administrators. In J. Nidiffer & C.T. Bashaw (Eds.), *Women administrators in higher education: Historical and contemporary perspectives.* (pp. 1-13). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Official Handbook of Procedures, Rules, and Regulations 1947-48, Halls of Residence for Men. (Available from the Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401)

Rossiter, M.W. (1995). *Women scientists in American before affirmative action 1940-1972.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Schwartz, R.A. (1997a). How deans of women became men. *The Review of Higher Education, 20*(4), 419-436.

Schwartz, R.A. (1997b). Reconceptualizing the leadership roles of women in higher education. *Journal of Higher Education, 68*(5), 502-522.

Solomon, B.M. (1985). *In the company of educated women.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

The Chimes for 1947. (Available from the Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401)

Tuttle, K.N. (1996). *What became of the dean of women? Changing roles for women administrators in American higher education.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas.

Archival Resources

Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Indiana

Dean of Women records, 1905-1945 (collection #165).

Indiana University publications collection.

Kate Hevner Mueller papers, (collection #170).

Records of the President, Herman B Wells, 1937-1962 (Accession #1117).

Jennifer Buckley is a first-year doctoral student in Higher Education and Student Affairs at Indiana University Bloomington. She earned her B.A. in Political Science from Gettysburg College and her M.S. is College Student Personnel from Miami University of Ohio. Before pursing her doctorate, she worked for eleven years in student affairs. Send correspondence about this article to the author at jeabuckl@indiana.edu

Asian Pacific Americans in Predominantly White Sororities: Perceptions of Racial Climate

Michelle Bernstein, Jackie Jones, Marianne Scott, Tara Sherwin

This qualitative study examines the experiences of Asian Pacific American (APA) women in predominantly White sororities at a large, public, predominantly White institution. It reveals the racial and ethnic identity development of APAs in these organizations, as well as their perceptions of racial climate in both their sororities and on the campus at large.

Introduction

The Asian Pacific American (APA) student population is both the largest and the fastest growing minority group in higher education today. In 1998, the APAs represented 5.8% of all college students, an 83.8% rise in population since 1986 (Escueta & O'Brien, 1995). Yet, in spite of their significant representation on college and university campuses, APAs receive considerably less attention as a racial/ethnic group compared to existing research on other minorities (Kodama, McEwen, Liang, & Lee, 2002). Much of the research that does exist focuses on the "model minority" myth, which depicts APA students as both highly achieved academically and easily assimilated into the White American culture (Kawaguchi, 2003). Few studies actually examine the conception of easy assimilation to determine if APAs really do blend in seamlessly with their White peers.

As a significant means of student involvement in many campus environments, Greek organizations can play a major role in shaping the social and academic experiences of their members (Anson & Marchesani, 1991; Hayek, Carini, O'Day, & Kuh, 2002; Kuh & Lyons, 1990; Malaney, 1990; McKee, 1987; Winston & Saunders, 1987). While they maintain a long history of exclusionary practices against non-White students, fraternities and sororities claim to be incorporating more diversity in their memberships (Chang, 1996). As a part of higher education culture, which more and more endorses the importance of diverse representation in student enrollments, Greek organizations' assertions of diversity could be a reflection of the influence of their respective institutions (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Kuh & Whitt, 1988).

Because of the perception that APAs easily assimilate into White American culture and the importance of Greek life to university culture, the researchers chose to study APA women in predominantly White sororities. Specifically, they hoped to answer the following questions: Why would an APA woman choose to join a predominantly White sorority? What, if

anything, does that imply about her racial identity development? How do APA women perceive the racial climate of their predominantly White sororities? What, if anything, does the racial climate suggest about the racial climate of the campus?

Literature Review

Asian Pacific American Identity Development

Hune and Chan (1997) defined APAs as people "who call the United States their home and trace their ancestry to countries from the Asian continent and sub-continent and islands within the Pacific Rim" (p. 39). With this definition, the APA population encompasses individuals from over 30 ethnicities, all with variations in migration history and cultural experiences, values, and beliefs. Furthermore, individual APA students can have different experiences based on their generation in the United States. These variables can and do affect these students' identity development (Kodama et al., 2002).

As stated above, the "model minority" myth serves as the basis for much of the existing research on APA students (Kawaguchi, 2003). Society expects APAs, as "model minorities," to perform as well as, if not better than, White students in the classroom, while simultaneously blending in with them in the social environment as well (Kodama et al., 2002). The combination of these expectations creates the misconception that APA students experience little or no difficulty gaining acceptance from their White peers at predominantly White institutions (Liang, 2003). In reality, the sense of being simultaneously different from and similar to the majority can create significant dissonance in the identity development of APA students (Kodama et al., 2002). However, while many APAs do experience the effects of the "model minority" myth, others, because of the individual differences among APA students noted above, do not. This needs to be considered when examining the racial identity development of APA students.

