay for the cost of their weakness, for the Black students want justice, and they don't plan to wait until 1970, and they don't plan to wait until next semester. They are waiting on the track peacefully for their demands to be met ("Why the Black Students Are Sitting-In", May 11, 1968).

The students hoped that in choosing to protest at the Little 500 event, they would finally gain the attention of President Stahr and the Greek Organizations and force their demands to be appropriately and quickly addressed.

The group of Black student protestors barricaded themselves in the stadium in non-violent protest, carrying sticks, helmets and make-shift shields in case the need for self-protection arose (Ford, 2018). With the Black students' demands placed on a public stage, the university was held accountable to their inaction. President Stahr appealed to IU's Greek Organizations to comply with the Black students' demands, and all but one fraternity agreed to change their charters (Progressive Reform Party, n.d.; Trustees, 1968). Three days after the sit-in began, racial discrimination clauses were eliminated from Greek organization constitutions, proof of administrative support of their demands were obtained, and Little 500 events began.

Additionally, the sit-in caused the IU Foundation to allocate 50% of Little 500 Scholarships for Black students, the IU Senate elected a Black student senator, the IMU Committees elected a Black representative, a new Joint Committee on Discriminatory Practices was established, the Upward Bound Project hired a Black director, off-campus housing discriminatory policies were abolished, and an interdisciplinary program with Black curriculum was established (Black Students News Release, 1968; Rosenblum's Solution, 1968). Finally, the Black students began to see the effects of the efforts in establishing a more equitable campus.

The Gary Project

While Black students created change on campus through protests, the Educational Opportunity Committee was developing efforts to bring disadvantaged students to Bloomington. By the end of April 1968, the Education Opportunity Committee had established relations with the IU Northwest Campus and the beginnings of what would later be called "The Gary Project," which would recruit the first Groups pilot cohort student demographic. Gary, Indiana was founded in 1906 by the U.S. Steel company, seeing great prosperity and a diversity of labor workers leading up to World War II (Rice, 2014). Yet, the city itself was extremely segregated, and all Blacks were redlined into districts with low-income, working class industry employees, regardless of socioeconomic status (Williams, 2018). At the turn of the 60s, the steel plant laid off 65% of their workers as they adopted new technology that required less manpower, displacing workers and forcing many families into poverty (Rice, 2014).

In a letter from Dean Madden of the Junior Division to Wayne Freeberg, Dean Madden expressed the need to "make a special effort in the time that remains this year to establish lines of communication with the disadvantaged high schools" (Correspondences with IU Northwest, 1968). This line of communication aimed to provide schools with information on admissions requirements and scholarships in order to recruit those students who were unlikely to graduate or continue onto college study. On May 8th, 1968, "The Gary Project" sent several IU Black students and faculty to eight high schools in northwest Indiana, visiting six schools in Gary and two schools in East Chicago. During visits to these schools, University faculty and students met with high school juniors and seniors in an attempt to "establish the University's interest in enrolling graduates of these schools, to learn what these students want to know about the University in particular, and higher education in general, and to enlist their interests and curiosities, [and] to seek to interest the students in attending Indiana [University]" (Indiana University News Bureau, May 6, 1968).

The IU students and faculty, however, considered the first recruitment attempts of the Gary Project largely unsuccessful. R.N Farmer, a professor in IU's School of Business, summarized the trip as "talking to the wrong students at the wrong time", due to the fact that they mostly spoke with white students who had already committed to attending college (Farmer's Report, 1968). Additionally, the IU students and faculty created tension within their first interactions with the high schools in Gary and East Chicago. The original group incited the high school students they met, and the IU faculty complained about the secondary students and school districts, requiring several additional visits to amend the damage done in the initial recruitment communications (D. Gray, Personal Communication, December 6, 2019). However, in spite of this recruitment of the "wrong" demographic and the tension that arose from miscommunications during the first visit, 43 disadvantaged students from the Gary Project made up the first cohort of the Groups Scholars program starting that fall.

