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THE RETURNING ADULT AND STUDENT PERSONNEL

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It is a well-known and long-accepted fact that the cornerstone upon which the higher education system in this country has been built is that of tradition: American universities are what they are because of their past. In part, this is due to the very nature of the educational process -- the idea of building a knowledge base from what has already been learned or discovered. Today, however, it must be reasonably obvious to those acquainted with the realm of higher education that such reliance on tradition will no longer be adequate in terms of planning for what is to come: the code word for future trends in this area must be change.

On university campuses today, there is a change occurring which is both fundamental to the very nature of the institution and far-reaching in terms of its implications for student personnel planning. It seems evident that colleges and universities are losing what has been thought of as their "natural" clientele in ever increasing numbers: enrollments everywhere are down and all indications are that they will continue to drop. What is not as obvious is that the students who are enrolling are of a new type as well. At the present time, over 55 per cent of the undergraduate student population is outside of the traditional eighteen to twenty-one year-old, full-time, four-year, college career student. (Boyer, 1974, p. 7) Who is making up this new student body of non-traditional students? A good deal of it is made up of students who are enrolled on a part-time basis only; another share is made up of students who are taking time off between semesters to work or travel; and another portion, one that will be the main emphasis of this paper, is made up of mature adults (the 35 and over group) who have decided, for one reason or another, to continue their post-secondary education after an extended period of time.

One of the causative forces behind this trend is that a good percentage of the adult population is taking another look at where they fit into the scheme of things in society as a whole. In his article, "Breaking Up the Youth Ghetto," Ernest Boyer refers to life in our society as being sliced up for us like so many pieces of salami, with the biggest "chunk" being doled out in the form of full-time work activities. (1974, p. 5) As this model seems no longer satisfactory to suit the needs of American adults, one of the most preferred alternatives to it has been an indicated desire to continue or complete their post-secondary education. One study done by the Commission on Non-Traditional Study concludes that "75 per cent of the adults sampled are 'would be learners,' or individuals who would like to study during the coming year." (Jacobson, 1973, p. 7) In addition, there are substantial numbers of adults who are choosing to realize their preference: according to statistics released at the end of last year by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, over 800,000 adults over the age of 35 were enrolled in college. (Young, 1973, p. 6)

For those adults who have chosen to continue their education, there has been an inevitable confrontation with a unique set of problems and circumstances that arise in part from their personal siutation and in part from the very

structure of the system of higher education in this country. The prospect
of returning to school after an extended period of time poses a number of
potential personal crises that must be overcome or dealt with on some level if
the individual is to gain the utmost benefit of the educational process. One
of the most crucial of these is eminent from the very time the decision is
made to return to school until the individuals resume their previous or im-
proved position in society: the threat of an impending loss of status, both
economic and psychological, that will inevitably accompany a return to student
life. The primary loss is that of income which results if the "new" student
has been contributing substantially to the family bank account in the past.
In addition, there are, beyond the loss of actual dollars, those "sometimes
intangible trappings of prosperity, the status symbols, which often take on
the greatest perceived value for the middle-class American. Loss of these can
be demoralizing." (Glass and Harshberger, 1974, p. 216) Both of these factors
can place considerable stress on the student in terms of the homelife situation
and in terms of academic achievement.

On a broader level, the adult student may encounter difficulty in coping
with what is perceived to be a loss of status in the eyes of the rest of
society. Part of this difficulty may stem from the traditional view in our
culture that "work, the badge of adulthood, tends to be regarded as the only
fully legitimate activity of maturity." (O'Toole, 1974, p. 12) The adult
student must cope with the realization that the norms of the society place
the activity of being a full-time learner distinctly below that of being a
full-time producer. This may have severe personal repercussions for the
individual: "the middle-aged adult returning to school from a productive work
situation may experience a feeling of being worthless in the eyes of society."
(Glass and Harshberger, 1974, p. 214)

Obviously, the solution to problems on this level will depend for the most
part on the individual, the circumstances, and the ability of those in the en-
tire family to cope with such external stresses. However, the student personnel
administrator can play a key role, from the university's standpoint, of pro-
viding student services, in aiding adult students and their families to adjust
to their new and unique position. Those on the counseling end of student
personnel, for instance, might do well to begin developing programs such as
adult self-worth groups, where students (and their families if possible) would
engage in consciousness-raising exercises aimed at helping them decide where
they want to fit into this changing society, what sort of an impact they
would like to make on that society, and what type of skills they need to
develop in order to make such an impact. This sort of thing would go beyond
providing a mere empathy group to the point of supplying some concrete tech-
niques for the individual to deal with problems. Another student service
which can do a great deal to help overcome the strains this type of situation
places on a student is the financial aids office. Priorities need to be
realigned to include the adult student: merely removing the restrictions on
part-time student applicants would do a lot in this respect of alleviating the
financial burden.