Several existing models of racial and ethnic identity development can also be used to help understand the personal growth of APA students. Helms's People of Color Racial Identity Model presents five racial identity schemas that show how APA students respond to and internalize race-related societal messages, particularly regarding racism and oppression (Alvarez & Helms, 2001). The schemas proceed from least to most complex, describing the level of comfort APAs feel with their Asian Pacific American identity. The first and least complex schema is Conformity, which is characterized by denial or minimization of the importance of race. APAs who operate from this schema prefer the standards and norms of White

American culture to Asian culture. Dissonance, the second schema, involves a sense of confusion or ambivalence about identifying as Asian Pacific American. The third, Immersion-Emersion, includes the psychological immersion in and idealization of the Asian Pacific American racial group. Students in this schema reject the White American culture. Internalization is marked by the ability to objectively analyze the strengths and weaknesses of both White and Asian Pacific Americans. Finally, Integrative Awareness involves developing a personal definition of racial identity, usually incorporating aspects of both groups (Alvarez & Helms, 2001). These schemas determine how APAs internalize messages about their race; students in the less complex schemas tend to perceive messages as negative, while those in the more complex schemas perceive messages as positive (Alvarez & Helms, 2001).

While Helms's model helps to understand APAs' racial identity, Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development outlines three phases that describe how APAs process their ethnic identity as it relates to culture, religion, geography, and language (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998). The first phase, Diffusion-Foreclosure, describes APA students who have not explored their feelings and attitudes toward their ethnicity. Most students in Diffusion-Foreclosure are uninterested in their Asian Pacific American ethnicity. Moratorium, the second stage, is marked by an increasing awareness of ethnicity and an emotional intensity toward the dominant culture. A strong bicultural identity characterizes the third stage, Identity Achievement. APA students in this stage accept and welcome both the White and Asian cultures (Evans et al., 1998). Both Phinney's model and Helms's model provide guidelines for understanding the ethnic and racial identity of APA students in the context of the co-curricular college environment.

Asian Pacific Americans in Predominantly Greek Organizations

Extensive research notes the potential benefits of membership in Greek fraternities and sororities (Anson & Marchesani, 1991; Chang, 1995; Chang & DeAngelo, 2002; Hayek et al., 2002; Kuh & Lyons, 1990; Malaney, 1990; McKee, 1987; Winston & Saunders, 1987). Social integration, college persistence, leadership development, career networking, and community service opportunities are all apparent advantages of Greek participation (Hayek et al., 2002; Malaney, 1990; McKee, 1987; Winston & Saunders, 1987). However, predominantly White fraternities and sororities exhibit deficiencies in significant areas of student development, specifically, exposure to and acceptance of student diversity (Chang, 1995; Chang & DeAngelo, 2002; Malaney, 1990). In spite of claims of increased diversity in membership, most Greek organizations select students who adhere to the

White, politically conservative, affluent, and less racially tolerant profile that has long characterized their members (Chang, 1996).

Chang (1995) noted that minority members who cross the lines of race and ethnicity to become members of predominantly White Greek organizations often share their White peers' interests and views of society, as well as values, ideologies, and political beliefs. Minority members in these fraternities and sororities seem to be more integrated into White American culture and less likely to identify with their racial/ethnic group (Chang, 1995). These findings correspond with Astin's theory of peer groups, in which individuals identify and affiliate with others who they feel are like them in significant ways (Hurtado et al., 1999). If minority members feel more comfortable with and similar to their White peers, they will want to surround themselves with White peers, rather than other minority members.

Kuh and Whitt (1988) described the distinction of fraternities and sororities as an interesting type of subculture. While they maintain many characteristics of a subculture, including regular contact among members, strong group loyalty, clear distinction between members and nonmembers, and shared values, they also reflect many of the values and beliefs of the dominant culture of the college or university. Because Greek organizations must abide by the rules and regulations of the institution, they automatically adopt some of the institution's values. It is therefore likely that some of the practices, principles and beliefs of the institution can be seen in the practices, principles, and beliefs of its fraternities and sororities (Kuh & Whitt, 1988).