Proposals Instrumental in the Creation of Groups

In the midst of the uprisings on campus and effort to recruit Black students from Gary, Indiana, University administrators scrambled to articulate a program that would follow through on their promises to diversify campus. While several proposals had been created by the Educational Opportunity Committee in years prior, these proposals did not have enough detail to articulate a clear program on their own. However, the ideas formulated through these proposals enabled the Junior Division to quickly adapt and implement the Groups Scholars Program from this structure in 1968 when pressures from Black students required the administration to act.

Recommendations Report of the Committee on Equality of Higher Educational Opportunity

On January 2, 1965, the Committee on Equality of Higher Educational Opportunity (also known as the Educational Opportunity Committee) published a report with their summary of three recommendations to the university (Gray, 1965, "Recommendation"). First, the report recommended that IU develop a summer program for elementary and secondary school students who came from disadvantaged backgrounds that would increase student efficacy and to help "persuade [these students] and their parents that education beyond high school is a real possibility for them" (Gray, 1965, p. 1). The second recommendation sought to ensure financial resources for low-income students and to admit students who did not meet standard admissions requirements so these students might "transcend a history of deprivation" (Gray, 1965, p. 2). The final recommendation desired to increase the number of Black graduate students through maintaining relations with Stillman College and creating collaborations with other Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Additionally, the committee recommended a position be created to administer these recommendations.

Increased Opportunity for Disadvantaged Secondary Students

On October 24, 1967, Michael Schwartz, an administrator in the Office of Undergraduate Development and sociology professor at IU, created a draft proposal for "Increased Educational Opportunity for Disadvantaged Secondary Students." On social justice and moral grounds, Schwartz argued for the responsibility of "full social participation" to eradicate barriers faced by Blacks that had been built and reinforced by a predominately white society. He proposed a "radical plan" that violated the definitions of educational progress, called for the University to restructure itself to promote educational potential for disadvantaged and non-traditional students, and placed the financial burden for educating disadvantaged youth on Indiana industries (Schwartz, 1967, p. 4).

The true radical nature of Schwartz's proposal came from bridging the gaps between academic skill development, work-force experiences, and social transition support. He proposed that teachers and school administrators select promising eleventh grade students who are likely to leave high school before graduating and refer them to be interviewed for admission into Indiana University's pilot group program. During the Spring semester of their Senior year of high school, local industries would employ these disadvantaged students to educate and acclimate them to workforce experiences before the students enrolled in a summer college course. J100, a "refresher" course, would augment the student's academic abilities in preparation for their enrollment as IU freshman. First semester grades would only be recorded on a pass-fail basis to better acclimate students to the university with less risk of failure (p. 4). Schwartz's proposal challenged the status quo of existing programmatic efforts by casting a vision to simultaneously address multiple root causes of the challenges faced by disadvantaged secondary students.

In spite of its radical nature, members of the Junior Division, the Education Opportunity Committee, and the Office of Undergraduate Development initially received the report with admiration and excitement. Collectively, the group decided that minimal revisions would be needed, but concerns about funding, the choice of counselors, and not recording students' grades would need to be addressed (Madden, 1967). These concerns placed the proposal on halt in 1967 but it was revisited in Spring 1968. Schwartz's proposal served as both the backbone to the first outlines of the Groups Scholars Program and the catalyst to the creation of the J100 course at IU.

Summer Program for Students Presently Inadmissible to Indiana University

While addressing similar issues to Schwartz's proposal, Professor Don Gray shared a proposal on January 12, 1968 with John Snyder of the Office of Undergraduate Development that focused specifically on the financial barriers to education faced by economically disadvantaged students. His proposals included a summer program with the purpose of preparing students who "are not now admissible because of class rank, test scores, etc." and "come from economically poor families" (Gray, 1968, p. 1). Gray's major concern was to aid those whose financial statuses created significant barriers to accessing higher education, stating this program was not intended to help middle class students. His program proposals brought three new ideas, distinct from Schwartz's proposal: 1) a stripped program consisting only of a summer semester that made up for the significant educational and financial deficits of disadvantaged students, 2) to target a population of students who were low-achieving and may have previously been denied admission to the university, and 3) the University's provision of guaranteed student financial aid for successful participants of the summer program.