A second major problem that the mature adult student is likely to encounter
when returning to college after an extended period of time, and one that seems
to be inherent in the system as it exists at the present, is the realization

that the institutional atmosphere is almost entirely youth oriented. "The
older adult who previously obtained a certain security from operating within
his own age group must now enter a culture which is highly youth oriented.
Initially at least, he finds himself physically, socially, and psychologically
out of place." (Glass and Harshberger, 1974, p. 212) This can have very
serious implications for the individual on all levels of the learning experience;
including everything from how hard one studies for a test, what sort of activ-
ities one feels comfortable participating in, to one's perception of performance
in terms of academic achievement. (Glass and Harshberger, 1974, p. 212) The
institutional structure itself poses a problem for the adult student in this
regard. Because the main emphasis is on daytime, week-day classes; the
September to June academic calandar; and the classic American approach to the
student-teacher relationship, is difficult for the adult student to become a
part of the mainstream of campus life.

One final aspect of this problem is that an adult student who may wish
to regain a portion of previously lost status may find it exceedingly difficult
to do so in such a youth oriented atmosphere. This relates particularly to
those students who are attempting to regain their status by means of partici-
pation and involvement in campus activities. As Glass and Harshberger state
in their article:

> The problem for our middle-aged full-time student
> arises when he tries to rebuild his status to fit
> with his changed life pattern. The student
> community is youth oriented, with leaders emerging
> through kinds of social relationships to which he
> feels he does not have access. The larger
> community within which the institution resides
> often has a town-gown kind of orientation and looks
> upon the adult student as a temporary resident
> lacking the necessary knowledge, commitment and
> sensitivity to provide effective leadership. (1974,
> p. 215)

One possible solution to this which could be implemented right now on
college campuses is to have a volunteer service organization set up to
provide students with practical work experience relating to their field of
study and to adapt these programs especially for the adult student. This
would require a specific emphasis on utilizing their past experiences and
on keeping them in touch with that "real world" they left behind to become
a student. In addition, it would serve a variety of needs for the mature
student: first, it would provide a means of becoming involved on the college
campus without invading the "territory" of the younger student; second, it
would allow the student to overcome the feeling that any previous experience
is for naught when it comes to being a student; third, it permits the student
to see the relevancy of academic endeavors while still in school; and finally,
it would help to re-establish personal feelings of self-worth and achievement
that might have been sacrificed along with the job to return to school. This is
only one example of how a program can be implemented to meet the needs of
students; further development of such ideas is limited only by the imagination
and interest of those involved in student personnel work.

There is another aspect of this dilemma that must be confronted by the student personnel worker on behalf of the adult student. Along with the resistance which may be encountered from the entrenched elite in the case of attempts by the adult student to participate in or make use of the various student services, goes a good deal of stigma in the student's own mind about seeking them out. After all, by the time people reach the age of 35, they should be well equipped to handle their own problems, so why would they need to go to the counseling center? Or anyone who has been managing a household for 15 years ought to be able to read a college catalog, so why would any academic advising be needed? (Besides, anyone who goes to all the trouble to come back to school when they don't have to, should know what they want anyway!) Finally, if people have been involved in the labor scene as long as many of these adult students have, they should have a good idea of what the job market is demanding so why try to adapt the placement services to meet their needs?

Unfortunately, many adults are not only treading waters that are just as unfamiliar to them as they are to any younger student, but the special problems discussed above may mean that adults need the available student services even more critically than a young student. And it will be the responsibility of those working in the area of student personnel to adapt their services and initiate new ones to meet the special needs of the mature student. There have been some preliminary steps taken on a few campuses in the form of married student councils and discussion-sensitivity groups aimed at dealing with the added pressures facing married students but even these are mainly geared towards the under 30 set. Student personnel workers must go beyond these types of things to provide programs, activities, and avenues for involvement specifically for students approaching middle-age.

There is one segment of this newly emerging student population that merits special consideration in the discussion of future student personnel services. And that is the mature woman student: over 35, bored, and wondering what to do with the remaining 30 or so years of her life. One of the most common alternatives for these women has been the return to school. As they return to school, they are confronted many times with problems which tend to magnify the scope of the identity crisis well known among women of this age.

In her article, "The Needs of Women Returning to School," Judith Berman Brandenburg does an outstanding job of outlining the issues involved in dealing with mature women students and of pointing out areas of development for student personnel programs. Along with the identity problem, the woman student is faced with the additional complication of having to compete in an aggressive situation after years of living in a dependency situation. "The student must be able to read critically, analyze information, attack questions, and assert her own ideas. Problems of dependency and lack of confidence may undermine the entire educational process." (1974, p. 11) The other major personal conflict which usually arises for women returning to school is the natural resistance on the part of her family and friends to the fact that the activity she is involved in is both threatening and disruptive to the normal family routine. Consequently, the woman may have to cope with substantial feelings of guilt over the appropriateness of her decision.