Racial and Ethnic Climate on College Campuses

As defined by Hurtado et al. (1999), campus climate is the combination of the historical legacy of inclusion/exclusion, structural diversity in numerical representation on campus, psychological climate of perceptions and attitudes between and among groups, and the behavioral climate dimension (intergroup relations). Campus climate varies from institution to institution, as well as from different individual perspectives; it is often a subjective view. For example, a faculty member might view the campus racial climate differently than a student or a staff member (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1996). However, in research regarding campus racial and ethnic climate, students have reported that more could be done about improving the campus climate for diversity (Arnold, 1995).

The level of racial and ethnic diversity and integration on campus can greatly influence the behavior of the student body. Kanter (as cited in Hurtado et al., 1998) stated that a campus with any kind of significant majority of one racial or ethnic group will negatively affect the amount of social interaction among White students and students of color. Campuses that have such skewed numbers create barriers for student interaction and learning from different perspectives (Hurtado et al., 1998). In contrast, Arnold (1995) mentioned that visual representations on campus can promote positive awareness of and interaction between diverse cultures. Students also benefit academically and socially from having diverse peers; students are more open to diversity and can learn from different perspectives (Hurtado et al., 1998; Pascarella et al., 1996).

Methodology

Participants

The sample consisted of eight female members of two predominantly White sororities at a large, public, research institution in the Midwest. According to University statistics, women comprise 52.5% of the campus population. Three percent of the University's population is Asian American—a percentage that has remained constant for nearly a decade (Brehm, 2003). In contrast, the White, non-international student population is 82%, which indicates that the majority of the University student population is White.

Four participants were White; four were Asian Pacific American. The four APA participants included two Koreans, one Singhalese, and one Thai. As noted in the literature review, significant cultural differences exist among various APA sub-groups (Hune & Chan, 1997). While the researchers recognize and appreciate these differences, the small sample size and minimal time allowed for the study prohibited the researchers from effectively drawing conclusions specific to those sub-groups.

The participants ranged in age from 19 to 21 years and represented sophomore, junior, and senior class standings. Of the women interviewed, more than half held leadership positions in their sororities. Both sororities represented had at least 100 members.

Participant Biographies

White women:

Jamie was a senior from a small, predominantly White town in the Midwest. She held a leadership position in a sorority composed of approximately 105 members.

Sally was a junior from a predominantly White Midwestern suburb and held multiple leadership positions in a sorority of approximately 110 women.

Felicity was a junior from a small, predominantly White town in the Midwest. Felicity held a leadership position in her sorority of about 105 women.

Katie was a junior from a large, diverse Southeastern city. Although a White woman, Katie was a minority in her sorority of approximately 105 women because of her Jewish faith. She held a leadership position in her sorority.

APA women:

Taylor was a junior who identified as Korean-American. Born in Seoul, Korea, she was adopted by White parents in the United States. Taylor grew up in a mid-sized, moderately diverse college town in the Midwest. Her sorority housed almost 110 women.

Tina was a senior in a sorority of approximately 105 women. She held multiple leadership positions, including president of her chapter. She identified as Thai and was a first-generation U.S. citizen. Tina grew up in a small, predominantly White Midwestern town.

Tanya was a junior from Sri Lanka who grew up in a mid-sized, predominantly White Midwestern college town. She held a leadership position in her sorority of about 105 women.

Jackie, a sophomore from a mid-sized, moderately diverse, Midwestern suburb, was born in South Korea and was adopted by White parents in the United States. Her sorority consisted of approximately 105 women.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through organization solicitation via email. Each participant was thoroughly informed of the intent of the research and subsequently gave verbal consent to participate in the study. Research guidelines set by the University's Human Subjects Committee were carefully followed. Each participant chose a pseudonym, and names of sororities have been omitted in order to further ensure the anonymity of participants.

Because individual differences are essential to the study, the researchers employed a qualitative research method. At the beginning of each interview session, the researchers asked participants to complete a short survey. The survey contained questions about demographics, sorority, family background, and perceptions of high school, hometown, and campus racial/ethnic diversity.

After completing the survey, participants were interviewed for about one hour each. All interviews were tape-recorded with the express consent of each participant in order to ensure accurate transcription. The interview

questions were open-ended and designed to help the researchers understand the participants' perceptions and experiences in their sororities and on campus in relation to their racial/ethnic identity.

Data Analysis

In order to stay true to the voices of the participants, each interview was transcribed verbatim. Data collected from the transcriptions were analyzed to identify key concepts and themes. Themes emerged in three categories: racial identity, sorority racial climate, and campus racial climate. These themes will be discussed at greater length in the Findings section.