If a student successfully completed the summer courses, they would be admitted into IU for the Fall semester, receive credit for the summer courses, and be provided with a generous financial aid package, including a tuition scholarship, dormitory fees, placement into a work-study program, loans, pocket-money and "whatever [else] he needs" (p. 2). Gray firmly advocated that access to educational opportunity and intellectual development should never be inhibited by a student's lack of finances, and that poorly performing students could succeed when provided with adequate educational resources.

Final Groups Scholar Program Proposal

With the aid of the ideas outlined in these three proposals, members of the Junior Division completed the final draft for the pilot year of the Groups Scholars Program on May 20, 1968. The final draft outlined the Division's goal to strategically "attract disadvantaged students to Indiana University, and to develop on-campus programs which will strengthen their chances for a successful college career" ("Disadvantaged Students at Indiana University" Proposal, 1968). In order to fulfill this objective, the proposal created the role of the Assistant Dean of Junior Division to oversee this program for disadvantaged students and work with the Education Opportunity Committee.

The final proposal also addressed lessons members had learned through reflection of the project's progress, proposed the best way to move the program forward, and attempted to respond to concerns about program structure. The proposal stressed the need for Black faculty and students to be involved in the recruitment process "in order to make headway with black and other disadvantaged students in ghetto high schools" (p. 1) and stated IU would provide training for faculty who would work with the disadvantaged students. The previous miscommunications and cultural differences from the Gary Project would be addressed by continued and clear communications with these schools, earlier recruitment, and a better trained staff.

In regard to admissions, administrators had been working to determine a new "liberalized" policy for working with disadvantaged students that would acknowledge the resources these students would be provided through the program rather than just observing the students' deficiencies. Students in the program would be provided sufficient financial aid through Educational Opportunity Grants, Work-Study programs, NDEA loans, Summer Opportunity Grants, Summer Job Placement Programs, and matching gift aid ("Disadvantaged Students at Indiana University" Proposal, 1968). Additionally, the general requirement for the Parents' Confidential Financial Statement was removed, due to the hesitancy and refusal that parents of disadvantaged students typically have with disclosing their low incomes. With ample financial resources available to students, no student would be able to cite money as the reason he would not attend IU. The proposal also outlined the addition of specific tutoring and counseling services for Black students, discussed the need for more thought on student housing in the residence halls, and presented the special courses that were being developed. In July of 1968, the Junior Division appointed Rozelle Boyd as the Assistant Dean, and he eagerly began to prepare for students to arrive on campus.

In the Fall of 1968, forty-three students arrived on IUs campus as the pilot class of the Groups Scholars Program. While the majority of students were minority students from predominately African American and Latino low-income communities, the students chosen for the pilot class of Groups were "not just academically capable, but also mentally capable of challenging the sometimes hostile environment on the IU campus" (Barksdale, 1998, p. 6). The pilot students of Groups had little difficulty acclimating to the campus environment, aided by the support of the Groups administrators.

Creating a Lasting Program

In December of 1968, LaVerta Terry was selected as the Administrative Director of Groups (Barksdale, 1998). Together, Terry and Boyd worked to create a more developed model of the program. Of the previously developed proposals from Gray and Schwartz, Boyd and Terry built upon the ideas of the summer program model, the recruitment system, and the aim to recruit those who came from low-income and disadvantaged backgrounds. Although the program did not market itself a Blacks/Minority-only program, historically a majority of the participants have come from African American, Latino or other minority backgrounds. Boyd and Terry further developed the summer program to include courses in reading, writing and mathematics, to ensure student acclimation to IU and to college level expectations. Furthermore, the Groups Scholars Program required each incoming student to sign a contact with the program requirements, which outlined the expectations and grounds for dismissal from the program. Requirements included: confirming their intentions to earn a bachelor's degree at IU, agreeing not to pledge for Greek life during their first year, affirming that they would attend all scheduled meetings and that they would live in university housing during their first year of studies (Groups, 1990).