These kinds of concerns must be taken into account by every kind of service the college is offering that student. Specific areas that must begin altering their presentation of services immediately, according to Brandenburg, relate to admissions and orientation procedures, academic advising and study skills development, personal and vocational counseling, and placement practices. (1974, p. 13) In addition, the issues of financial aid and child care services are of particular importance both to the woman student and the student personnel administrator who is dealing with the situation. The main problem in the area of financial aids is that students who are attending school part-time, as are most adult women, are ineligible for the majority of the aid programs. Brandenburg regards it as the responsibility of the student personnel worker to seek out and establish new aid programs which would allow for the special situation of these students. Likewise, in the area of child-care services, she feels it is up to the university, especially those in student services to take the lead in setting up such centers on a shared work basis. (1974, p. 15-17)

In reality, this just barely scratches the surface of the complications and adjustments that will be facing the institutions of higher education in the years to come as the student-body, the primary recipient of the university's functions, gradually alters in composition, becoming ever more diversified and yet ever more in need of the special services which these schools have offered through personnel workers in the past. While it is inevitable that the difficulties in assessing and meeting these needs will increase as the student clientele shifts more and more to a non-traditional status, the challenge for personnel administrators must be met with integrity and imagination if the quality of the educational process is to be maintained or developed to its highest potential.

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THE COMMUTER STUDENT IN THE PRIVATE URBAN COLLEGE

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Research has shown that nearly half of all American college students live at home with their families and commute to college (Trivett, 1974). Yet commuter students and their special needs are all too often ignored on campuses. Separated from each other by their places of residence, they lack the cohesiveness as a group to give them influence on campus. They are quite frequently left to fend for themselves, while resident students enjoy the benefits of programs designed to help students in their adjustment to college life.

Faced with decreasing enrollments, colleges are becoming aware of the necessity of designing programs which will attract and retain these commuter students. This is particularly true of private institutions who are finding that their increasing tuition, room and board costs are placing them out of the reach of many.

There are those who, by their observations of students, are realizing that the difference in the quality of education received by resident and commuter students is quite great. And, as Harrington (1972 p. 546) stated:

> If differential impacts and benefits accrue from higher
> education for different groups, this data must be used
> in institutional planning to formulate more appropriate
> educational objectives to meet the needs of diverse
> populations.

Commuter students in the private, urban college have characteristics, needs and reasons for attending that institution which make them unique from commuting students in general. Their financial investment is considerably greater than that of students in a state-supported institution. Thus private colleges must recognize that they have an obligation to utilize all of their resources in providing these students with as rich an education as possible.

WHY STUDENTS CHOOSE A PRIVATE URBAN COLLEGE

Students in the private college choose that college for the particular philosophy which it represents, and thus tend to be very committed to its objectives. Frequently they are attracted to a private institution not only for its academic reputation (which may or may not be appropriate) but because of its size - and expect to receive more personal attention and have greater opportunities to develop close relationships. Many want an urban campus because they have grown up in the city and want the cultural and social opportunities a large city affords.

WHY STUDENTS CHOOSE TO COMMUTE

For most commuters, economics is given as a major reason for choosing to live at home while attending college. Because they tend to come from families with incomes lower than those of resident students (Chickering, 1974), many must rely on income from part-time jobs which are often a carry-over from high school. Also attractive is that, spared room and board fees, costs are apparently lower. Interestingly, a study of 1,103 different colleges by Fenske and Scott in 1969 showed that the total student cost for commuters and residents at all types of institutions differed by only $300. Kysar (1964) suggested that commuters frequently rationalize their delay of leaving home by unwarranted reference to lower expenses.

The fear of breaking ties from home is often a major factor in the students' decision to commute. Not ready to make this break, they are less emotionally mature, in many cases, than their resident counterparts. Further influence to remain at home often comes from parental pressure.

In the private urban college, accessibility is another key factor. Because of the kind of education the college offers and frequently because of its religious affiliation, a student may not have access to another institution of its kind without moving a considerable distance from friends and family. Many of these students may have attended private high schools where teacher and peer pressure to attend a similar college is great.

THE COMMUTER STUDENT BACKGROUND

Chickering, in his comparison of commuter and resident students (1974, p. 46) found the following overall differences between these two groups:

> -commuters generally come from the city proper while those
> from suburban areas live on campus;
> -only 21% of commuters have family incomes over $15,000
> while 52% of residents' families are above this level;
> -only 19% of commuters' parents have a bachelor's degree or
> higher compared with 36% of resident students' parents.