Limitations

This study, like all research, includes limitations that should be considered when evaluating the scope of the findings. While the goal of qualitative research is not broad generalizability, it is important to mention that the relatively small number of participants and sororities represented do not allow assumptions to be made about the experiences or perceptions of members of all sororities on the campus studied or about the campus at large. The findings may not be applicable to non-Greek students, nor to other Greek or non-Greek organizations. Furthermore, due to the racial makeup of the institution used in the study, results cannot be transferred to campuses that have a different composition and/or racial climate.

Findings

After coding the interviews, three themes emerged revolving around racial identity, sorority racial and ethnic climate, and campus racial and ethnic climate. These themes include: the APA identification with White race and culture; the misperception of diversity in predominantly White sororities; and the perceived lack of diversity and integration on campus.

Identification with White Race and Culture

In all of the interviews, the APA women were quick to assert their identity as American. They felt no different from their sorority sisters. Tina, an APA with Thai heritage, stated, "I tell everyone that I am as American as it gets, just like everyone else." Not only did the participants emphasize their American identity, but they also rarely spoke, of their own accord, of their Asian identity. More often the interviewers had to draw this information out of the participants with probing questions.

When asked specifically about their Asian heritage, three out of the four participants admitted that they did not know much about it. Jackie, a Korean participant adopted by a White family, mentioned that she did not

know or identify with the Korean culture, as the first culture she learned was American. She said, "I'm extremely American; I eat hamburgers." She further explained that she did not have the time or desire to investigate her cultural heritage:

> I took Korean first semester to learn the language and I liked it, but it was really complicated to learn it this late in life. It was a good culture class because I got to understand more about South Korea. I do want to go back eventually, but now is not the time.

With little to no interest in either her Asian race or culture, the researchers placed Jackie in Conformity and Diffusion-Foreclosure, the least complex and developed levels of Helms's People of Color Racial Identity Model and Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Evans et al., 1998).

While Taylor, also adopted by White parents, acknowledged her native Korean race, she, similarly to Jackie, did not identify with the Asian culture. She said, "Obviously, I'm genetically Asian, but I'm not familiar with the culture. I can't speak the language." However, unlike Jackie, Taylor did express some interest in learning more about the Korean culture and discovering what being an Asian American meant to her: "I went to the Asian Culture Center a few times, I got some books on Korea. I was on this huge Asian thing, but it faded." With her current ambivalence in developing her APA identity, the researchers placed Taylor in Helms's Dissonance schema and between Phinney's Diffusion-Foreclusure and Moratorium stages (Alvarez & Helms, 2001; Evans et al., 1998). The researchers identified, Tina, an APA with Thai heritage, at the same levels of development as Taylor. Although she expressed some interest in her culture, describing infrequent visits to Thailand, she also claimed, "Half the people I know probably know more about Thailand than I do. It's horrible, but it's so true!"

Out of the four APA participants, Tanya, an APA from Sri Lanka, seemed the most comfortable with an Asian Pacific American identity, although more culturally than racially. Tanya appreciates her Asian culture; she fluently speaks the Singhalese language and travels often to her native country. Accordingly, the researchers placed her in Phinney's Identity Achieved stage; she enjoys both her White American and Asian Pacific American cultures (Evans et al., 1998). Racially, however, Tanya seemed less developed. In her interview, she noted that she feels like an outsider when she travels to Sri Lanka, but in the United States, she feels like everyone else: "When I go there [Sri Lanka], I just feel like the American. But when I'm here, I don't feel like that at all. I just feel like me." Tanya did not necessarily prefer the standards of the White race, but neither did she

feel completely Asian Pacific American. Because of Tanya's racial ambivalence, the researchers placed her in Helms's Dissonance schema (Alvarez & Helms, 2001).

Even though the APA participants had experienced varying levels of exposure to their Asian race and culture, the researchers found that they shared similar levels of identity development, both racially and culturally. Racially, the women all fell within the first two schemas of Helms's model, Conformity or Dissonance; they either clearly preferred the White portion of their identity to their Asian one or felt ambivalent about their Asian race. Racial identity was not salient for these women. They preferred to self-identify as simply "American" more than anything else. Culturally, only one participant felt truly connected to her Asian culture; the others had little to no interest in learning more about their heritage. Overall, their remarks indicated that these APA women in predominantly White sororities had lesser developed racial and ethnic identities.