Sustainability and long-term success of the program occupied the forefront of Boyd's mind. In the spring of 1969, Boyd took the initiative to write a ten-year proposal program, which, if funded, would support the program from Summer 1969-Spring 1979 (Boyd, 1969). In addition to outlining additional student support services (such as tutoring and counseling services), Boyd included a cultural enrichment component to allow disadvantaged students to have normal college student experiences (such as going on educational trips and getting tickets to performances at the IU Auditorium) (Boyd, 1969). In 1974, the Groups Scholars Program received federal funding from the TRIO Programs Grant, stemming from the 1972 Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (Barksdale, 1998). Receiving federal support helped to ensure educational access for minorities would continue and has supported the long history and continued legacy of the Groups Scholars Program at IU.

Conclusion

When seen through the lens of the political and social context of the 1960s, the IU Groups narrative falls within the larger narrative of how America responded to civil rights issues: with "all deliberate speed." While administrators at Indiana University responded to ideas from the earliest conversations about disadvantaged students in the United States starting in 1961, the ideas and values behind these conversations were not implemented, much like how the *Brown* decision took several more legal rulings and more than fifteen years to see that segregation was no longer a reality in public spaces across the nation.

At Indiana University, Black students' experiences with racism and concerns about educating disadvantaged youth were only responded to with "deliberate speed" once students took action to voice their requirements. While the University conversed over these ideas for nearly seven years, Black student protests in April and early May of 1968 led to the speedy implementation of these proposals in the matter of a few months. Black students at IU recognized the power of their voices and actions and acknowledged that "the establishment of various programs and committees these past few weeks [were] a direct result of [their] actions and demands" (Black Students News Release, May 1968). Although the committees and programs established at IU through Black student activism in Spring 1968 were tremendous, the greatest impact that came from the Black student protests was in the administration's response to create positions of importance for Black students and faculty.

Prior to the appointment of Rozelle Boyd, the first Black Assistant Dean to the Junior Division, there were several administrators who were concerned enough to bring up these issues and work to create solutions. President Elvis J. Stahr called for the creation of the Education Opportunity Committee as soon as he entered office with the intent to see a direct result in Black student recruitment from urban and low-income areas. Professor Donald Gray served as the Committee chair, led discussions and created countless proposals for how the university could better recruit and serve disadvantaged students, but as an English Professor, he had little control of how the administration might actually implement his recommendations and proposals. The list of names and affiliated faculty who had some role in conversations about education programs for disadvantaged youth and the “issues of Negro perception at the university” (Snyder Correspondences) spans more than 40 names over the record of the eight years of conversation. Yet the solutions proposed, and the Groups Scholars Program, would never have been implemented without Black student activism creating space for Boyd as an administrator. It was only when Black student voices were finally heard that Rozelle Boyd was selected as the Assistant Dean of the Junior Division.

Boyd’s appointment to the Assistant Dean at such a volatile point in the university’s history enabled him to take significant strides for minority student and faculty recruitment. Using the ideas previously proposed by administration, Boyd was able to bring to life solutions to increasing college attendance among “disadvantaged” first-generation, low-income and underrepresented students at IU. The Groups Scholars Program is a testament to his successful leadership and the power of Black student activism to initiate change.

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Amateurism: The Issue of Paying College Level Athletes

Jacob Henry

Abstract

This paper will discuss the current issue of paying college level athletes, who will be referred to as "student-athlete(s)" through the rest of this paper. With the current challenge from the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) against the state of California involving the removal of the amateurism rule, it is more relevant now than ever to look at what is involved in paying student-athletes and how it could impact the current landscape of college athletics. This paper will examine both the positive and negative impact of removing amateurism within college athletics and come to a final recommendation for all stakeholders. Higher education institutions need to work as a combined force to work with the NCAA on changing the amateurism rule and allowing student-athletes to profit off the talents they provide to their programs and the greater community

Keywords

amateurism, student-athlete, NCAA

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Introduction

Athletic departments at colleges and universities have been a major source of revenue in areas such as ticket sales, marketing, and alumni donations. Currently the state of California is challenging the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) over the concept of amateurism with its collegiate athletes (Jenkins, 2019). Amateurism can pertain to student-athletes receiving money from advertisers for their names and images (Jenkins, 2019). A bill has been signed by the California Governor to allow student-athletes to receive money for their name (Jenkins, 2019). This issue has been in conversation often among higher education professionals and is complicated. This paper will discuss both arguments being made before arriving at a final recommendation. Higher education institutions need to begin looking inwards to solve the issue that student-athletes face when it comes to not receiving compensation for the talent and promotion they provide their institution. Amateurism needs to be addressed at a state and federal level to help influence the institutions to increase financial opportunities for the student-athletes that are taken advantage of by their administrators.