In private schools the commuter students have slightly higher socioeconomic backgrounds than those attending state-supported institutions but still lower than their resident counterparts. In private Catholic colleges Chickering found this same gap in socioeconomic levels between commuters and residents yet found less of a gap in attitudes and values resulting from this background than at other private institutions.

High school achievement and participation in extracurricular activities, while slightly lower for commuter students in the private urban college than for residents, are higher than that for commuter students at all institutions. Both resident students and commuter students in the private college were found to have similar career goals and aspirations (Chickering, 1974) but commuters are more vocationally oriented while residents are more concerned with their development in non-intellectual concerns. For this reason,

resident students encounter the greatest amount of personal growth during the first two years of college, while the last two years of college are significant for commuters, provided that they remain in college.

THE COMMUTER STUDENT DILEMMA

"The commuting student must daily face the dilemma of choosing between home and school. The more he is committed to home... the more difficult the struggle becomes." (Schuchman, 1966, p. 107)

Commuter students lead a double life. They have entered into a new environment which challenges their ideas, beliefs, and values, yet are tied to an environment which perpetuates their status quo. They spend only a minimal amount of time on campus, and have less time for the development of new relationships with peers socially or through extracurricular activities. Without the support from such relationships, the conflict commuters feel between their two worlds is magnified.

> The range of significant encounters with new conditions, experiences and new persons is most restricted for high school graduates who continue to live at home after entering college. Many of their high school friendships continue as do many other activities and responsibilities they have been carrying. (Chickering, 1974, p. 42)

Parents continue to treat their son or daughter the same way they did in high school. Frequently, commuter students are expected to maintain all of their responsibilities at home as they had in the past as well as the new responsibilities of being a college student. Parents frequently do not understand the student's use of time and need for quiet and privacy. While wanting to be independent, commuter students find themselves in a position where independence is discouraged and where accountability for their actions and use of time are still demanded. For commuter students,

> no landmark signals a new existence over the horizon, no rite-of-passage marks a new status, no increased geographical, temporal or psychological distance creates a space for significant redefinition of realtionships. The prophet remains in his own country. (Chickering, 1974, p. 39)

Due to limited time on campus commuter students have little contact with the faculty and little experience in dealing with adults on an equal level. As a result their perspective falls on more comfortable models nearer home, heightening the conflict of values they feel between the college and their home environment.

Asserting independence, finding a separate identity, and forming close interpersonal relationships with peers are three of the most difficult developmental tasks for the commuter student. Graff and Cooley (1966) in a study of students at a private urban college found that as a result of their conflicts in these areas commuter students had poorer mental health, were beset by lack of self-confidence, feelings of failure and insecurity and excessive worry over small disturbances. Furthermore, as a result of their emphasis on the vocational orientation of their education, the commuter students were less satisfied with their chosen curricula, saw less meaning in their coursework and took less responsibility in meeting academic requirements than resident students. They spend less time in outside reading for their coursework, participate less in class discussion and are more frequently on academic probation. Overall they are less satisfied with their academic experience and are more likely to drop out of college.

Obviously, the college experience is quite different for the commuter student and the resident student, and by its very nature will remain so. However, within a private college many programs can be initiated to help commuter students deal with the conflicts they face and better integrate them into the total college experience. Because of its size and emphasis on individual attention the private urban college has great potential in human resources to accomplish this.

PROGRAMS

As Kazlo and Hardwick (1973) pointed out, colleges are presently employing educated guesswork in the programs and services they are offering for commuter students. Little research has been done on individual campuses to evaluate how well their programs are actually meeting their commuter students' needs. Without such information it is difficult to revamp programs or be assured that they are having an impact. The following ideas are merely suggestions of what might and what in some instances have been found effective in aiding the growth of the commuter student. Each campus must evaluate its own particular student body and the effects of the programs initiated on their students' development.

ON-CAMPUS LIVING EXPERIENCES

Since many of the commuters' problems arise out of the fact that commuter students feel isolated from each other and from the resident students, on-campus living experiences can help commuter students feel more a part of the campus community and help them begin relationships with students they might not otherwise meet. Several colleges have successfully adapted this idea as part of their orientation program. All freshmen live on campus anywhere from two days to a week prior to the arrival of the upperclassmen. Analysis of such programs has found that commuter students participating in this experience have greater interaction and closer relationships with resident students than those who did not.

When space is available it is possible to continue such short-term living experiences intermittently throughout the year. These have been found most successful when coordinated with an educational seminar. Aside from the educational benefits, this gives commuters increased motivation to spend a block of time on campus and valid justification for parents and employers.

FURTHER USES OF ORIENTATION PROGRAMS

Orientation can also be used to prepare commuter students for the conflicts they might encounter and how they can be handled. Making them aware of problems in resident living and emphasizing how commuting can best be used to their advantage can help give them a positive feeling about their choice to commute. It is important at this time that students find out what special facilities and activities exist for them, and to whom they can turn when difficulties arise. An orientation program for parents can help make them more sensitive to their son or daughter's need for independence, need for privacy and quiet, and increase their understanding of the changes their child will be experiencing.