Misperception of Diversity in Predominantly White Sororities

Both the APA and the White women interviewed mentioned that they viewed minority women in their organizations "just like everyone else." The APA participants felt that their race and ethnicity played no role in their relationships with their White sisters. For example, when asked how she thought her sisters perceived her, Taylor, stated, "As far as how they perceive me as far as any Asian aspect goes, I don't think that's an issue, it's not like I feel ostracized in any way." An APA in a different sorority, Jackie, said, "I feel everyone is accepting. We [minority sisters] are very much involved in the sorority – we aren't ousted at all." Tina noted, "I don't think a lot of them [White sisters] see a huge difference . . . because I'm so much like them . . . They don't really make a distinction between them and myself." Similarly, the White participants said that they did not look at their minority sisters as different from themselves. One White member, Jamie, noted:

> They joke that they have brown love, our minority members say they have brown love, they just joke about it because most of us don't look at them that way. I don't look at them as a minority, she's still my pledge sister . . . I don't think about them as a minority except when people ask, 'Do you have someone in your sorority that's like this?' . . . and then, yeah, I do. I don't pay attention to it until then.

Sally, a White member from different sorority, added, "We view the minority women in the sorority the same as every other sister."

While some of the APA women did notice the minorities within the different predominantly White sororities when going through recruitment,

they based their decisions to join their respective chapters primarily on shared interests and values. For example, Taylor acknowledged that the one minority member in her chosen sorority might have subconsciously made her feel more comfortable during recruitment, but she ultimately joined for other reasons. She said:

> I chose to join my sorority because — there's several reasons I did, like I've said, academics are really important to me and I knew that I didn't want to go to a house where that wasn't like stressed. . . But I liked [my sorority] because I had a really good friend in there also from my high school and just the fact that I knew they promoted academics, but they also knew how to have fun. They weren't like dorks or anything [laugh].

Similarly, Tanya noted, "I had [my sorority] number one the whole time, just because I saw a lot of casual, laid-back personalities that I would get along with." For Tina, race was slightly more prevalent in her decision. She revealed that she would not have fit in with the organizations that were "all blonde," but felt drawn to her chosen sorority because "there were brown people." However, she also admitted that she felt similar to her chosen sisters, which helped her decision: "I don't know, I was rushed by a girl who I had the best conversation . . . I'm so much like them." While seeing other minority women helped somewhat in making the participants feel welcome in their sororities, other factors played a more important role.

Furthermore, although both APA and White participants emphasized that their sororities appreciated the importance of diversity, their comments often indicated otherwise. One White member, Felicity, commented, "I wouldn't say our house is extremely diverse. In each pledge class there are probably two or three girls who are of minority." When asked if her sorority endorsed culturally diverse events, Katie, a White member, explained, "We go to cultural events if a member is a part of it. We are more likely to support the member than just randomly go to something like a soul food dinner." Cultural events were not valued so much for the enriching experience as for the opportunity to spend time with sorority sisters.

In response to questions about the emphasis on diversity in recruitment strategies, all of the women, including the APA members, felt that a diverse membership was more of an accidental benefit than a concerted effort. Jackie said:

> It kind of happened that way that we have a lot of different races. We're not looking for those types of girls, but we're accepting of everyone. If she has a cool personality, if she's [the sorority name] material. . . We're always looking for the girl who can bring something extra. She doesn't have to bring that through her race, she can be White too.

A White member of the same sorority, Jamie, added, "I don't know if it's necessarily our mission, but we try to make it known we don't care what ethnicity people are in, but if you're a cool person then, if we like you, if you're involved in things, it doesn't matter to us what color you are." Ultimately, Taylor, an APA member, was the only participant to openly acknowledge the inconsistencies in her sorority's claims of diversity and actual practices: "They stress all the time that we're a diverse chapter, although racially, I'm the only minority. So maybe they are talking about other things, but they do promote diversity." Clearly, although the participants claimed diversity as a priority in their sororities, their follow-up statements indicated otherwise.

None of the APA women interviewed felt their minority status in any way affected their experiences in the sororities or their relationships with their sisters. The White members agreed that race and ethnicity made no difference in how they viewed the minority members. In fact, race and/or ethnicity seemed virtually ignored by most of the participants, indicating that both the APA and White women saw each other as being more similar than different. These claims were substantiated by the fact that diversity and multicultural events held little importance in either recruitment strategies or chapter activities. The APA women in these sororities did feel comfortable and accepted by their sisters, but that comfort and acceptance had little to do with the organizations' value of diversity. The literature review noted that, while predominantly White Greek organizations have been criticized, both historically and currently, for being organizations that shun diversity in chapter membership, racial and ethnic lines can be crossed if members share similar values and beliefs and fit in with the homogeneous environment (Chang, 1995; Chang & DeAngelo, 2002; Malaney, 1990). Similarly, because the APA members in this study felt so at home with the White American values and beliefs of their White sisters, they neither saw nor felt any racial or ethnic tension within their sororities.