Focus on the Student Athlete

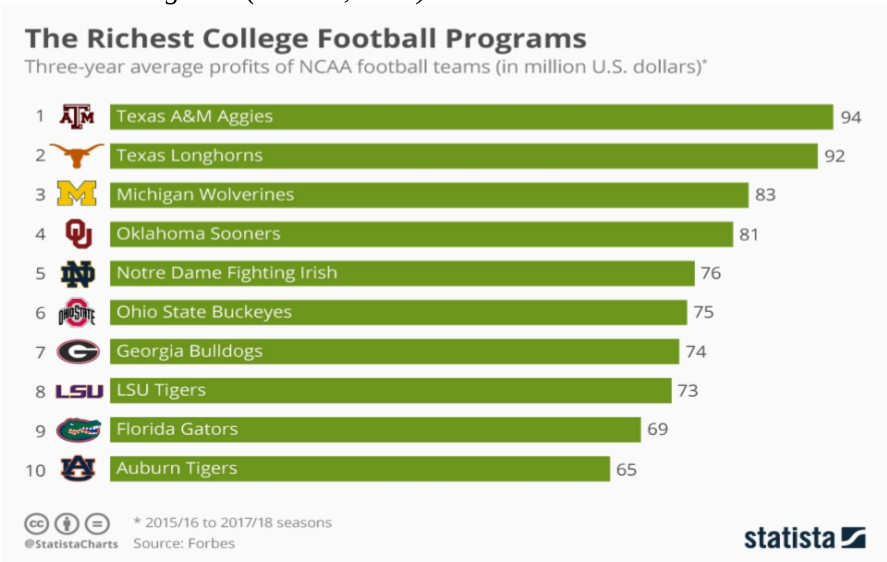
Higher education institutions' main focus is on a well-rounded education and the end goal is on students graduating with a degree. The current system in which student-athletes receive scholarships has existed throughout a majority of higher education institutions. Many critics of paying student-athletes believe the scholarship is an adequate form of compensation (Thacker, 2017). Student-athletes could lose the possibility of attending a higher education institution without this scholarship. Some practitioners argue that the four-year scholarships student-athletes receive are sufficient compensation for their athletic talents and work (Kargl, 2017). These scholarships are just the beginning of the support student-athletes receive. Student-athletes receive other benefits such as: ". . . professional mentoring and coaching; travel opportunities; an invaluable education; and the ability to develop teamwork, discipline, and leadership skills" (Kargl, 2017, p. 392).

Amateurism is important for the education and development of the student (Thacker, 2017). Paying student-athletes could divert the student's focus to only successes in their athletic areas. The NCAA argues that student-athletes are "students first and athletes second" (Wallsten et al., 2017). Student affairs practitioners tend to use this logic in other areas as well including residence advisors and student organization leaders. Some researchers say colleges cannot afford to pay student-athletes (Thacker, 2017). Most NCAA Division I schools operate in debt and do not make revenue during their athletic seasons (Thacker, 2017). Researchers and practitioners cannot find a fair solution (Thacker, 2017). The gender pay gap is an especially concerning issue as even in professional athletics there is no solution to address the issue. Amateurism has become a common discussion point and society tends to bounce back and forth between making a final decision on the matter.

Paying Our Athletes

Research has been growing in the consideration of paying student-athletes. One of the first arguments that is used often is that paying a scholarship for education actually doesn't cover the education. The Collegiate Athletics Coalition estimated that the NCAA scholarships cover about $2000 less than the actual cost of attendance and the amount of time student-athletes have to commit to the team (games, practices, etc.), they have no other way of finding income for other essential needs (Johnson, 2012). Student-athletes are used for their talents and are abused mentally and physically from their coaches and their staff, who are making all the money on their successes (see Figure 1). The fact remains that the NCAA's definition and understanding of amateurism has changed over the years whenever it suits the NCAA's needs (Closa, 2020).