ACADEMIC ADVISING

Faculty advisors should be trained in the special needs and vocational interests of commuter students. Because the private, urban college usually has a student-faculty ratio of 15:1, there are greater opportunities for more frequent interaction between students and advisors than at many other, larger institutions. This faculty member may be the first individual with whom a commuter student is able to develop a close adult-adult relationship and can serve as a source of support when difficulties arise, either personally or academically.

COUNSELING

Counselors, too, must be aware of the special needs of commuter students and be prepared to cope with them. Garni (1974) proposes a "proactive" counseling approach utilizing human development courses and voluntary adjustment groups consisting of students, parents, and faculty to help students recognize where conflicts are coming from and how to deal with them. One counselor on the staff should be available for drop-in appointments since commuter students spend so little time on campus.

FACILITIES AND ACTIVITIES

Space should be set aside for commuter students to have a place to relax and to interact with other students. Student Unions are frequently a good location for such facilities and are also active in providing services such as helping students arrange car pools. The formation of a commuter council can be instrumental in designing social activities geared for commuter students and bringing to the attention of student personnel staff the particular programs they desire.

Several colleges have successfully used a newsletter for commuter students to keep them informed on what is going on on-campus and to make being part of on-campus activities as attractive as possible. Scheduling events such as meetings and convocations during the day instead of at night will make commuter participation more feasible. One small midwestern private urban college set aside one hour of one weekday during which no classes can be scheduled and other extracurricular events can be held.

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PLACEMENT SERVICES

As previously noted, because of the commuter students' vocational orientation, they often find little relevance between coursework and job preparation. This lack of relevance may be lessened by actively using placement services to seek out and match students with part-time jobs commensurate with their interests.

SUMMARY

There are a wide variety of services which can be utilized by the private urban college to make the educational experience as personally well-rounded for the commuter as for the resident student. It means using college resources in unique and innovative ways and may involve additional financial output, but the returns in terms of personal and educational value for the commuter make this effort invaluable.

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TOWARDS A COHERENT THEORY OF STUDENT PERSONNEL

PAUL ZISLA

Despite the paper shortage there is an abundance of literature in college student personnel administration. Sadly the bulk of the research literature suffers from serious flaws of conceptualization and orientation. Research in the field lacks a clear theoretical framework thereby limiting the fruitfulness of inquiry. Information about the student and the college environment may be useful to practitioners but such knowledge fails to advance our understanding of the actual activity of student personnel administration. Conversely productive research tendency would have a well articulated theoretical perspective to provide a shared matrix of meaning. It would take as its topic the ways in which student personnel workers create particular social structures and thereby contribute to the total college environment. An appropriate theoretical orientation is available as will be shown in this paper.

The total student development or student personnel point of view rests on the most basic formulation of social psychology and adolescent development. In short, people change and mature during their college years and this process is influenced by, or sensitive to, the social context. (Brown, 1972, Penny, 1972) The validity of this position is almost unchallengeable. But then what does it illuminate in the college environment or in the area of student personnel praxis? No doubt the person working on a job can use this notion as a basic orientation; however it hardly helps researchers formulate theories, assess the relevance of hypothesis and data, or resolve epistemic questions.

By encouraging borrowing across fields the absences of a well developed scientific paradigm or theory leads to a naive niew of the embeddedness of paradigm, theory and methodology. (Kuhn, 1972) Clearly findings of any scientific endeavor must be interpreted in terms of some paradigm which provides the fundamental assumptions necessary to carry on science. Paradigms provide concepts, criterion of relevancy of topics, suggest appropriate theoretical commitments, and can even provide a context for the determination of which facts are relevant to the question at hand. In a similar way theory and methodology are linked by certain basic tenants of scientific inquiry. As theory establishes a domain of inquiry and a range of important questions, methodologies generate data which describes a certain sort of reality. Different forms of data are relevant to different forms of theoretic and substantive questions. A psychologist would have a great deal of trouble using data generated by the use of a cyclotron just as a nuclear physicist would be hard-pressed to test hypotheses with data from rat running experiments. By virtue of rampant borrowing from several disciplines and the absence of a clear theory the research in student personnel produces diffuse findings and precludes the development of a consistent and coherent fact-theoretic knowledge.