Perceived Lack of Campus Diversity and Integration

The participants, both APA and White, shared similar feelings about the campus racial and ethnic climate. Most of the women thought that diversity was not a reality on their campus. Taylor said, "When I am walking through campus or in a classroom it's not as diverse as Orientation or other people want to promote it. They're skewing the reality, because in reality it's not as diverse as they say it is." Tanya stated, "[The institution] culture is accepting, but it's still predominantly White." The White participants also reported that they felt the campus was not as diverse as it could or should be. Sally said, "For me it is very diverse, but from working in Orientation, I have

learned that for others it is not diverse at all." Felicity noted, "I don't think that the campus is diverse . . . but it gets better year by year." Katie added, "The campus is pretty White unless you actively seek out diversity. It does not come to you."

Furthermore, the participants also agreed on the lack of racial and ethnic integration on campus. Tina said, "We [the university] have students from everywhere, every culture, every state, but as far as relationships between those people, I don't think it's as great and as wonderful as we make it out to be." Tanya also commented on the lack of integration be-tween races and ethnicities: "We have so many organizations for different groups of people, but the different groups don't do anything together." A White participant, Felicity, noted, ". . . even though we have people from different places and from different religions, groups don't interact as much as they should."

When asked if they had ever faced discrimination on campus, only two of the four APA participants reported examples of discrimination. Both of the participants felt discrimination when people mistakenly assumed that they were Chinese. Tina said, "I hear people say 'that Chinese guy'- well, just because he is Asian does not mean that he is Chinese. And that gets frus-trating. It really does. I constantly find myself correcting people." Taylor had a similar comment:

> I hate how people use Chinese as the default Asian race, like when during sorority recruitment my freshman year, this one girl…and I mean it is such a random thing but it sticks out in my mind because it really bothered me…this girl was talking to her friend and she said, 'I almost got ran over today by a Chinese girl on a bike.' She doesn't know if she was Chinese. She could have been Korean. She could have been Japanese. She could have been any Asian race.

The participants' responses revealed an interesting parallel between the campus racial and ethnic climate and that of the predominantly White sororities. All of the women felt that there needed to be more representation and appreciation of diversity on campus. They noted that while the Univer-sity promoted diversity through programming and marketing, actual diversity was not a reality on the campus at large. The participants perceived a lack of racial and ethnic diversity on campus, but failed to notice a similar envi-ronment in their own organizations. Just as the institution seemed to value diversity, so did the sororities, but the actual homogeneity and segregation of the institution was reflected in the chapters as well.

Implications

The results of this study have several implications for student affairs practitioners. Greek advisors need to be aware of the racial and ethnic

inconsistencies present in predominantly White sororities. Although the women claimed to value diversity, that value was rarely seen in their actual activities. This could potentially have a negative effect on the racial and ethnic identity development of the APA members, who already indicated either a preference for White race and culture or an ambivalence toward Asian race and culture.

According to Hurtado et al. (1999), Greek advisors could help improve the racial and ethnic climate in these organizations by mandating cross-programming between the predominantly White Greek organizations and the minority-serving Greek organizations. Members of Greek organizations need diversity programs that help them understand the value of differences rather than placing such a high value on sameness. Seeing firsthand the other fraternities' and sororities' value of diversity could help the White members see the lack thereof in their own groups. Furthermore, the advisors could stress the importance of diverse membership in predominantly White Greek organizations and encourage those groups to actively pursue that diversity in recruitment (Hurtado et al., 1999).

However, practitioners also need to realize that change in the racial and ethnic climate in the Greek organizations is dependent, in part, on change in the campus's racial and ethnic climate (Chang & DeAngelo, 2002; Hurtado et al., 1999; Kuh & Whitt, 1988). Conservative, homogeneous membership in predominantly White fraternities and sororities can only change if the campus demographics and integration practices change (Chang & DeAngelo, 2002). Campus administrators need to develop concrete plans to increase minority representation, as well as racial and ethnic integration at their institutions (Hurtado et al., 1999). As some of the participants in this study noted, while a campus might have diversity in numbers, integration in practice is another issue. Both aggressive recruitment strategies and admin-istration-supported, campus-wide multicultural events could help improve institutional racial and ethnic climate (Hurtado et al., 1999).