Figure 1.
Richest College Football Programs (Statista, 2019)



The NCAA only prohibits student-athletes from profiting off of college athletics (Closa, 2020). The revenue that they generate is utilized by the NCAA and the institutions.

> In 2017, the NCAA made $1 billion in revenue, while student-athletes made no on-the-books revenue. According to the NCAA's expense sheet, half of this revenue was distributed back to Division I schools, but none of the revenue went directly to the players whose labor and intellectual property generated the money (Closa, 2020, p. 19).

College sports programs are a massive generator of revenue (See Figure 2). Some of the richest college football programs are making 65 million dollars and more (See Figure 3). There are inconsistencies between the money given to student-athletes and the larger entities involved.

Figure 2.
Total Revenue Generated by College Sports Program (Murphy, 2019)

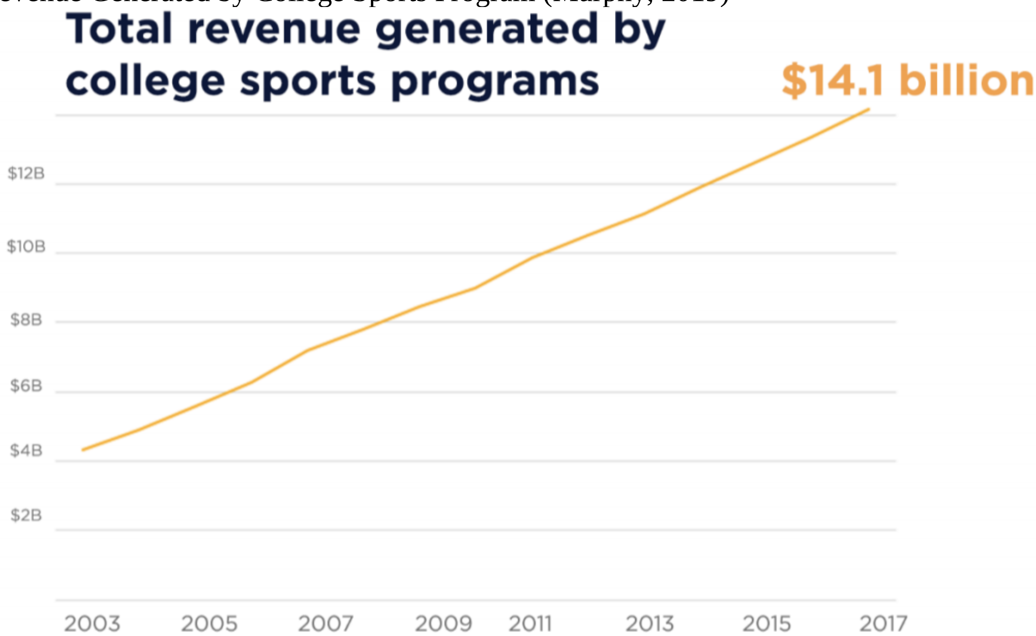
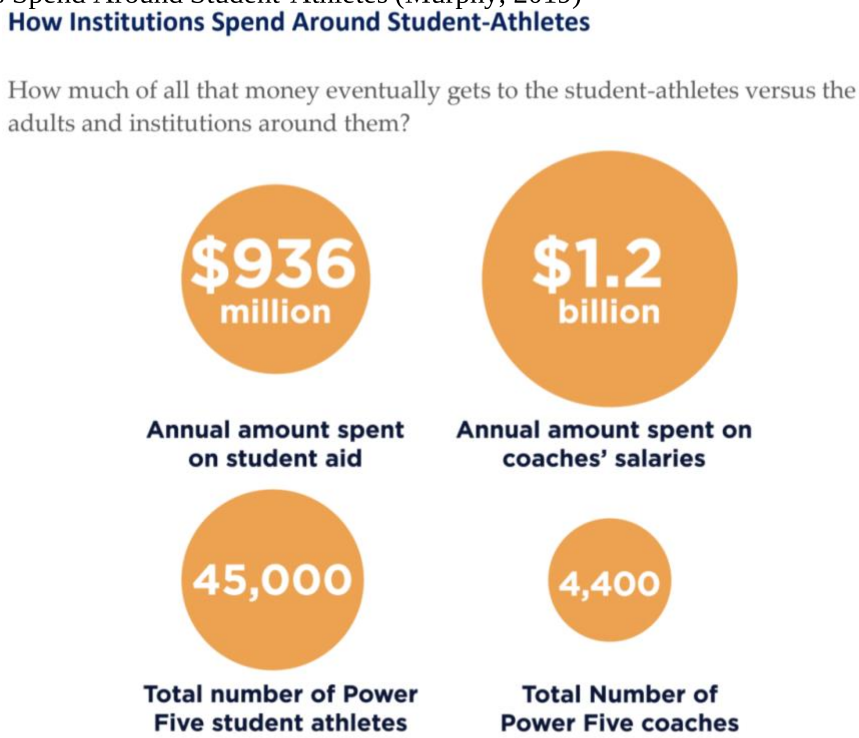