A danger of the total student development-student personnel point of view is that it encourages studies of the student and the interaction of the student and the college setting. Such studies may be well done but they do little to build a fact-theoretic knowledge of student personnel work. Several prominent studies illustrate this problem. In Beyond the Open Door Pat Cross described the "new student". (Cross, 1971) She also sketched out some orientations for dealing with these students. Her quantitative approach glossed most of the social process she was referring to and she could only conjecture as to how the student personnel worker actually deals with these students. In Astin's The College Environment student attitudes were related to broad differentiations of college settings. He did not use a process orientation and had little to say about the doing of personnel work. (Astin, 1968) Chickering concentrated on the development of the college student in his Education and Identity. His is a primarily psychological study and overlooks real settings and interactions between student and personnel administrator. (Chickering, 1969) While these works are not a statistically valid sample of the research in the field they are held up as exemplars in terms of quality and concern. It appears that these works document the failure to carefully formulate studies which contribute to our knowledge of how student personnel work is actually done and how that work creates at least one aspect of the college environment. Additionally it neglects the careful study of the impact of personnel workers upon students.

The glossing of paradigm, theory and methods can be ameliorated by developing a theoretic orientation which is distinctive to, or particularly well suited to, the study of everyday student personnel work. Such inquiry would have as its topic the activity of student personnel workers as they create and sustain the college environment. As a movement within sociology, ethnomethodology could provide the necessary theoretic and analytic framework as well as concentrating research upon the proper object. The use of an ethnomethodological perspective would assist efforts to give student personnel a coherent fact-theoretic corpus of knowledge.

While ethnomethodological studies take several forms, the central theoretic position directs inquiry towards the creative activity which produces and sustains social structures. By emphasizing the meaning of social action to the actor and the ways in which members of a setting use their knowledge of the setting to move within that setting ethnomethodologists pay particular attention to common-sense rationality, rule interpretation and usage and the acquisition of language. (Garfinkel, 1967, Weber, 1947, Mehan, 1972) Additionally ethnomethodologists view behavior as rule following and not as rule governed which is the more standard sociological perspective. Consequently the situated interpretation of behavioral constraints, models and expectencies and the actual response to such things take on profound significance. (Wilson, 1970) Therefore ethnomethodological studies of the college environment and of student personnel work would consider what practitioners do, how they come to understand the setting, how they use that knowledge to operate within the setting, how and what they communicate with each other and how all of this activity produces a particular social structure.

Like all social sciences ethnomethodology has to confront the problem of seeking universals in the face of pervasive variation. Harold Garfinkel handles this problem by using two accepted sociological notions and then adding two more fundamental notions which tend to characterize ethnomethodological theory. Garfinkel characterizes social structures as to their reproduceability, cohort independence, availability to member's rationality, and the fact that these three elements are all the accomplishments of member's

practices. As argued by Durkheim in The Rules of Sociological Method social structures are not interlocked with particular individuals or any single and particular interaction. (Durkheim, 1938) To have social reality social structure must be repeatable, that is, it must exist through time and from one interaction or setting to the next. Though Durkheim tended to reify social structure, the whole notion would collapse without the quality of invariance which is derived from cohort independence and reproduceability. Georg Simmel pointed out that there is something greater than the sum of individual social acts and requiring conceptualization which frees it from being totally setting specific. This allows analysis across groups and through time. (Simmel, 1950) The features of reproduceability and cohort independence can be illustrated by looking at a class such as we find associated with instructor, syllabus, students, and the interaction of these elements. We conceptualize a class as having an existence which carries over from one session to the next, is characterized in part by the nature of the interaction, but can still be defined as having the essential features, belonging to the category class.

Noting that we are speaking of the conceptualization of an interactional setting as a 'class' we can see the importance of conceptualization process to the class participants. Garfinkel called this 'availability' and asserted that the basic elements of reproduceability and cohort independence are known or knowable by members. As he takes behavior to be rule-following it is important that members be given the ability to know those rules which are used in constituting the social order. Members judgementally use their rules in producing acceptable behavior. This behavior literally defines the social structure. We can say that it produces the social structure. Garfinkel called this the quality of accomplishment. Reproduceability, cohort independence, and the availability of these to member's common-sense rationality are all the accomplishment of member's activity. For instance, students know what the social structure 'class' is. They know which behaviors produce something we term a class and which behaviors will disrupt that form and produce something other than a class. This does not exclude trouble making as a constituent of any class as such behavior is frequently typical of school classes. In short, people know the rules of the game in terms of stated and tacit rules, constraining rules and performative rules. Naturally there are things about a setting that people do not know but they are aware of the essentials of a setting, e.g. the behavioral patterns which produce the structure. (Shumsky, 1974) Without this knowledge the setting or structure would collapse as there would be no competent members to create and sustain it as anything more than people existing in the same space and time. Within settings members are constantly making these 'rules' available to each other. They tutor each other as to what it means behaviorally to be a member (e.g. to play the game properly). Thus ethnomethodological studies emphasize member's practices for making social structures accountable to other members. Consequently linguistic behavior and the development of a situated corpus of knowledge is given a central part. If we were to use ethnomethodology to study student personnel work we would look at Astin, Chickering, Cross, and so on as resources for members. For the analyst such materials would be of interest to the extent they are used by workers as they do whatever it is that student personnel administrators do. (Zimmerman and Pollner, 1970, Pollner, 1974)

It is tantamount that we keep in mind that reproduceability, cohort independence and availability as features of social structures are through and through the accomplishment of member's activity. The creative activity of people produces the structures which people make known to each other. The social order is man made and maintained. What we do, what we think of our doings, and what we communicate to others via talk and action are essential elements of any setting. It is fallacious to locate social structure in some nebulous region apart from the real acts of people. It is the praxis of living people which creates the structure, makes the structure known or knowable, and maintains or changes the structure.