Future Research

Overall, the findings of this study support the previous literature. The researchers found that APA women who joined predominantly White sorori-ties displayed low levels of both racial and ethnic identity development. Although some more than others, the participants identified more with the White American race and culture than with the Asian Pacific American race and culture. As a result, they felt comfortable as members in predominantly White sororities. Both APA and White members agreed that shared inter-ests and values were more important than shared race or ethnicity. The researchers saw an interesting contradiction in the women's claim of diver-

sity as important, when they neither celebrated nor appreciated it in recruitment strategies or social events. Their comments supported prior research that indicated that the racial and ethnic climate in the predominantly White sororities would parallel that on the predominantly White campus. Indeed, just like the sororities, while the University promoted diversity as important and prevalent, the campus, as viewed by the participants, seemed neither diverse nor integrated. As Kuh and Whitt (1988) noted, the dominant culture of the institution can often be reflected in that of its subcultures.

However, more research should be done to increase the understanding of these issues. Research that examines the experiences of APA members in both predominantly White sororities and Asian-interest sororities would lend insight to the identity development process of APA women, as well as provide interesting comparisons of the racial and ethnic climates in the two different environments. Additionally, while this study focuses on female APA students, more research is needed on APA men and how involvement in predominantly White fraternities and other predominantly White organizations affects their involvement and identity development. Studies could also examine the relationship of APA identity development and racial/ethnic climates with involvement in other co-curricular activities, such as campus religious organizations, student governments, and athletic teams. Finally, when asked about the racial climate of their campus, several participants commented on the lack of interaction between the different cultural and ethnic groups. Future research should assess the amount of both the formal and informal interactions of these groups and what effect these interactions have on the identity development of both the APA and White students.

References

Alvarez, A.N., & Helms, J.E. (2001). Racial identity and reflected appraisals as influences on Asian Americans' racial adjustment. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 7*(3), 217-231.

Anson, J.L., & Marchesani, R.F., Jr. (Eds.). (1991). *Baird's manual of American college fraternities* (20th ed.). Indianapolis, IN: Baird's Manual Foundation, Inc.

Arnold, C. (1995). Chabot college campus climate survey: Fall 1994. (Eric Reproduction Document Service No. ED 402 982). Hayward, CA: Chabot College Office of Institutional Research.

Brehm, S.S. (2003). The state of diversity on the Bloomington campus. Retrieved September 30, 2003, from Indiana University Bloomington Office of the Chancellor Web site: http://iub-chancellor.indiana.edu/diversity/diversity3.shtml.

Chang, M. (1996). Race identity and race relations in higher education: Fraternity and sorority membership among students of color. A paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Memphis, TN.

Chang, M. & DeAngelo, L. (2002). Going Greek: The effects of racial comparison on White students' participation patterns. *Journal of College Student Development, 43*(6), 809-
823.

Escueta, E., & O'Brien, E. (1995). Asian Americans in higher education: Trends and issues. In D.T. Nakanishi & T.Y. Nishida (Eds.), *The Asian American educational experience: A source book for teachers and students* (pp. 259-272). New York: Routledge.

Evans, N.J., Forney, D.S., & Guido-DiBrito, F. (1998). *Student development in college: Theory research, and practice.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hayek, J.C., Carini, R.M., O'Day, P.T., & Kuh, G.D. (2002). Triumph or tragedy: Comparing student engagement levels of members of Greek-letter organizations and other students. *Journal of College Student Development, 43*(5), 643-663.

Hune, S., & Chan, K.S. (1997). Special focus: Asian Pacific American demographic and educational trends. In D.J. Carter & R. Wilson (Eds.), *Fifteenth annual status report on minorities in higher education* (pp. 39-67). Washington D.C.: American Council on Education.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J., Clayton-Pedersen, A., & Allen, W. (1999). *Enacting diverse learning environments: Improving the climate for racial/ethnic diversity in higher education.* ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report Volume 26, No. 8. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, Graduate School of Education and Human Development.

Hurtado, S., Milem, J., Clayton-Pederson, A., & Allen, W (1998). Enhancing campus climate for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. *The Review of Higher Education, 21(3)*, 279-302.

Kawaguchi, S. (2003). Ethnic identity development and collegiate experience of Asian Pacific American students: Implications for practice. *NASPA Journal 40 (3)*, 13-29.

Kodama, C.M., McEwan, M.K., Liang, C.T.H., & Lee, S. (2002). A theoretical examination of psychosocial issues for Asian Pacific American students. *New Directions for Student Services, 97*, 11-20.

Kuh, G.D., & Lyons, J.W. (1990). Fraternities and sororities: Lessons from the *College Experiences Study. NASPA Journal, 28*(1), 20-29.