Figure 3.
How Institutions Spend Around Student-Athletes (Murphy, 2019)



There is also the possibility of losing the scholarship and their education to an injury. Student-athletes do not understand that the scholarship is not always renewable and can be terminated at any point (Johnson, 2012).“The NCAA will only change its Amateurism Rule if mechanisms exist to hold it accountable for the rule's harmful side effects” (Closa, 2020, p. 19). Institutions’ and state government entities need to work with the NCAA to address the amateurism rule and begin to make the changes needed to solve the problem. Student-athletes need to receive the support so that if their athletic career is halted at any time, they still have a future through the institutions they attend in other avenues. Student affairs practitioners need to start having these conversations amongst ourselves and bring the student voice into that conversation. Student-athletes could negotiate individually with colleges to create a deal that best suits their needs and the needs of the athletic program (Young, 2013).

Conclusion

Consider the amount of money that is made through athletic conferences like the Big Ten and Southeastern. Above, you can see the revenue that is generated by some of the richest college football programs in the United States. Student-athletes deserve to receive finances for the extended service they give to the institution through their skills that could be viewed as the main reason for their enrollment. Higher education institutions need to work as a combined force to work with the NCAA on changing the amateurism rule and allowing student-athletes to profit off the talents they provide to their programs and the greater community.

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Developing Grant Writing Skills in the Humanities and Social Sciences: A Case for Increasing Program-Level Supports

Esen Gokpinar-Shelton & Akua A. Asomani-Adem

Abstract

Grant writing is a crucial part of graduate students' careers. In this opinion piece, the authors discuss graduate students in the humanities and social sciences grant-writing related problems. By understanding students' unique challenges and motivations and including a systematic grant writing course into their curricula, humanities and social sciences departments can improve student success.

Keywords

Grant Writing, Graduate Students, Funding, Humanities and Social Sciences

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Securing external grant funding for research is an essential element of professional development for graduate students in today's financially hard-pressed higher education institutions (Leak et al., 2015). Reduced university support has created an increased need for graduate students to procure their own research funds (Mitchell et al., 2015). Moreover, most advertisements for academic positions expect applicants to be capable of securing external funding, making the need for grant writing skills even more pressing for doctoral students (Solomon, 2009; Mitchell et al., 2015). Despite these realities, grant writing is an emerging and intimidating concept for graduate students in the humanities and social sciences (Sisk, 2011). Highlighting the current state of grant writing for graduate students in the humanities and social sciences, this article argues a need for intentional departmental support, such as integrating grant writing courses into the curricula to advance student success.

Today, only a few humanities and social sciences programs offer instruction on grant practices (Sisk, 2011). This lack of training leaves students to feel unsupported in where and how to look for funding opportunities. Furthermore, students find the process of drafting and polishing research proposals and ensuring they have met the submission requirements to be daunting (Heflinger & Doykos, 2016). Leak et al. (2015), when examining student perceptions about grant writing, found that students rated their research proposal writing skills as an area in which they feel the weakest compared to other types of writing. The students reported that they feel incredibly uncomfortable and are stressed out when asked to write a grant application. Similarly, in Heflinger and Doykos (2016), students expressed a desire for increased support with advancing their grant writing skills and available grant resources to improve their knowledge base.