An ethnomethodological study of student personnel work would attempt a full description of how workers do their work and then a description of how that work produces a particular social structure or setting. This would include an examination of member's knowledge as it is used within the setting. The analyst would consider the ways in which practitioners come to grasp what their work is, how and what they communicate with each other, and how they use their knowledge of the setting to move within the setting and thereby imbed their understandings into the setting. (Garfinkel, 1967) For instance, the student development-student personnel point of view could be examined as to the extent it is used to make sense of the work and to do the work. As an explanation of the work this perspective is inadequate as it could only gloss over what people are actually doing. Yet as part of the member's corpus of knowledge the student personnel point of view could become an integral feature of the setting as long as people rely on it to guide their activity.

In a study which anticipated many ethnomethodological orientations, Cicourel and Kitsuse looked at the educational futures and plans of high school students in terms of the routine activity of high school counselors. (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963) They found that the key variable in plans for attending college was enrollment in college preparatory programs. Counselors worked closely with these students to make sure that college applications were in order. It was found that counselors relied heavily on measures of social class in determining who they would encourage into college preparatory classes and then work with them in assuring proper college applications. Thus the obstensible finding that social class explains plans for post-secondary education is partially attributable to the ways in which counselors attend to such attributes. What matters is not social class per se but the way counselors build that attribute into social structure. Surely socio-economic background affects plans but just as important is the fact that this information is used in a certain way by counselors. It is the routine interpretive work of counselors which explains part of the finding that those of higher socio-economic class are more likely to attend college. Counselors build social class into the social variable description of those going to college. We could gloss this entire process by calling it another example of stereotyping but such a move would retard our understanding of social order.

During observation in an elementary school Shumsky and Mehan studied placement decisions. (Shumsky and Mehan, 1974) A committee decided which students would enter a special reading class for slow learners. A transcript of the committee meeting was analyzed to see how the decision was accomplished.

All placements were done within 22 lines of conversation. During that conversation the teachers and school principal relied on teachers previous knowledge of the students as they filled the special class. The common-sense rationality presumed that the teachers already knew which students qualified for the class. Formal criterion were never specified and the students were only named, not described beyond a simple statement that that student had reading problems or was a slow learner. We need not criticize this method of placement but should only note that in that setting the teacher was considered as having the necessary expertise to already know the student, the criterion of the class, and the ability to properly place students.

We could conduct the same sort of study in a context where student personnel administrators make decisions about the educational careers of students. We could look at decisions regarding financial aids, discipline, evaluation or whatever. As with the elementary school committee we could see if decisions were made in terms of formal guidelines or personal knowledge of the person(s) in question. A committee working on financial aids might use formal guidelines thereby using a situated rule which said in effect; the social structure of this setting is produced in terms of formal models of decision making and by the use of articulated guidelines of nature x, y, z. Such a committee would surely be producing a different setting than one that placed more emphasis on previous personal knowledge as was done in the elementary school. Consequently we would note that these contrasting committees are in effect producing different educational environments with different consequences to students and workers alike.

We cannot begin to talk about the student and the college environment without a careful and thorough inquiry into how educational settings are created and sustained by members, including student personnel administrators. The intent of this discussion has been to articulate a theoretical framework for carrying out such a study. While many approaches are possible, an ethnomethodological mode of study would have two distinct payoffs. By using a coherent theoretic perspective, studies into student personnel would produce a corpus of knowledge with greater unity and consistency of focus and theoretical grounding. This would help alleviate the diffusiveness so prevelant in the current literature. Secondly, a description of how student personnel workers are creating a particular sort of college environment could open up new possibilities for change.

While information about the student and the student in the environment may interest us and point to problems, it has little to offer in terms of relating behavior to outcomes. It is at this level that student personnel needs development. We cannot generate recipes for making the good environment but we can surely increase our knowledge about how that environment comes to be. Innovation becomes possible as we recognize how our mundane, routine and everyday activity helps create the social order of educational settings. While some things are beyond our control we have to keep in mind that many things are within our control. Heightened self-awareness never changes anything but it is a necessary first step.