Kuh, G.D., & Whitt, E.J. (1988). *The invisible tapestry: Culture in American colleges and universities.* ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report Volume 17, No. 1. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, Graduate School of Education and Human Development.

Liang, C.T. (2003). Attitudes of White student services practitioners toward Asian Americans. *NASPA Journal, 40*(3), 30-42.

Malaney, G. (1990). Student attitudes toward fraternities and sororities. *NASPA Journal, 28*(1), 37-42.

McKee, C.W. (1987). Understanding the diversity of the Greek world. In M.J. Barr & M. L. Upcraft (Eds.), *Fraternities and sororities on the contemporary college campus* (pp. 21-35). New Directions for Student Services, no. 40. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Pascarella, E., Edison, M., Amaury, N., Hagedorn, L., & Terenzini, P. (1996, March). Influences on students' openness to diversity and challenges in the first year of college. *The Journal of Higher Education, 67*(2), 174-195.

Winston, R.B., Jr., & Saunders, S.A. (1987). The Greek experience: Friend or foe of student development? In M.J. Barr & M.L. Upcraft (Eds.), *Fraternities and sororities on the contemporary college campus* (pp. 5-20). New Directions for Student Services, no. 40. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Michelle Bernstein graduated from Indiana University in May 2004 with a Master's degree in Higher Education and Student Affairs. She also completed her undergraduate work at Indiana University in 2002, receiving a Bachelor of Science degree in Apparel Merchandising. During graduate school, Michelle worked as a Graduate Assistant for Academic Initiatives and Services. She also completed a practicum at the Indiana University Upward Bound Project and an internship with Ivy Tech State College.

Jackie Jones graduated from Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, Michigan in 2002 with a B.S. in Psychology and minors in Marketing and Communications. Jackie also graduated in May of 2004 from the Indiana University Higher Education and Student Affairs program in Bloomington, Indiana. While at Indiana University, Jackie was employed as a Graduate Assistant and Graduate Supervisor with Residential Programs and Services.

Marianne L. Scott graduated from Indiana University in June 2004 with a Master's degree in Higher Education and Student Affairs. She received a Bachelor of Science degree in Journalism from Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana. While at IU, Marianne worked as the Program Coordinator for the LL.M (Master of Laws) Program at the IU School of Law in Indianapolis.

Tara Sherwin graduated in May of 2004 with a Master's degree from Indiana University's Higher Education and Student Affairs program. While at Indiana University, Tara worked as the Graduate Assistant for the IU Student Alumni Association. She also served as a Graduate Intern for IU's Office of Orientation Programs. Tara received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Texas Christian University in May of 2002.

The Dilemma of the Church-Related University

Brian Estrada

This paper introduces and explores the issues and problems inherent to the administration of church-related colleges and universities. It includes a discussion of theoretical concepts that shed light on the issues and decisions that occur in this realm of higher education administration. An examination of two cases of these concepts at work reveals that different institutions will handle the issue of religion and church relationship distinctly, based on their own history and situation.

Introduction and Classification of Church-Related Institutions

It is impossible to consider the origins of American higher education without considering the role of religion and church affiliation in the university. Most of the first generation of university builders in North America were active Protestants and ardent believers dedicated to liberal Christianity (Marsden, 1994). Indeed, in 1636, well before the birth of the United States, the first North American church-related institution of higher education appeared in Newtown, Massachusetts (Lucas, 1994). The name of the town later changed to Cambridge, and the chosen name of the college was Harvard. The chief aim of the institution was for every student to "consider the main end of his life and studies to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life" (Lucas, 1994, p. 104). In antebellum America, the nation's most prestigious universities began with a firmly rooted religious identity (Lyon, Beaty, & Mixon, 2002).

Denominational and religious origins maintained a paramount position on American campuses until the late nineteenth century, when elite universities began quietly turning away from their denominations in search of the spoils of modern science, German standards of scholarship, and the attraction of a broader spectrum of faculty and students (Wolfe, 1997). By either neglect or design, the relationship between many institutions and their sponsoring denominations changed or diminished over time (Dovre, 2001; Marsden, 1994). Over one hundred years ago, Harvard discontinued mandatory chapel and removed the motto *"Christo et Ecclesiae"* from its seal (Lyon, Beaty, & Mixon, 2002). This secularization took place throughout the elite institutions of the Ivy League and, later, similar institutions like originally-Methodist Northwestern or Duke Universities. Secularization was lasting, as today one would need to look very closely to see any discernible difference between Princeton, established by the Presbyterians, and Yale, which was founded by the Congregational Church (Wolfe, 1997).

Conversely, other schools have remained diligently faithful to their