One main factor behind such concern and uneasiness is the unfamiliarity of students with the genre of grant writing (Porter, 2007). Research shows that grant writing can be distinctively different in its rhetorical structures and moves from other types of academic writing, such as a manuscript publication (Connor, 2000; Porter, 2007; Walden & Bryan, 2010). In a manuscript publication, the research has already been conducted, and the researcher argues for the validity and reliability of the conclusions reached with precise details (Porter, 2007). Differently, the grant writer describes a future research project and is expected to convince reviewers in a personal and lay tone that this line of research will be completed with the most appropriate theories, methodologies, and staff (Porter, 2007; Walden & Bryan, 2010). Furthermore, the alignment between the project and the defined mission and vision of the external funding agency is considered a matter of utmost importance in grant proposals (Connor, 2000; Gitlin & Czaja, 2015). The expectations and motivations of private and corporate foundational grants, for example, may be quite different than those in applications for public, government-funded grants. Students without a solid understanding of such nuances or knowledge of the strategies necessary to shape a research study into a project a funding agency is interested in, may find the grant writing process complex and challenging to manage.

To remedy this problem, some institutions have launched grant writing centers specifically to motivate and help graduate students with their external grant applications. Indiana University, University of Nevada, as well as the Cleveland State University are among those that have grant offices dedicated to grant searches and proposal development. These offices support graduate students from all disciplines by providing one-on-one consultations, grant-writing workshops, boot camps, and a collection of other selected guides to suit each stage of the writing process (Cleveland State University, n.d.; Indiana University, n.d.; the University of Nevada, n.d.). While these initiatives provide essential training opportunities for ensuring an increase in the number of and successful grant applications (Porter, 2011), they are often tailored to institution-wide audiences. However, some of the most reputable grants in the social sciences and humanities (e.g., National Science Foundation, Social Science Research Council, Fulbright, and Mellon) require an in-depth knowledge of the trends, theories, and concepts relevant to the specific field in which staff in centralized grant offices may not be expert. More active involvement of departments, therefore, is needed to increase the impact of help available to students from these offices (Leak et al., 2015; Sisk, 2011).

The preliminary findings of a study conducted by a researcher at the Indiana University GradGrants Center also support the need for specialized mentorship. Students in the study asserted that they would feel more motivated to seek and apply for major grants in the humanities and social sciences if they had the opportunity to work with their professors and content experts in the grant-writing process (Gokpinar-Shelton, 2018). Because grant-writing is rather time-consuming, students suggested that their departments could create individualized incentives that would allow them to contribute to their area of research interest during coursework. An example offered was submitting grant proposals as a final paper for their class (Gokpinar-Shelton, 2018). Such incentives and working under the guidance of a faculty mentor can help students become independent grant writers.

The integration of a grant proposal writing course or boot camps into graduate program curricula has indeed proven to be effective (Leak et al., 2015). Although a little late compared to medical schools and STEM-related departments that have long initiated such efforts to help their students, a few humanities and social sciences programs have introduced semester-long grant proposal writing courses, and the results are promising (Sisk, 2011; Walker et al., 2016). One such program, a semester-long course provided at the School of Education at the University of Rochester, has produced positive results since its introduction in 2007 (Sisk, 2011). The majority of the study respondents reported having won grants since taking the course using the tools they learned in the class (Sisk, 2011). While such studies are few and often limited in their methodology, the initial results demonstrate that humanities and social sciences programs would benefit their students by supplementing the services of centralized grant writing centers with program-level resources.

In summary, as internal research dollars become scarce in the humanities and social sciences departments, students feel the need to be more active in grant writing and searching for external grant funding opportunities. To systematically support students in their grant writing endeavors, humanities and social sciences departments must seek their students' perceptions of motivators and barriers in grant proposal writing and put appropriate resources in place.

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