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BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

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MID-YEAR PLACEMENT

Those completing their degrees in December are employed as follows:

Jennifer Brown - Coordinator of New Student Orientation and Adviser to International Students, University of Maine, Orono, Maine

Connie Horton - The University Division, Indiana University

Paul Robins - The Halls of Residence Office, Indiana University

Mike Robinson, Director of Residence Hall, MacAlister College, St. Paul, Minnesota

Paula Rooney, The University Division, Indiana University

Mark Shanley, Director of Activities, Youngstown State University, Youngstown, Ohio

CHANGES OF ALUMNI

Alan S. Chesen, '73, has accepted a position as Resident Director, University of Dayton

Mary Ann Collier, Assistant Dean of Students, Franklin College has been named director of the Eli Lilly Campus Center at Franklin

Steve Krevinsky, '73, has left Drexel University to accept a position as Director of Liberal Arts Placement and Cooperative Work Study Programs, Millersville State College, Millersville, Pennsylvania

Edward Matijka, '72, has taken a job with Allstate and his address is 1616 Whiterock Avenue, Waukesha, Wisconsin 53186

Word received from two Alumnae indicate they have begun their own consulting service: Miss Margaret Seibert, '72, with two other persons has formed Unlimited Productions, Inc., 331 Center Street North, Vienna, Virginia 22180, "to encourage greater interpersonal communications to thwart racism and sexism and to offer cultural, non-racist, non-sexist programs." Peg Antony, '72, with another person has formed Lifestyle Associates in Milwaukee. Peg also was a part of a group receiving a $55,000 federal grant for a project on rape.

Paul Sutcliffe, '71, has been named Director of Financial Aids at Wheaton College

Miss Carol O'Connor, '74, became Mrs. Thomas Nelson Jr. ('74) December 28th

Dr. John Turner, M.S. '68, EDD '72, has taken the position as Associate Dean of Graduate Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

CONVENTION NOTES

American College Personnel Association

I.U. Social Hour will be Friday, March 7, 6:30-8:00 in the Regency York Room of the Regency Hiatt Hotel. IT WILL BE GREAT TO SEE ALL

Indiana University had four representatives on the ACPA ballott: James Duncan for President, Rubin McDaniels and Randy Farmer for Executive Board and William Martinson for Senate.

Many I.U. representatives will be involved with programs. Among them will be from campus, Betty Greenleaf, Robert Shaffer, Philip Chamberlain, Richard Pugh, Donald Coan, David DeCoster, Joyce Taylor, Tom Hennessy, Gary Erskine, Terry Soley, Julia Ann Fleming, Candy Haggins, Rob Cieslicki. Among Alumns known to be on the program are Fred Brodzinski, Greg Jones, Harry Steinway, Eric Reidel, Phyllis Montgomery, Dominic Sicilia. Two key noters are I.U. grads; Rubin McDaniels and Don Creamer. Among current officers and chairmen of Commissions of ACPA are: David DeCoster, William Martinson, James Duncan, Phyllis Mable, Sandy MacClean, Louis Stamatakos, William Bryan and William Chestnut.

As a past president special recognition will be given Betty Greenleaf at the 50th Anniversary Banquet which will open convention.

National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors

Indiana University Alumns and former staff are well represented in NAWDAC leadership roles; on the Program Committee is Marylou McEwen and JoAnne Trow, Regional Coordinators - all tie back to I.U.! Brenda Gordon (Eastern), Juana Burton (Southeastern), Janice Abel (Midwest), Jacqueline Douglas (Southwestern), Karen Glasier (Western) and JoAnne Trow (Far Western). Committee Chairmen, Marilou Osinski, Placement and Resolutions, Helen Whiteside (former staff member) Betty Greenleaf, Financial Development Committee.

MARK YOUR CALENDARS FOR FRIDAY EVENING DINNER. Becky Drury assisted by Phyllis Montgomery are making big plans for us all 5:30-7:30, April 4th.

National Association of Student Personnel Administrators

Our Indiana Alum, Alice Manicure is serving as this year's program chairman. Herb Smith has charge of a chartered flight to San Francisco and Robert Shaffer and Tom Schreck will be on hand to greet all good Alumns.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Margie Mathison graduated from the College of St. Catherine with a B.A. in Psychology, Speech, and Secondary Education. She is presently an R.A. at Forest Center while working on a M.S. in College Student Personnel Administration at Indiana University.

Paul Zisla graduated from Indiana University with an A.B. in Sociology (Honors), obtained a Masters Degree from Northwestern University in Sociology and is currently working on a M.S. in College Student Personnel Administration at Indiana University and serving as a Graduate Assistant in I.U.'s Honor's Division.

Catherine Greene graduated from Washington State University with a B.A. in Political Science. She is presently an R.A. at Foster Quad while working on a M.S. in College Student Personnel Administration at Indiana University.

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